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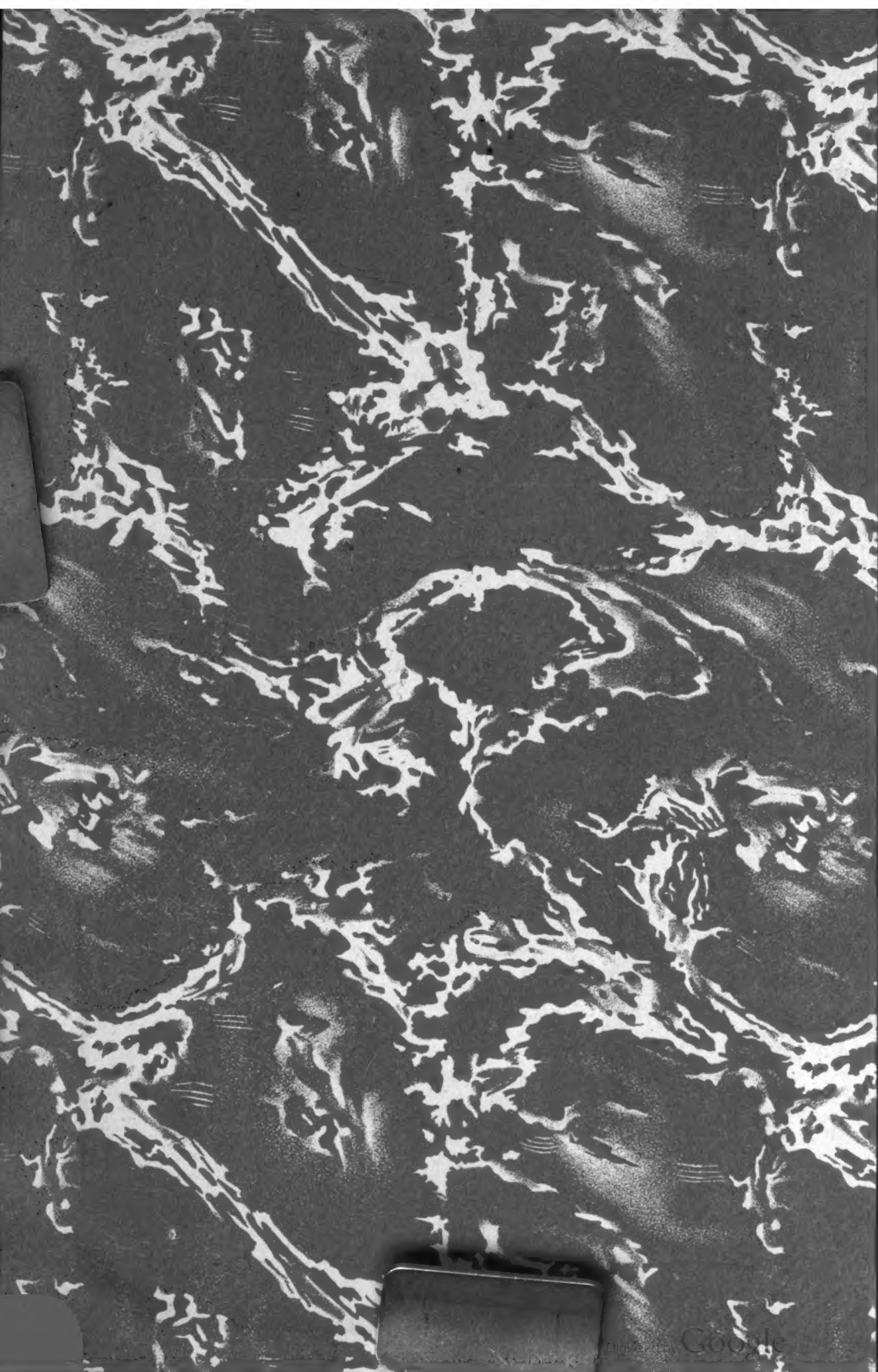
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REVIEW

**Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum
veritas vincat invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive
confitentem. S. AUG. EPIST. cccxxviii. AD PASCENT.**

VOLUME XLI.

FROM JANUARY TO OCTOBER, 1916.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE.
Abbot Sampson—Darley Dale	147
Alexandrian Mysticism and the Mystics of Christian Vir- ginity—Rev. F. A. Palmieri, O. S. A.....	390
Anglican and the Eastern Orthodox Churches During the Years 1866-1870, The Problem of the Intercommunion "In Sacris" Between the—Rev. F. A. Palmieri, O. S. A..	588
Anglican Ordinations in Modern Russian Theology (1840- 1866), The Validity of—Rev. F. A. Palmieri, O. S. A....	194
Blessed Catherine of Racconigi—R. F. O'Connor.....	211
Blundell, O. S. B., Dom Fred Odo. Glengarry.....	161
Byzantine Mysticism, Two Masters of the—Dionysius the Areopagite and Maximus the Confessor—Rev. F. A. Palmieri, O. S. A.....	18
Campagna, The Historical Roman—Marc F. Vallette, LL. D..	368
Canada, The Church in Western—R. F. O'Connor.....	108
Cardinal Guibert—R. F. O'Connor	646
Catherine of Racconigi, Blessed—R. F. O'Connor.....	211
Catholic Note in Tennyson, The—Charles Phillips.....	559
Cave Homes and Shrines—Stalactites and Stalagmites—Marc F. Vallette, LL. D.....	572
Cervantes and Some Romances Old and New—James J. Walsh, M. D., Ph. D.....	421
Christian Ideal, The Nietzschean Idea and the—Superman and Saint—Joseph B. Jacobi	463
Christian Virginity, Alexandrian Mysticism and the Mystics of —Rev. F. A. Palmieri, O. S. A.....	390
Church in Western Canada, The—R. F. O'Connor.....	108
Churches, The Problem of the Intercommunion "In Sacris" Between the Anglican and the Eastern Orthodox During the Years 1866-1870—Rev. F. A. Palmieri, O. S. A.....	588
Ciri, S. J., Rev. Dominic A. Dante's Message to Mankind...	501
Colby, Elbridge. John Heywood.....	380
Cross, A Soldier of the—R. F. O'Connor.....	453
Dale, Darley. Abbot Sampson.....	147
Dale, Darley. Mediæval Warfare.....	506
Dale, Darley. Two Precursors of Dante.....	631
Dante, Two Precursors of—Darley Dale.....	631

	PAGE.
Dante's Message to Mankind—Rev. Dominic A. Ciri, S. J. . . .	501
Devas, O. P., Rev. R. P. The Rosary Tradition Defined and Defended	128
Dionysius the Arcopagite and Maximus the Confessor—Two Masters of the Byzantine Mysticism—Rev. F. A. Palmieri, O. S. A.	18
Divine Whisper, The Veins of the—Rev. Hugh T. Henry, Litt. D.	673
Eastern Orthodox Churches During the Years 1866-1870, The Problem of the Intercommunion "In Sacris" Between the Anglican and the—Rev. F. A. Palmieri, O. S. A.	588
Eschatology of the Synoptic Gospels, The—Rev. W. H. McClellan, S. J.	230
Fabre, Jean Henri: The Homer of the Insects—James J. Walsh, M. D., Ph. D.	51
Florence and Its Cathedral: Genoa's City of the Dead—Marc F. Vallette, LL. D.	299
Foreign Missionary Jubilee, A—Thomas A. Sullivan.	492
"Francis Paul"—Piers the Plowman.	181
Gael, The Sea-divided and Self-divided—John J. O'Shea. . . .	353
Genoa's City of the Dead: Florence and Its Cathedral—Marc F. Vallette, LL. D.	299
Gerrard, Rev. Thomas J. War and the Prayer of Petition. .	317
Glengarry—Dom Fred Odo Blundell, O. S. B.	161
Gospels, The Eschatology of the Synoptic—Rev. W. H. McClellan, S. J.	230
Guihert, Cardinal—R. F. O'Connor	646
Henry VIII.'s Parliaments, Some Notes on—W. P. M. Kennedy	623
Heywood, John—Elbridge Colby	380
Historical Roman Campagna, The—Marc F. Vallette, LL. D. .	368
Holy Ghost, The Hospitallers of the—Rev. W. F. Stadelman, C. S. Sp.	529
Homes and Shrines, Cave—Stalactites and Stalagmites—Marc F. Vallette, LL. D.	572
Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost, The—Rev. W. F. Stadelman, C. S. Sp.	529
"In Sacris" Between the Anglican and the Eastern Orthodox Churches During the Years 1866-1870, The Problem of the Intercommunion—Rev. F. A. Palmieri, O. S. A.	588

Table of Contents.

iii

PAGE.

Insects, The Homer of the—Jean Henri Fabre—James J. Walsh, M. D., Ph. D.....	51
Intercommunion "In Sacris" Between the Anglican and the Eastern Orthodox Churches During the Years 1866-1870, The Problem of the—Rev. F. A. Palmieri, O. S. A.....	588
Jacobi, Joseph B. The Nietzschean Idea and the Christian Ideal—Superman and Saint	463
Kennedy, W. P. M. Some Notes on Henry VIII.'s Parliaments	623
Louismet, O. S. B., Dom. Outlines of the Doctrine of the Mystical Life	70-262
McClellan, S. J., Rev. W. H. The Eschatology of the Synoptic Gospels	230
Maher, S. J., Rev. Zacheus J. "Whose Son Is He?".....	326
Maximus the Confessor, Dionysius the Areopagite and—Two Masters of the Byzantine Mysticism—Rev. F. A. Palmieri, O. S. A	18
Mediæval Warfare—Darley Dale	406
Missionaries in the Territory Now Known as the United States, Some Early Explorers and—Marc F. Vallette, LL. D....	33
Missionary Jubilee, A Foreign—Thomas A. Sullivan.....	492
Mystical Life, Outlines of the Doctrine of the—Dom S. Louismet, O. S. B.	70-262
Mysticism, Two Masters of the Byzantine—Dionysius the Areopagite and Maximus the Confessor—Rev. F. A. Palmieri, O. S. A.	18
Mysticism and the Mystics of Christian Virginity, Alexandrian—Rev. F. A. Palmieri, O. S. A.....	390
Nietzschean Idea and the Christian Ideal, The—Superman and Saint—Joseph B. Jacobi	463
O'Connor, R. F. Blessed Catherine of Racconigi.....	211
O'Connor, R. F. Cardinal Guibert	646
O'Connor, R. F. The Church in Western Canada.....	108
O'Connor, R. F. A Soldier of the Cross.....	453
O'Hagan, M. A., Ph. D., Litt. D., Thomas—William Wordsworth, the High Priest of Nature.....	616
Ordinations in Modern Russian Theology (1840-1866), The Validity of Anglican—Rev. F. A. Palmieri, O. S. A....	194

Orthodox Churches During the Years 1866-1870, The Problem of the Intercommunion "In Sacris" Between the Anglican and the Eastern—Rev. F. A. Palmieri, O. S. A.....	588
O'Shea, John J. Rediscovery of Ultima Thule.....	1
O'Shea, John J. The Sea-divided and Self-divided Gael.....	353
Outlines of the Doctrine of the Mystical Life—Dom S. Louis-met, O. S. B.	70-262
Palmieri, O. S. A., Rev. F. A. Alexandrian Mysticism and the Mystics of Christian Virginity	390
Palmieri, O. S. A., Rev. F. A. The Problem of the Intercommunion "In Sacris" Between the Anglican and the Eastern Orthodox Churches During the Years 1866-1870.....	588
Palmieri, O. S. A., Rev. F. A. Two Masters of the Byzantine Mysticism—Dionysius the Areopagite and Maximus the Confessor	18
Palmieri, O. S. A., Rev. F. A. The Validity of Anglican Ordinations in Modern Russian Theology (1840-1866).....	194
Parliaments, Some Notes on Henry VIII.'s—W. P. M. Kennedy	623
Phillips, Charles. The Catholic Note in Tennyson.....	559
Piers the Plowman—Francis Paul	181
Prayer of Petition, War and the—Rev. Thomas J. Gerrard...	317
Problem of the Intercommunion "In Sacris" Between the Anglican and the Eastern Orthodox Churches During the Years 1866-1870—Rev. F. A. Palmieri, O. S. A.....	588
Rediscovery of Ultima Thule—John J. O'Shea.....	1
Roman Campagna, The Historical—Marc F. Vallette, LL. D..	368
Rosary Tradition Defined and Defended, The—Rev. R. P. Devas, O. P.	128
Russian Theology (1840-1866), The Validity of Anglican Ordinations in Modern—Rev. F. A. Palmieri, O. S. A.....	194
Sampson, Abbot—Darley Dale	147
Sea-divided and Self-divided Gael, The—John J. O'Shea.....	353
Shrines, Cave Homes and—Stalactites and Stalagmites—Marc F. Vallette, LL. D.....	572
Soldier of the Cross, A—R. F. O'Connor.....	453
Some Early Explorers and Missionaries in the Territory Known as the United States—Marc F. Vallette, LL. D..	33
Some Notes on Henry VIII.'s Parliaments—W.P.M. Kennedy	623
Stadelman, C. S. Sp., Rev. W. F.—The Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost	529

Table of Contents.

v

PAGE.

Stalactites and Stalagmites, Cave Homes and Shrines—Marc F. Vallette, LL. D.....	572
Sullivan, Thomas A. A Foreign Missionary Jubilee.....	492
Synoptic Gospels, The Eschatology of the—Rev. W. H. McClellan, S. J.	230
Tennyson, The Catholic Note in—Charles Phillips.....	559
Two Masters of the Byzantine Mysticism—Dionysius the Areopagite and Maximus the Confessor—Rev. F. A. Palmieri, O. S. A.	18
Two Precursors of Dante—Darley Dale	631
Ultima Thule, Rediscovery of—John J. O'Shea.....	1
United States, Some Early Explorers and Missionaries in the Territory Now Known as the—Marc F. Vallette, LL. D..	33
Validity of Anglican Ordinations in Modern Russian Theology, The (1840-1866)—Rev. F. A. Palmieri, O. S. A....	194
Vallette, LL. D., Marc F. Cave Homes and Shrines—Stalactites and Stalagmites	572
Vallette, LL. D., Marc F. Genoa's City of the Dead—Florence and Its Cathedral	299
Vallette, LL. D., Marc F. The Historical Roman Campagna.	368
Vallette, LL. D., Marc F. Some Early Explorers and Missionaries in the Territory Now Known as the United States	33
Veins of the Divine Whisper, The—Rev. Hugh T. Henry, Litt. D.	673
Virginity, Alexandrian Mysticism and the Mystics of Christian—Rev. F. A. Palmieri, O. S. A.....	390
Walsh, M. D., Ph. D., James J. Cervantes and Some Romances, Old and New	421
Walsh, M. D., Ph. D., James J. Jean Henri Fabre.....	51
War and the Prayer of Petition—Rev. Thomas J. Gerrard....	317
Warfare, Mediæval—Darley Dale	406
"Whose Son Is He?"—Rev. Zacheus J. Maher, S. J.....	326
Wordsworth, William, the High Priest of Nature—Thomas O'Hagan, M. A., Ph. D., Litt. D.....	616

BOOKS REVIEWED.

Addresses at Patriotic and Civic Occasions by Catholic Orators	347
Apologetics, A Manual of—Rev. F. J. Koch.....	177

	PAGE.
Benson, The Life of Monsignor Robert Hugh—Rev. C. C. Martindale, S. J.....	526
Blessed Peace of Death, The—Rev. A. Wibbelt.....	180
Brief Discourses on the Gospel—Seeböck	702
Clerical Colloquies—O'Neill	701
Dictionary of the Apostolic Church—James Hastings, D. D... ..	345
Essays on Catholic Life—Thomas O'Hagan.....	526
Following the Conquistadores Through South America's South-land—Rev. J. A. Zahm, C. S. C.....	343
God's Golden Gifts—Freeman	702
Historical Sketches—Rev. A. Drive, S. J.....	524
Lectures on the History of the Papal Chancery—R. L. Poole..	346
Life of Father De Smet, S. J.—Father E. Laveille, S. J.....	335
Makers of Modern Medicine—James J. Walsh, M. D.....	340
Marie of the House D'Anters—Earls.....	703
Meditation on the Mysteries of Our Holy Faith—Rev. C. W. Barraud, S. J.....	351
Missions and Missionaries of California, The—Rev. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M.....	178
Another Mary Veronica—Heuser.....	699
Mythology of All Races	700
On the Old Camping Ground—Mary E. Mannix.....	180
Only Anne—Clarke	704
Pastoral Letters, Addresses and Other Writings of the Right Rev. James A. McFaul, D. D.....	350
Plain Sermons by Practical Preachers.....	352
Popes and Science, The—James J. Walsh, M. D.....	340
Retreat for Women in Business, A—Rev. J. A. McMullan, C. SS. R.....	527
Sermons, Doctrinal and Moral—Right Rev. Thaddeus Hogan, R. M.....	348
Shepherd of My Soul—Callan	701
Shepherd of the North—Maher	703
Short Sermons on Gospel Texts—Rev. M. Brossaert.....	527
Social Legislation of the Primitive Semites—Schaeffer.....	697
Studies in Tudor History—Kennedy	698
Study in Socialism, A—Benedict Elder.....	176
"Summa Theologica" of St. Thomas Aquinas, Translated....	350
Thoughts of Sœur Therese	180
Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures—The New Testament—Rev. Joseph Dean, D. D.....	510

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(Extract from *Salutatory*, July, 1890.)

VOL. XLI. —JANUARY, 1916—NO. 161

REDISCOVERY OF ULTIMA THULE.

AMONGST the strange surprises which the war in Europe has brought into notice is the sudden emergence of the misty terraqueous region known, or perhaps one ought to say unknown, to the ancient geographers as Ultima Thule. The Greeks spelled the name "Thoule," as they spelled the name Uranus "Ouranus," and so on. The exact location of the shadowy region has not been clearly ascertained, but the balance of belief has leaned to the Orkney Islands, or Orcades, as the true locality. Now it has been given out as a matter of positive knowledge that the hiding place of the powerful British fleet which sailed away for an unknown destination more than a year ago, and has never since been heard from or of, has been the vast harbor of Kirkwall, on the Pentland Firth. This sheet of water lies on the extreme northern point of the coast of Scotland long known as "John o' Groat's House," the limit of the human habitations on the wild Caledonian shores. On Bressay Sound stands a little village or town called Lerwick, which claims to possess one of the finest harbors in all the world, and which is the grand rendezvous of all shipping destined for the Northland and the great whale fishing grounds. This immense water shelter could also easily have been the place wherein the sleeping might of Britain had been lying perdu all the year. That

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fleet is so huge that it might easily have been divided in two and still have been strong, in either part, to defend itself against any outside power on the high seas.

The exact spot which the inhabitants on the shores of the Pentland Firth claim to be the genuine Ultima Thule is called Fitful Head. It is a fearful spot to behold when, as is mostly the case, the seas rush around in thunderous billows as if bent on wiping it off the face of the earth forever. The channel which separates the Scottish mainland and the Orkney Islands, one hundred in number, is fifty miles in width—and it is for most of the year an appalling strip of water for any boat to have to face. Then, again, as though there had been a personal understanding between nature and man to render the struggle for existence as difficult as possible for the hardy denizens of those rough places, the methods of crossing from cliff to cliff, along the rugged lines of the coast, are just as primitive and dangerous as though the earth were still in the same condition as it was in the era of Tubal Cain—"the days when the earth was young." Slender bridges, woven of ropes and wattles, spanning chasms choked with boiling cauldrons of yeasty foam, are for the most part the only means of communication between different localities, no matter how weighty the loads which the travelers on these dizzy paths have got to carry, to eke out a living on that wild seaside terrain. At one dangerous point, called the Cradle of Noss, communication with the neighboring island of Hohn was through a cradle or wooden chair running between two strong ropes spanning a ravine between two tall perpendicular cliffs, strong hands on either side pulled the "cradle" back and forth. The process may have been slow, but it was safer than the swinging rope bridge which to-day spans the chasm at Carrick-a-Rede, on the north coast of Ireland, a few miles away from the basaltic piles of rock called the Giant's Causeway, and which is matched on the Scottish seacoast by a similar pile of pillared rocks at a little island called Staffa, the principal attraction of which is the celebrated ocean temple called Fingal's Cave. The rocky connection between the northern coast of Ireland and the southern line of Scotland is not merely a geological tie. A similar race of men inhabited both islands in the twilight period of history—the Celtic.

Cuchulin's name is linked with the early traditions of Scotland, as it is with those of Ulster in Ireland. A range of hills in the island of Skye is called after Cuchullin. Oisín's grave is pointed out at a spot on the banks of the Almond river, in the Lough Tay district. But nearer and dearer to the Christian mind are the evidences of a connection between Ireland's early Chris-

tianity, the ruins of the monasteries, abbeys, churches and schools of the Irish Christian settlements on Iona, Lindisfarne and other sacred spots along the insular seaboard. Besides the Celtic and Gaelic connection, in the northern part of Scotland, and especially in the vicinity of the Firths, there are many souvenirs of a race that was more dreaded than either Celt or Gael—the Norse, devotees of the terrible Thor and Freyga, whose Viking hordes made the seas more terrible than the fiercest tempests of the skies for the dwellers along the afflicted coast from the Baltic down to the Mediterranean. And thrust in between the cycles of the Celt and the Norse were the mysterious centuries which witnessed the introduction, the rise and the decay of Druidism, and left memorials of its cult in the shape of mighty circles of tall monoliths, whose purpose and meaning stand as a riddle of time like the Egyptian Sphinx. As far North as Ultima Thule stand remains exactly like unto those at Stonehenge, in Britain. There is a group of the same class of pillar stones at Callanish, in Lewis, in the Hebrides, said by antiquarians to be the finest in the British Islands. The stones are so numerous as to suggest the idea of a temple, as those of Stonehenge certainly do, and as the sculptured pillars at Baalbek and other places in Egypt and Arabia do. Up to about fifty years ago forty-eight of these stones were still standing, forming a rough cross, with a circle at the intersection; the long limb of the cross extended 392 feet, and the transverse ones 141 feet across. In some of the Druidical remains found in Scotland circular holes were found in some of the upright stones, and these were believed to have been used by the Druids for the purpose of securing with ropes the victims intended for sacrifice to the ferocious and sanguinary deities whom the Druids worshipped. Besides these relics of the Druid cult the islands exhibit others which are peculiarly Celtic of the early Christian period—religious ruins, like the chapel within the enclosure of Peel Castle, in the Isle of Man, which, according to local history, was built under the personal supervision of St. Patrick, who spent several years among the Manx people instructing them in the truths of Christianity and the laws of secular civilization, as he did in Ireland, where he codified the voluminous books of the old Brehon law—an immense labor which occupied many years of his arduous and most useful life.

On the island of Pomona, on the mainland, the largest one of the sixty-seven which compose the Orkney group, is situated the town of Kirkwall, the principal one in that wild maritime region. About nine miles outside the town there is a great collection of pillar stones, the remains of two immense circles which stood, one on each side of the loch or strait on which the mound called Maestrow,

which contained a subterranean hall believed to have been what the Norsemen called a sorcery hall, with runic inscriptions on the wall of the chambers. The figure of a winged dragon, beautifully carved, together with that of a serpent twined around a pole, were found inside the hall, forming, probably, part of the sorcery paraphernalia of the Norse magicians of the later Pagan period, corresponding to the early Christian one, in the region of Ultima Thule. The fact that really fine sculpture has been found amongst the work of Norse artists at such a period is remarkably significant. It shows that the genius of sculpture was not confined solely to the shores of the Ægean Sea, and that some undiscovered and untaught Thorwaldsens, even at the twilight age of the region which was believed to be the very rim of the inhabited earth, were to be found there wasting their art upon the lonely shores of the dim threshold of the Boreal Pole!

At what particular epoch of ecclesiastical history Christianity first struck its roots in Scottish soil is a matter of considerable uncertainty. But of the fact that the first great missionary effort began with the era of St. Columba there can be little doubt. Irish and Caledonian legend dwells so strongly on the presence of isolated hermits, who earned the honorable designation of Culdees (i. e., servants of God), on the lonely coasts of Ireland and Scotland, that no reasonable doubt can be entertained of the truth that neither St. Patrick nor St. Columba was the first actual bearer of the knowledge of Christ to the Pagans who "sat in darkness" beside the borders of Ultima Thule. The pathetic story of St. Columba, although imperishably linked with the history of the holy isle of Iona, does not appear to be so familiar to the readers of early European history as its deep and solemn lessons ought to have made it. He had been adjudged guilty of inciting men to rebellion against the King, Dearmit, according to one story; for that offense he was sentenced to perpetual banishment from Erin by St. Molaise, his confessor—the home which he loved with all the passionate love of his emotional Celtic nature. Another cause was assigned by different authorities—a judgment given in the matter of the copying of a famous Psalter, the work of monks of one monastery by the monks of another, and a consequent dispute as to the ownership, which Columba settled by adjudging that "the calf belonged to the cow." The punishment of perpetual exile was hard to bear, but when the exile's abode happened to be within the range of his vision, as in this case it was, it became too much for the embittered heart to bear. Columbus' first landing place was off the coast of Scotland, a little isle called Oronsay, or Ornsay. There he had intended to settle down with a few companions who accompanied

him from his lost home, and establish a missionary training school, after the manner of those established by Patrick, in order literally to carry out the mission given by Christ to the first Apostles—"to teach all nations" the truths He had made known to them. The first objects that met his eyes, as he rose from his couch at dawn, were the mist-robed headlands of the beloved Irish coast, and the sight stirred his spirit to the depths with anguish that soon became too much for his human nature to endure. So, gathering his companions once more, he set his sails for the remote isle of Iona—sometimes called Hy, and again Iona—where he founded his establishment, destined to be celebrated throughout the world ere long for its lustre as the centre of light and learning, though situated on the border of Ultima Thule, the limit of civilization.

The ecclesiastical and mortuary ruins of the island are even to-day the objects of reverence, awe and wonder on the part of all who visit the sanctified locality. But though these are the feelings with which persons of impartial and cultivated tastes regard them, the bitter and ignorant souls among the Scots—even among educated and bookish men like the former Duke of Argyll, who was lord of the soil of Iona in Gladstone's time—to disparage and misdescribe the work of St. Columba and those who succeeded him in the mission he had founded there, thus making the place a beacon light for the North of Europe, as Patrick had made Bangor and Clonmacnoise, in Ireland, at an earlier period. Speaking to a party who paid a visit to the sainted isle in his company, he said: "All these buildings are the monuments, not of the freshness and the comparative simplicity of the old Celtic Church, but of the dull and often corrupt monotony of mediæval Romanism." It is a favorite plea of the apologists of heresy that early Christianity differed from that of the Middle Ages. The doctrines taught by St. Patrick, they go so far as to maintain, are the doctrines taught by the Presbyterian Church of to-day. Calvin and Knox introduced that bold sophism, and the Huguenots in France and the Puritans in England proceeded to enlarge upon it by stripping the churches of all embellishments and making the external worship of the Triune God as dry and barren an exercise as a journey through the trackless and sandy deserts of North Africa and Asia Minor. In Cunningham's History of Scotland there is an attempt made to detach the Christianity of Scotland from that introduced by St. Patrick and his companions into Ireland and the Channel Islands. Cunningham asserts that Columba and his disciples were called Cul-dees. "They were a kind of religious recluses who lived in retired places; and this is probably the reason why Iona was fixed upon by St. Columba as the seat of his monastery." The recognized

authorities for the apostle's biography show that this assumption is unfounded. He had chosen Oronsay, as much more northerly, a retreat, but felt compelled to move away so as not to be within sight any longer of the "hills of holy Ireland," that land which held his heart, even while his frame was in another place. Cunningham says that there were convents of Culdees at St. Andrew's, Dunkeld, Dumblane and Brechin from remote antiquity. This would seem to imply that at these places Christianity had been housed even before St. Patrick's time. The name Culdees was seized upon by the Scotch apologists for the Puritans and iconoclasts of the sixteenth century, as denoting a distinct form of early Christianity, but such was not the case. It does not appear in connection with Irish ecclesiastical chronicle until long after Patrick's death. The name, or description, seems to have been bestowed as a distinctive token of deep personal appreciation of one highly prized individual, a precursor of St. Francis in sublime humility. Aengus (or Angus), of the princely Ultonian race, because of his excessive love of God and His poor, was designated Kélé-Dé (meaning Culdee, servant or lover of God). Now, this renowned son of "the black North" (as Ulster is often styled) was not born until the middle of the eighth century, whereas Columba was born in the year 521 A. D. His arrival in Iona is assigned to the year 563—that is to say, when he was 42 years old; and he is given 34 years of labor, in the chronology, ere he passed away. During those years his life was very different from that of "the rapt Culdees," as the contemplative eremites who dwelt alone or with a few companions on little islands in the lakes or the estuaries of great rivers, or on the numerous "cashels" (as the solitary stairlike cliffs that stud the seashore by the Atlantic and the Irish Channel were designated, in the Gaelic language). To these retreats, which offered to the men of the spiritual life so inspiring an atmosphere to place themselves in common with the ever-resonant billows and beneath the starry wonders of the boundless heavens, the more ascetic of the Irish recluses were wont to fly in order to study and pray in quiet, remote from the distractions of towns and kingly courts, with their pomps and vanities.

Though the Culdee preferred the solitary life, the injunction left by St. Patrick, to make every monastery and every cell a seat of learning, was observed, as far as possible in the vicinity of a hermit's retreat, as may be learned from the histories of the early Irish Church. Religious and secular education was given freely at the monasteries; and the children of the neighborhood were gathered in the vicinity of the cells and taught in classes on the green sod around the huts of wattles in which the recluses dwelt. The same methods were followed by St. Columba in Iona and other mission-

ary centres as were those instituted in Ireland by St. Patrick and St. Brigid. Education went hand in hand with religion in the work of civilization. While the strictly necessary work of teaching and preaching was carried on in the daytime, at night the cells of the monks in the monasteries were devoted to the pious work of transcribing the Sacred Scriptures and the glorious hymns of the early Church, in characters of penmanship, often embellished with exquisite pictorial initial letters and scrolls and fanciful borderings whose wonderful tracery compelled the remark that one of the works (the Book of Kells) was the work of angels, not of men. Such were the works that occupied the monks of Ireland and Scotland in the early days of Christianity; and it spread in time to England and the Continent of Europe. In those primitive days the trumpet of fame was blown rarely for any other cause than that of the warrior or the monarch; no other glory was dreamed of by the crowd than that of the triumphant hero of the tented field or the martial games. It is strange that so well-read and widely-traveled an observer as Sir Walter Scott—he who had written rapturously of the architectural glories of Melrose and Roslyn and Holyrood Abbeys—should have fallen into the common rut of misjudgment as to the genius of the monasteries and the effects of the religious life on the higher things of the mind and the destinies of nations. As to the effect of the ruins of Iona on his mind, he wrote:

“It has occurred to me in Iona (as it has on many similar occasions) that the traditional recollections concerning the monks themselves are wonderfully faint, contrasted with the beautiful and interesting monuments of architecture which they have left behind them. In Scotland particularly the people frequently learn traditions wonderfully vivid of the persons and achievements of ancient warriors whose towers have long been levelled with the soil. But of the monks of Melrose, Kelso, Aborbrothock and Iona they can tell nothing but that such a race existed and inhabited the stately ruins of these monasteries. The quiet, slow and uniform life of those recluse beings glided on, it may be, like a dark and silent stream, fed from unknown sources, and vanishing from the eye without leaving any marked trace of its course. The life of the chieftain was a mountain torrent thundering over rock and precipice which, less deep and profound, in itself leaves on the minds of the terrified spectators those deep impressions of awe and wonder which are most readily handed down to posterity.”

There was another poet in one of whose works is found an answer to the supposed enigma upon which Scott comments. There was no enigma about it; Scott knew the reason why oblivion cloaked

the glories of Iona and many another retreat of sublime charity and miracle-compelling love of God and the Blessed Virgin Mary. The ruins of Melrose, Holyrood and Kelso attest it. Robert Southey, in his poem, "The Inchcape Bell," tells of what the "lazy monks" of the Abbey of Aberbrothock did for the service of humanity. They fastened to a float on the fierce cauldron of waters that boils about the Inchcape Rock a large weighty bell, which the waves kept swinging incessantly, to warn the mariners to give a wide berth to that fatal piece of coast. That service to mankind was inimical to the interests of Sir Ralph the Rover, a knight who followed the noble profession of piracy and murder; and so he got himself rowed out to the rock and cut the rope that moored the bell, and that impediment to success in his business disappeared from his path. The mariners who had benefited by its sound used to say "God bless the Abbot of Aberbrothock," but no longer could any mariner have cause to join in the note of gratitude, and the murderous pirate who profited by the honest seamen's loss was not likely to waste his breath in unearned blessings. Many centuries the Abbots of the Holy Trinity on the South coast of England had devoted their lives to the vast work of furnishing all the coast line with warning lights, bells and other devices; and their humane achievements are perpetuated even to-day, in the name of the Governmental department of Britain known as Trinity Board. This is a fact which might strike a mind less imbued with respect for the glamor of ephemeral romance than Scott's as worthy of admiration and a place in history. What work those departed monks did in the way of the salvation of souls that would, were it not for their efforts, have been the prize of the Evil One, all around the British Isles, in the early days of Christianity, can never be known on earth, and it little matters that it did not come to the knowledge of such biased chroniclers as Scott and his school.

It has been customary to regard the Culdees as the highest exemplars of the solitary, contemplative and mystical life, shy of contact with men, and seeking communion only with God through nature and the spirit. St. Fursey, whose unique experiences with the supernatural powers gave him a personal knowledge of things of which Dante only dreamed when composing his wonderful "Divina Commedia," is not ordinarily classed among the Culdees, although he was a mystic of the mystics and educated in the monastery reared by St. Brendan and his companions on an island in Lough Corrib (then called Lough Orbsen). The first monk or anchorite to whom the term Culdee applied was Ængus or Angus (above mentioned)—a member of the illustrious royal sept of the Ulster Dalaradians, descendants of Coelberch, monarch of Ire-

land in the fourth century—one of the stock of Ir, third son of Milesius, founder of the Milesian line of Kings. The date of Angus' birth is assigned to the middle of the eighth century. Though his parents belonged to Ulster, some part of Lagenia (Leinster) is said to have been his birthplace. He was sent at an early age to the monastic schools of Clonenagh, in Offaly; and in these he applied himself with much zeal and diligence to the study of the arts and sciences, for which the Irish schools were at that time renowned all over the Continent of Europe, that when his academic course was ended he was a phenomenon of erudition. He was, we are told, well versed in Greek and Latin, as well as the Gaelic lore of Ireland, and moreover a capable student of the Sacred Scriptures. He then joined the religious community at Clonenagh, and made a deep impression on the brethren there by his strict observance of the rules and his intense devotion at prayer; above all, by a humility of bearing and a sweetness of disposition to all those around him, with a cheerfulness in the performance of whatever duty was assigned him, that his companions spontaneously gave him the distinctive characterization, "*Ængus, Kélé-Dé*"—the servant or lover of God. That this was a unique distinction is attested by the fact that although the establishment at Clonenagh was renowned for the sanctity as well as the learning of its teachers—the head of it at that particular time being the holy Abbot Malathgenius—no one had seemed to deserve such a distinction before the appearance of Angus. The name itself (it may be remarked, by the way) must have been long in use in Ireland because of the fact that the oldest military structure, a rath or fortress, situate on the island of Arranmore, the largest island of the Arran group off the Galway coast, is called Fort *Ængus*. It is a structure of the Pelasgian type—that is, of huge untrimmed stones, flung in loose order, in irregular fashion, but still presenting the form of a great circle, as a circumvallation to a military camp—on the edge of the Atlantic Ocean, as an outpost to the defenses of the Emerald Isle. As to what period of Irish history it belongs, there is no use in attempting to surmise, for history is silent on the subject. The Pelasgian or Mycenean style in fortification work was very common all over the Western regions in the twilight cycle of Western history. The name is frequently met with in Scottish history, as well as Irish.

But to return to the gentle Culdee and his relations to the community whose life he had stirred by the ardor of his desire to promote the sublime cause of God among men. He began to realize a danger in the deep affection with which they regarded him as the servant of the Most High and a model for the religious life. He found people coming to him from many places, attracted by his rep-

utation for wisdom as well as holiness, in order to obtain advice on difficult problems in their daily lives and spiritual direction in the most delicate concerns of the soul as well as worldly affairs. Such a distinction he deemed unmerited—invidious, perhaps, he may have also deemed it, in his own judgment of himself. Remembering the word of His crucified Lord, "Learn of Me, for I am meek and humble of heart," he shrank from such affectionate notoriety; he determined to withdraw from the situation of temptation and place himself outside the danger zone. He sought permission from his superiors to retire to some sequestered spot where he could continue his studies and devote himself more assiduously to prayer and meditation on the mysteries of God and their relation to the human soul, His most precious creation among all created things. His request was granted. He withdrew to a spot in the woods on the north bank of the River Nore, about seven miles from the monastery in which he had been trained, not very distant from the present town of Mountrath. In a little oratory amid the woods he gave way to his longing for prayer and his desire to dip more deeply into religious studies and become in very truth "the rapt Culdee" that was the dream of his youth and high-soaring young manhood. Three hundred times a day he prayed on bended knees, and between one sunrise and the next he sang the entire Psalter—one hundred and fifty psalms in all—fifty in the little oratory in the wood, fifty under a great shady tree in the open air, and the other fifty while standing in the cold water of the river which ran near his retreat. Such arduous exercises and austerities may seem supererogatory, there can be no doubt, to people of the present day, but the day in which those early apostles lived was very different. They were servants of God, sent into the world for a specific purpose—the highest one that men could be chosen to fulfill—that of making God known to millions who had never the truth as to Him and His purposes. It was an age of miracles—for these were imperative to impress the ignorant Pagan auditory with the fact that those who were sent to enlighten them did not come without credentials from the great Lord of All to prove that He is all-powerful as well as all-holy and all-just. Many miracles were wrought while Patrick was struggling with the Druid priesthood—who professed to be masters of the black arts—as the priests of Bel and the keepers of the dragon that we read of in the Old Testament, at the end of the Book of Daniel.

There are in this hard, materialistic age many, even among the learned professions and among the teaching staffs of great universities, who scoff at the idea of the power of prayer. If they are told of the wonders wrought by the early saints who converted the British Isles and afterwards the European Continent, they pay no atten-

tion. They will not deny that such things had been, but they are content to maintain a cynical silence. Sneer as much as they will, these people of a superior age cannot destroy the facts of history which have been admitted by the most stubborn skeptics, concerning the marvels of the Thebaid, the anchorites of the hills of Palestine and the mountains of Syria. Although these men of exalted piety and profound learning fled from the world for the sole purpose of gaining wisdom by communing with God in the solemn stillness of the desert—the waste which the fancy of the Oriental peoples has happily styled the Garden of Allah—many and many a traveler went forth from the great cities outside the sandy stretches to seek at the hermit's cenobium the help, the counsel, the refreshment, spiritual and physical, which they needed to help them along the dusty road of life. Angus appeared to have studied the life of St. Macarius the Elder, one of the most renowned fathers of the Lower Egyptian desert. The story of his life exemplifies the great truth that conquers all difficulties that beset the path of the Christian who aspires in all sincerity and zeal to follow Christ is the one on which He Himself laid most emphasis—humility. The erudite and delightful Irish essayist, Mrs. Sarah Atkinson, in one of her numerous biographical sketches, believed it was the study of the life and services of St. Macarius that impelled St. Angus to adopt the mode of life he did, in shunning the places where he would be exposed to frequent contact with men and women of the busy world, and the tributes of adulation which such are always—and naturally—ready to pour forth when they have received comfort and consolation in the crises which all mortals must expect to encounter on the checkered highway of life. Humility, then, Macarius had made up his mind so firmly to practice and adhere to in all things. "Satan himself acknowledged that the anchorite defeated all his efforts by this resistless weapon. 'I can surpass thee in watching, fasting and many other things,' he said, 'but humility vanquishes and disarms me.' However, this all-conquering virtue had not been acquired without many a sharp encounter and much long-suffering in resisting temptation. Once he was so beset by the enemy of mankind with suggestions of vainglory, and so worn out in the prolonged warfare, that he implored Almighty God day and night to give him a true humiliation and free him once for all from the tantalizing attacks of the evil spirit. Heaven heard his petition, and he received a command to go to a certain city a considerable distance off, where two persons lived who had reached a higher perfection than the hermit of the desert, and who could teach him the secret of their preëminent virtue.

"The good and faithful servants to whose door the spirit of God

led the anchorite turned out to be two homely married women, who for fifteen years had dwelt in the same house together in perfect peace, attracting no attention, having nothing remarkable in themselves or in their circumstances, but cheerfully obeying their husbands, taking the best care of their children, diligently laboring in their household affairs, speaking no rash or idle words, and making all around them happy. Having learned thus much, Macarius besought those simple souls to disclose to him their way of life. 'Oh, my father, it is not worth the trouble,' they answered. But as he insisted, they told him that their endeavor was to keep themselves in the presence of God while engaged in their household affairs, that in a spirit of recollection they sanctified their actions by ardent ejaculations, striving thereby to praise God and to consecrate to the divine glory all the powers of soul and body. "That is all we can do for love of Him," they added, 'and it is, alas! very little.'

"This, then, was what Macarius had come out of the desert to learn! But it was enough—a lesson of humble fidelity to duty and constant love—a revelation of the goodness of God, who, by lowly ways no less than by aspiring paths, leads the sincere soul to its heavenly destination, who makes a tabernacle for the children of the kingdom even in the midst of Babylon, and as recompense for the modest sacrifice of a willing soul and a loving heart bestows the crown of life."

Bearing this lesson in mind, the uneasy though most devout Culdee, Angus, grew alarmed when he found that his bosky retreat near the river had been found out by admirers who had heard of his fame from former friends. The adjacent river had been used as a convenient highway by these solicitous friends, who floated their leathern coracles down the stream or paddled them up with the tide, in order to get into communication with one of so great a renown for sanctity. An idea struck him that he would succeed better in his quest of the best way to serve his Maker by foregoing, for the time, his ardent pursuit of knowledge and throwing himself into a life of hard obedience, practical humility and strenuous manual toil. He had heard of an extensive monastery on the eastern seaboard of the island, at the foot of a chain of mountains; and this he set out on foot to locate and seek its hospitality. Having crossed the Curragh of Kildare, then known as St. Brigid's Pastures, he bent his steps toward the Dublin Mountains, and on the open country beyond found the monastery founded by St. Melruan, by the generosity of the King of Leinster, Donnoch. Footsore and travel-stained, Angus appeared before Melruan, the Abbot, and humbly supplicated to be given employment as a menial to do the rough work of the monastery! Though the good Abbot was not a little surprised at the

modesty of the pilgrim's petition, he deemed it best to take him at his word and gratify his strange desire. He appointed him to the charge of the mill and the limekiln, and help in the field and works, in any way he could make himself serviceable. With a sack of grain on his shoulders and trudging along to the mill, to have it ground, his face covered with perspiration and his hair all unkempt, the new-comer looked anything at all but the man of letters, the poet and the master of psalmody that he really was. But that mattered not to him, since his new desire was to be an abject in the house of his Maker and his Saviour, Who had humbled Himself to the shame of the Cross for his redemption. He beguiled his time at his laborious drudgery by singing hymns of praise in Latin or Gaelic, or reciting the poems of St. Columba and St. Coleman, "The Altus" and "Son of Mary, Shield Us," or St. Patrick's great invocation before the Druids, "At Tara to-day, at this awful hour, I call on the Holy Trinity," all of which were very much beloved of the disguised Culdee. It was while laboring at his painful toil that Angus composed his most famous literary work, a Festology of all the saints of the Church, as they were known throughout the world at that particular era. This monumental work is divided into three parts, with subdivisions, making altogether 590 quatrains. It is written in Gaelic, in what is called chain verse, the last word of the first quatrain being repeated at the beginning of the second one, and so on until the end. The following is a literal translation of five of the verses, and they serve to give a good idea of the key in which the work was pitched:

Sanctify, O Christ, my words:—

O Lord of the seven heavens!

Grant me the gift of wisdom,

O sovereign of the bright sun!

O bright sun who dost illuminate

The heavens with all their holiness!

O King who governest the angels!

O Lord of all the people!

O Lord of all the people,

O King all righteous and good!

May I receive the full benefit

Of praising thy royal hosts!

Thy royal hosts I praise

Because thou art my Sovereign:

I have disposed my mind

To be constantly beseeching Thee!

I beseech a favor from Thee:
That I may be purified from my sins,
Through the peaceful bright-shining flock,
The royal host whom I celebrate.

A poem giving in beautiful and touching language an account of the sufferings of the early Christian martyrs and pointing out how these are remembered while the names of their persecutors are consigned to oblivion, follows this magnificent invocation:

Several years passed tranquilly with the disguised Culdee, toiling cheerily at his lowly work, and reciting his prayers and his hymns of gladness, in the fields or in the woods, with no auditory save the browsing kine and the sheep and lambs, and the feathered denizens of the woods, keeping the happy saint company with their untaught melodies. But his identity was at last disclosed to Abbot Melruan, in a sort of miraculous way: A rather dull sort of boy had suddenly become bright and apt at his lessons, after having fled from school and taken refuge with the Culdee. Having soothed and encouraged the boy, the saint got from him the reason why he had played truant, and then went and pleaded with the teacher, so that the lad was forgiven and reinstated. But the change which had been effected in him was so very astonishing that the teacher deemed it proper to mention the matter to the Abbot; and the latter, after pondering the circumstances and remembering many things in the Culdee's manner and speech which had often seemed incompatible with the humble position he had sought for, and mindful also of the tales he had heard of the disappearance of Angus of Clonenagh, came to the conclusion that the very retiring stranger could be none other than the missing anchorite of the West. He sought Angus out and put the question straight unto the wondering culprit! The secret could no longer be kept, and so Angus confessed and begged forgiveness for practicing what seemed a harmless deception. The Abbot was overjoyed at the revelation that he had been entertaining "an angel unawares," as it really seemed to him. He invited his delightful visitor to join formally the community among whom he had been laboring in an obscure capacity and sharing publicly in their services of worship, teaching the people all around the famous monastery at Tallaght. Angus was appointed to lecture on the higher sciences in the upper schools, as well as to teach theology to the young religious. Abbot Melruan had long been engaged in the preparation of a prose martyrology, and he now secured the coöperation of one who had already made a great reputation as a master in that sacred field. The work, when completed, was entitled "*Martyrologium Aengusii Filii Hoblenii et Mel-*

ruanii." It is considered to be one of the oldest and at the same time most copious authorities on the martyrs ever compiled up to that period. Angus also wrote a Festology and a work entitled "Saltair-na-Rawn, or Psalter of Verses" in Gaelic. The renowned Celtic scholar, Eugene O'Curry, wrote, concerning the works of Angus the Culdee, that he doubted "whether any country on the European Continent possesses a national document of so important a character as the Festology of St. Ængus." Matthew Arnold, the eminent Greek teacher and critic, declared that the diction and style of this old Irish saint were not surpassed by any of the old Greek authors.

It has been customary for Scottish writers, when treating of the architectural marvels of Iona and the influence of such men as St. Columba, to endeavor to sustain a theory that such anchorites as he and his companions in missionary labor were representatives of an exceptional caste, and that they were careful to keep themselves immune from temptation by having their coenaculæ as far removed from the haunts of women as possible. Amongst the ruins on Iona there is a very elegant one called the Nunnery of St. Mary. It is believed to have been erected about the close of the twelfth century. It contains, amongst other monumental remains, the tomb of Prioress Anna, with the date, 1511. The nuns were driven out, along with the priests, as soon as Knox and his iconoclasts got hold of the reins of power. Iona got into the possession of the recreant Campbell, better known as the Duke of Argyll, whose best monuments, according to the popular verdict, were the milestones which he caused to be erected on the highways, and which were utilized by the drovers' cattle as scratching posts, with a mock benison on the Duke's sainted memory!

The nuns were originally settled, says one Scotch commentator, on a small island near Iona called the Isle of Nuns, "for St. Columba knew the human heart, and that it was well to keep the fair tempters out of the way of the monks." This is just the way with such moralists as Luther and Calvin. These two certainly knew the human heart on its wicked side, and put their knowledge to evil uses. It was by an irony of fate that the latter's own daughter was one of those whom he had to punish for transgressing the laws against immorality which he had enacted in Berne when he was doing heretics to death as dictator of that part of the Swiss Republic. Not less than St. Columba did St. Patrick "know the human heart," and his profound knowledge of it caused him to look to it for his greatest help in winning over the heart of Ireland to the love of God and His Blessed Mother. Brigid is a name not less blest in Ireland than that of Patrick, because of her surpassing graces of

mind and soul, and the intense love of the men and women of her own "holy Ireland," as she was soon justified in styling her native land, as soon as it became acquainted with the story of Christianity as told by Patrick's lips.

Wherever St. Columba and his missionaries went, throughout Dalraida, Strathclyde and the hundred isles of the West, spreading the light of the Gospel, they took the devotion to St. Brigid along with them, and her fame was no less great in Scotland than it was in Ireland. St. Bride, as Montalembert, Alban Butler, Boetius and many other writers on ecclesiastical history attest the fact that St. Brigid was in many places hardly less venerated than Blessed Mary, Mother of Jesus; she was known all over Europe as Brigid, "the glory of Ireland." She was commemorated in the Divine Office in most churches of Germany and France for more than a thousand years. Wherever Patrick began to build a church St. Brigid came along to crown the work by planning a convent and school. With Patrick and Brigid education and religion went hand in hand. The education of women in household duties formed a principal part in Brigid's curriculum.

Scott, in some of his works, approaches in malign bigotry the splenetic fury of Knox himself. Speaking, for instance, of the ridge in the cemetery in Iona, which is called the Graves of the Kings ("Jamaire na 'n Righrean"), he says "that these can now scarce be said to exist, though the site is still pointed out. Undoubtedly the thirst of spoil, and the frequent custom of burying treasures with the ancient princes, occasioned their early violation; nor am I any sturdy believer in their being regularly ticketed off inscriptions into the tombs of the Kings of Scotland, of Ireland, of Norway, and so forth. If such inscriptions ever existed I should deem them the work of some crafty Bishop or Abbot, for the credit of his diocese or convent."

Not very easy would it be for even so erudite a romancer as "the Wizard of the North" (as Scott was commonly referred to in his period) to find any reliable record of an Abbot or Bishop forging a name on a tombstone! There were some reverend persons at the Synod of Argyle who might have been capable of doing bold things for the sake of religion. At that Synod all the crosses and other memorials of the dead and the Crucifixion of Our Lord were ordered to be thrown into the sea as idolatrous relics. The island was at that time covered with these touching memorials; only a few fragments of them here and there remain to tell of the pious loyalty of the past.

The memory of St. Columba still clings around the sacred ruins of Iona. There is a tradition that he predicted its vicissitudes, some

time before he died, in a few lines, of which the English rendering is the following:

O sacred dome and my beloved abode,
Whose walls now echo to the praise of God,
The time shall come when lauding monks shall cease,
And lowing herds here occupy their place,
But better ages shall hereafter come
And praise reëcho in the sacred dome.

A powerful invasion of the Danish sea-robbers reduced the sainted isle to the same conditions as many other holy places on the Irish coast a couple of centuries after Columba died, and so the prediction was in part borne out by history. But the old Church is winning its way back in England, and even in some parts of the more northern island. A few of the ancient families still hold aloft the torch of faith amidst the Highland hills and glens, and the fierce storm of the great war may ere long fan the living sparks into a genial blaze once more by the shores of Ultima Thule.

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TWO MASTERS OF THE BYZANTINE MYSTICISM—DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE AND MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR.

DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE.

THE decay of Christian mysticism by the overgrowth of an ascetic moralism within the compass of the fifth century does not indicate that interest in the working out of mystical expediences was lost sight of in the Byzantine Church. It is true, no doubt, that the increasing weight of dogmatic controversies at the epoch of the Emperor Justinian I. (527-565) and the gradual disappearance of the Origenistic theories culminated in a blending of theological truths and ascetic rules of life and in the casting away of the speculative element from the systems of Christian mysticism. But the seeds of mystical thoughts, deeply sown into the Byzantine soul, were kept alive, and when, in the first decades of the sixth century, the writings of an anonymous mystic calling himself by the name of Dionysius the Areopagite made their sudden appearance in the Greek Church, they budded and blossomed in a rich harvest and raised up waves of enthusiasm.

The veil of mystery that wraps the name and personality of the Areopagite has not been pierced by the ceaseless efforts of unbiased searchers. We do not tarry to discuss the hypotheses to which gave birth the writings that came down to us under his name. Harnack finds the most ancient reference to them in the Church History of Zacharias Rhetor, Bishop of Mitylene. Severus of Antioch quoted them at a Council held at Tyre no later than the year 513.¹ Dieckamp follows their earliest traces in the writings of Andreas of Cæsarea.² But it is a common belief that their welcome into the history of Christian mysticism coincides with a religious conference held in the year 533 at Constantinople between the Orthodox and the Severians. A complete account of it has been preserved in a poor Latin translation of a letter of Innocent of Mania.³

Whatever may be the date of the composition of the Dionysian writings, it is a recognized fact that, as soon as they were circulated, they awakened a keen interest in the ranks of the most genial representatives of the Byzantine theology. Maximus the

¹ "Hist. of Dogma," iv., 283.

² Koch, "Pseudo Dionysius Areopagita," Mainz, 1900, p. 6.

³ Hefele, "Hist. of the Councils," iv., 176-181; Stiglmayr, "Das Aufkommen der pseudo-Dionysischen Schriften und ihr Eindringen in die christliche Literatur," Feldkirch, 1895; pp. 59-63.

Confessor wrote scholia on them, and from the end of the sixth century onwards their influence became very great in the Eastern Church, partly because their readers felt in them the genius of a master mind and partly because there were found in them cogent arguments and proofs in favor of existing Church institutions and ecclesiastical authority.⁴

In Western Christianity the Dionysian writings were appreciated as oracles of the divine Wisdom and their utterances quoted as final expressions of the Christian truths. For ten centuries their mystical sap nourished legions of high mystic souls. Their genius hovers over the greatest masters of scholastic thought. Their doctrine was the spiritual bee-bread of the whole Middle Ages. One of the sharpest critics of his mystical teaching, Robert Vaughan, says: 'The "Areopagite became the mythical hero of mysticism. You find traces of him everywhere. Go almost where you will through the writings of the mediæval mystics, into their depths of nihilism, up their heights of rapture and of speculation, through their overgrowth of fancy, you find his authority cited, his words employed, his opinions more or less fully transmitted. Passages from the Areopagite were culled, as their warrant and their insignia, by the priestly ambassadors of mysticism, with as much care and reverence as the sacred verbenæ that grew within the enclosure of the Capitoline by the Fetæles of Rome."⁵

It is only at the dawn of the Reformation that the crown of glory glittering around his name began to lose its radiance. Luther dubbed him with the name of Lûger and slurred over his fabulous compilation.⁶ To those who sought to abate his authority it was not a difficult task to put in full light that the pretended disciple of St. Paul was an impostor, "a Syrian monk, who probably perpetrated a deliberate fraud, a pious fraud in his own opinion, by suppressing his own individuality."⁷ A careful study of his teaching made plain that it is "Neöplatonian philosophy slightly sprinkled with baptismal water from a Christian font."⁸ The Athenian converted by Paul came to be a pupil of Proclus, a plagiarist of heathen philosophers ill affected towards Christianity.

No doubt the authenticity of the Dionysian writings in the present state of patristic researches cannot be reasonably asserted, just as the unmistakable stamp of Neöplatonian thought impressed on them cannot be denied. The Christian character, however, of those priceless masterpieces of mystical speculation has never been a matter

⁴ Jones, p. 99.

⁵ "Hours With the Mystics," I., 98.

⁶ Lehmann, "Mystik im Hidentum und Christentum," Leipzig, 1908; p. 75f.

⁷ Inge, p. 105.

⁸ Jones, p. 110.

of dispute. The mysterious Dionysius was a Christian culler of the fairest Neoplatonic flowers. The groundwork of his majestic building is drawn on purely Christian lines. His system is a finished synthesis of Christian inward experiences analyzed in the pale gleams of a rationalistic philosophy. He knew the secret of using piously the writings of Greeks against the Greeks," and took advantage of their experience to light up the arcana of the indwelling of God in the temple of a deified soul.

The importance of the mystic teaching of the Areopagite is so generally admitted that, in spite of the rust of modern prejudices against mysticism, they do not cease to be highly appreciated by competent judges. In many ways this anonymous monk, says R. M. Jones, who was to teach the foremost Christians for ten centuries to come, served the truth. He kindled in multitudes of souls a pure passion for God, and taught very dark ages that the one thing worth seeking with the entire being is God. He iterated and reiterated that God Himself is the ground of the soul, and that there is an inward way to Him open to all men. He insisted on personal experience as the primary thing in religion, and so became the father of a great family of devout and saintly mystics, who advanced true religion in spite of errors of conception. And he did well in maintaining that there is an experience of Reality which transcends more head-knowledge—a finding of God in which the whole being, heart, will, and mind are expanded and satisfied, even though language cannot formulate what is being experienced (P. 111f).

"The importance of Dionysius," according to Miss Underhill, "lies in the fact that he was the first and for a long time the only Christian writer who attempted to describe frankly and accurately the workings of the mystical consciousness and the nature of its ecstatic attainment of God. So well did he do his work that later contemplatives, reading him, found their most sublime and amazing experiences reflected and partly explained. Hence in describing those experiences, they adopted in their turn his language and metaphors, which afterwards became the classic terms of contemplative science" (P. 545f). "His works," says Thorold, "which succeeded in demonstrating that all the truth which the Platonist school had discovered in humanity was found in Christianity in a far purer and more perfect form, gave to mystical speculation a solid basis on which the following centuries did but continue the edifice already begun."¹⁰

The Dionysian mystical schemes are clothed in a tangled envelope

⁹ Ep., vii., 2.

¹⁰ "An Essay on Catholic Mysticism," London, 1900; p. 77.

of new-coined words, of abstruse metaphysical terms, and, as W. R. Inge says, hidden in the mists of a barbarous jargon (P. 106). His style seems to Vaughan to be verbose, turgid and destitute of all genuine feeling (I, 97). Due justice has been done to these reproaches by unbiased writers. In coining new words to shape new aspects of the truth or new conceptions of the mind, Dionysius followed a rule that finds its general application in the historic development of each of the sciences. Besides, if in his philosophy he goes to the further extreme of **refinement in definitions**, it must be remembered that the subtleties of the Greek language made possible to him expressions of thought for which Latin is cumbrously inadequate and of which English is incapable.¹¹ In any case his neologisms enriched the style of Christian philosophy and became familiar with later mystics.

The main theses of the mystical teaching of Dionysius are as follows: (1), God, considered in His essential immobility, is an unfathomable abyss of supereminent perfections; (2), God pours Himself through His creatures by the diffusive power of His infinite goodness; (3), Creatures attracted by God return to Him, their first cause and last end. The central conception of Dionysian mysticism is the abstract perfection of the Absolute. Of God he speaks as a philosopher rather than as a mystic. He attains to God on the wings of his speculative genius rather than on the wings of his God-loving heart. God is the exhaustless source of all perfections. Assuming all names, He cannot be named. To draw nearer to Him there are two ways, the *affirmative* and the *negative*, because at the same time God is of much utterance, and of briefest utterance, and without utterance.¹² The affirmative way from the above descends to the lowest. The negative way, on the contrary, from below ascends to that which is above, and, in proportion as we ascend to the higher, the expressions meaning God are circumscribed, and after a complete ascent we become voiceless.¹³ The Areopagite does not at all ignore the affirmative way in his mystical experiences. He names God the Super-God, the Super-Essential, the Super-Living, the Super-Wise.¹⁴ He is the essential Source and Middle and End; the Cause, in every way, of things existing, and all things existing are predicated of Him.¹⁵ He is the Almighty, the self-existent Wisdom, the self-existent Life, the self-existent Power. He is named from things existing, and especially from the first existing.¹⁶ But the sympathies of Dionysius are with the negative

¹¹ Jones, p. 93.

¹² "Myst. Theol." I., 3.

¹³ *Ib.*, III.

¹⁴ Div. Nom., II., 3.

¹⁵ *Ib.*, v., 8.

¹⁶ *Ib.*, XI., 5.

way, and all the great mystics gave their sanction to his method. The Godhead is above all names, above all expressions, above all created minds. "God has no name nor expression. We lift the soul out of things kindred to itself, and conduct it through all the divine conceptions above which towers that which is above every name and every expression and knowledge, and at the furthest extremity attach it to him."¹⁷ The super-essential illimitability is placed above things essential, and the Unity above Mind above the Minds, and the One above conception is inconceivable to all conceptions, and the Good above word is unutterable by Word. God is speechlessness and inconception and namelessness.¹⁸ The words of the Areopagite, newly coined to point out the narrowness and unfitness of human language and mind whenever we attempt to soar into the regions of dazzling light, are often of an uncommon boldness: God is par excellence "nothing in anything at all"¹⁹ "God is the abstraction of all."²⁰ The names common to the whole Deity belong to the superlative abstraction.²¹ God is incomprehensible to all. Of Him there is neither perception, nor imagination, nor surmise, nor names, nor expression, nor contact, nor knowledge; He is without name and above all names.²²

Thus the God of Dionysius' system can hardly be looked upon as a reflection of the earlier Christian faith. It is the off-spring of a laborious evolution of mystical thought. The new Dionysian phraseology clothes Christian theodicy with sheer Neo-Platonism. The conception of the Godhead in the mystical teaching of the Areopagite is truly the fruit of a ripe speculation, the supreme abstraction of a reasoning mind rather than the burning bush of a God-loving heart. Perhaps it might be said that Dionysius descants on God as He reveals Himself in the highest regions of ecstatic experiences, as He shines to souls filled and fired with love in the last state of perfection, in the rapture of the divine contemplation. No doubt, in the splendors of the beatific vision, the deified souls close the eyes to external things, and need no longer the perceptions of the bodily senses to gaze at the eternal fountain of the light of each created intellect. By the divine action in the loftiest stages of the spiritual life, the knowledge that we have of God becomes metaphysical in the sense that it perfects itself in a purely intellectual way of abstraction from earthly things. But it cannot be denied that the emotional element is wanting in the speculative con-

¹⁷ Div. Nom., xiii., 3.

¹⁸ Div. Nom., i., 1.

¹⁹ "Myst. Theol.," 5.

²⁰ Div. Nom., ii., 4.

²¹ Ib., ii., 3.

²² Ib., i., 5.

ception of God, as elaborated by Dionysius, and it would be no wrong to agree here with the views expressed by R. M. Jones: "One sees at once that we are far away from the simplicity and concreteness of the Gospels. We are dealing not with the Father Whom Christ has revealed, but with the *Absolute One* of metaphysics, who is beyond all revelations. We have, too, passed from the Pauline conception of an immanent God in Whom men live and move and are, to a mysticism based on emanations from a hidden centre. The mischief of turning away from the concrete to the abstract, from the God Who is known to an unknowable eity, is fully committed in these writings, and the groping of centuries after a God Who hides is the pitiful result."²³

The metaphysical idea of God, so fully developed in the Dionysian writings, is a preliminary step to the teaching of the mystic communion of God with man and of the gradual development of the Christian's spiritual life. Like all created beings, the soul is attracted by God and sunned in His light. Dionysius employs beautiful comparisons to show that the attractive force that lifts man heavenwards comes from above. "God elevates us to the higher ascent of the divine and good rays. As if a luminous chain were suspended from the celestial heights and reached down hither, we, by ever clutching this higher, first with one hand and then with the other, seem indeed to draw it down, but in reality we do not draw it down, but ourselves are carried upward to the higher splendors of the luminous rays."²⁴ Being attracted by God, the mystic souls hurry after the final goal of the spiritual life, the deification, that is, the assimilation and oneness towards God as far as permissible,²⁵ a divine participation in the divine perfections, the most luscious meal of the banquet of contemplation.

The process of the blossoming and flowering of contemplative light is outlined in a very synthetic passage of the *Divine Names*: "The *Good* is called spiritual light, on the ground that it fills every supercelestial mind with spiritual light, and expels all ignorance and error from all the souls in which they may be, and imparts to them all sacred light, and cleanses their mental vision from the mists which envelop them, from ignorance, and stirs up and unfolds those enclosed by the great weight of darkness, and imparts, at first, a measured radiance: then, whilst they taste, as it were, the light, and desire it more, it more fully gives Itself, and more abundantly enlightens them, because they have loved much, and ever elevates them to things in advance, as befits the analogy of each for aspiration."²⁶

²³ P. 111.

²⁴ Div. Nom., III., 1.

²⁵ "Eccles. Hier.," I., 3.

The divine nature is portrayed as energetic power, cleansing, illuminating and perfecting. God is a holy purification, illumination and perfection above purification, above light, preëminently perfect.²⁷

In this super-essential light of God all celestial and human minds participate. God's perfections are reflected in the works of His hands, by a wonderful progression from the highest to the lowest degree. The participated perfection of God follows the rungs of a mystical ladder. As far as beings placed on them go down from God, the rays of the divine sun lose somewhat of their intensity without ever dying away in a complete extinction. In a few words the process of mystical life throughout the chain of rational beings ascent in the scale of the minds that commune with God and long for being lost in His Being. This geometric progression in the pathway of the mystical life is called the *hierarchy*, that is, "a sacred order and science and energy, assimilated, as far as possible, to the likeness of God, and conducted to the illuminations granted to itself from God, in due order, with a view to the divine Imitation."²⁸ The hierarchy is the central thought and the vivifying principle of the mystical scheme of the Areopagite. It gives to it a logical basis and a clue to the multifarious participation in the life of God by rational beings.

The scope of the hierarchy is assimilation and oneness with God, holding Him as the leader of all religious science and energy, looking unflinchingly to His most divine comeliness, and moulding itself as far as possible, and perfecting its own followers as divine images, as mirrors luminous and without flaw, receptive of the primal light and the Divine ray and devoutly filled with the radiant committed to itself, but, on the other hand, imparting this radiant ungrudgingly to those who follow it. Since the diffusive power of God expands both in heaven and on earth, the streams of mystical life pass over through Angels and men; the radiance of God by degrees, from heavenly summits sinks into earthly valleys. "The system," observes Vaughan, "reminds one of those pictures which are divided into two compartments, the upper occupied by Angels and cherubs on the clouds, and the lower by human beings on the earth, gazing devoutly at their celestial benefactors."²⁹

The mysticism of heaven is loftier than that of earth because angels share in the participation of the divine gifts in a higher degree. Angels are divided into three threefold orders by the divine Init

²⁷ Div. Nom., iv., 5.

²⁷ "Coel. Hier.," iii.

²⁸ "Coel. Hier.," iii.

²⁹ I., 94.

³⁰ "Coel. Hier.," iv.

tor. At the highest stages of the heavenly mystical ladder we find the most holy thrones and the cherubim and the seraphim, for they are immediately near to the earliest illuminations of the Godhead. The second order is composed of the authorities, lordships and powers. The third, the lowest, of the angels, archangels and principalities.⁸¹

Man is the central point of the mysticism of earth. Like angels, men are to be purified, illuminated, and perfected in their loftiest aim at a conscious fellowship with God. A hierarchy of ministers achieves that threefold function. Deacons clean the uninitiated through the initiations; priests impart light to those who have been cleansed; bishops complete the partakers of the light by the perfect skill in the illuminations contemplated.⁸²

The first rank of mystic souls is that of those who are being purified; the next of those who after their purification contemplate the mysteries; the third of those who are illuminated with the perfect science of the divine contemplation.

The purification of the soul, achieved by the baptismal water, is pursued by the throwing off of both sensible perceptions and intellectual efforts and all objects of sense and intelligence.⁸³

Man ought to live an angelic life, and to go back to God when he has departed from Him by sin.⁸⁴ It is to be noted here that Dionysian mysticism does not assume an ascetic shape. In his teaching the purification of the soul takes place in the realm of metaphysical truths and abstractions. The Areopagite does not linger on the description of the fierce struggle between mind and senses, between high aspirations and downward inclinations in man. The purification of the soul is an intellectual one. The nearer we approach to God, the purer from the mingling of the perceptions of the senses our mind becomes. Evil itself is spiritualized in the mystical system of the Areopagite. Evil is not in nature.⁸⁵ Evil is not an actual thing, nor is evil in things existing. For evil, *qua* evil, is nowhere, and the fact that evil comes into being is not in consequence of power, but by reason of weakness.⁸⁶

"Man is purified when he becomes able to read in the book of nature the symbolism of God, when he looks upon visible beauties as reflections of the invisible comeliness; and the sweet odors of the senses as emblems of spiritual bounties; and the material light, as a likeness of the gift of the immaterial enlightenment."⁸⁷

⁸¹ *Ib.*, vi.

⁸² "Eccles. Hier.," v.

⁸³ "Myst. Theol.," i., 1.

⁸⁴ *Div. Nom.*, vi., 2.

⁸⁵ *Ib.*, iv., 26.

⁸⁶ *Ib.*, iv., 34.

⁸⁷ "Coel. Hier.," 1.

Purification is followed by illumination. The beauty of the Being shines like the sun in the purified soul, more or less, according to the natural capacity of the recipient. Illumination is upward flight of the soul that enters into the atmosphere of the Divine. A new field, an unlimited field of vision, stretches out before spiritual eyes. The atmosphere surrounding the Ineffable One is impalpable, invisible, super-essential, super-bright gloom, a gloom beyond all and above mind, a deepest darkness.³⁸ In the insensate presence of God we stand out of our whole selves and become part of God.³⁹ By gradual ascents men pluck from within the infinite God the hidden meaning and unsurpassed values of the divine life and mysteries: they adore God in a wordless prayer, in a silent adoration. Their contemplation is not a monotonous inactivity. They are supremely active in the bosom of God.

The contemplation of God fires the soul with love. The goal of the mystical life, the oneness of God, may be attained only by love. But the love of God as portrayed by Dionysius is not characterized by those outbursts of passion which are the dominant features of the early religious mysticism. As Jones truly says in the Dictionary of Mysticism, "In the Dionysian writings we hear enough of love, but it is no longer the love of the primitive message. The love of this monk is not a passionate love which means self-sharing and self-giving. It is rather an emotional sensuous thrill, an exhilaration, intoxication even, which the mystic experiences from divine contact—and it descends easily to the level of some dreams and pathological states (P. 110f)."

By love and contemplation the mystic soul enters into the final stage, attains to perfection. Perfection, in the Dionysian mysticism, is the departure of the soul from the visible world and its absorption into the invisible one.

In this final state of mystic perfection the knowledge of God transcends the powers of the bodily senses. By a resistless and ecstatic ascent it is carried on high, to the super-essential ray of the Divine Darkness.⁴¹ It gazes at the Divine Being in a full agnosia. Agnosia is "a gloom veritably mystic, within which man closes his perceptions of knowledge and enters into the altogether impalpable and unseen, being wholly of Him Who is beyond all and above all, neither himself nor other: and by inactivity of all knowledge is united in his better part to the altogether unknown, and by knowing nothing, knowing above minds."⁴² On this highest rung of the mystical scale the deified soul loses its power of reasoning, it

³⁸ Div. Nom., v., 2; "Myst. Theol.," I., 1, 2; II., 1; III., 1.

³⁹ Div. Nom., VII., 1.

⁴⁰ "Eccles. Hier.," I.

⁴¹ "Myst. Theol.," I., 1.

⁴² *Ib.*, I., 2.

tration of mind. Its spiritual eyes are blinded by the exceeding intensity of the divine light. But its ignorance is not to be considered as a want of perfection. Man does not longer either see or understand God: but he feels His all-absorbing presence; in the night of his mind, he tastes God in his burning heart. As melted by love, as fired by light, he seeks for an intimate union with God.⁴³ He dismisses himself and makes himself one with the super-luminous ray.⁴⁴ He shares in the divine nature, but this participation has no bearing whatsoever on pantheism, because God is not in being, although being is in Him.⁴⁵

Dionysian mysticism, as it appears from the little sketch which we have attempted, bears undoubtedly the deep impress of a powerful speculative mind. It blends harmoniously the sublimest theses of theodicy with a psychological analysis of inward Christian experiences. At first sight, it seems not to be the spontaneous offspring of a profoundly felt love for God, but rather the vagaries of a philosopher who sets forth the results of his musing on God. The mysticism of the Areopagite is indeed too spiritual, too misty, so to speak, to be appreciated and tasted by a tame mediocrity. Therefore, it exerted a momentous influence at a time when the chief aims of mankind were metaphysical subtleties and theological abstractions. It permeates scholastic thought, which, by the dryness of its speculation, little by little evaporated the fresh and limpid water of religious mysticism. Dionysius became the guiding light of mediæval mystics because he uplifts man to heaven on the wings of reason, and mediæval mystics were first of all dialecticians. But, as Vaughan remarks, "his system as never appropriated by the West. The Areopagite was reverentially dismembered, and so mixed up with doctrines and questions foreign to him, by a different order of minds, of another culture, and often with another purpose, that I would defy his ghost to recognize his legacy to the Church."⁴⁶

In the Greek Church Byzantine thought never ceased to vibrate with Dionysian mysticism. No doubt, from the very outset the lovers of traditional mysticism looked upon Dionysius' system as frozen Christianity and speculation, as a mysticism slavish, symbolic, creeping under sacerdotal vestments. But Byzantium had ever a fondness for symbolism and ritualism, and of course more heartily welcomed a teaching that enhances the hidden meaning of ecclesiastical rites and the lofty mission of the priesthood. If the suggestion of St. Epifanovitch is true, the sudden appearance of the

⁴³ Div. Nom., III., 1.

⁴⁴ Ib., VII., 3.

⁴⁵ Ib., V., 3.

⁴⁶ I., 108.

Dionysian writings was soon followed by heretical reaction. The Gnosimachoi are mentioned by St. John of Damascus as stating that God may be reached without any speculative search for Him. Simplicity and good works are the wings on which man is triumphantly borne to heaven. Other heretics, asserted that the soul, like the body, is doomed to death.⁴⁷ These sporadic voices of protest, however, did not lead astray the deeply religious body of Byzantium. The Dionysian writings focused the mystic yearnings of the Byzantine soul, and the admiration which they excited on their coming to light increased in a great measure when the genius of Maximus the Confessor set himself the task of disclosing their hidden beauties.

SAINT MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR.

Maximus, surnamed the Confessor (obit. 672) is a mystic of purest water, the inheritor of the spiritual legacies of Areopagite, a genius who marks a new era in the historic development of Byzantine theology. Eclecticism is the dominating characteristic of his scholarship. In his mind he centers the various, often conflicting tendencies and results of both Byzantine theology and Byzantine philosophy, and builds up a new system that in its inner spirit and in its outward shape perfectly mirrors the outstanding features of the Byzantine soul. In his writings we trace back their sources the rivulets of Neo-Platonic thought carried to light through Dionysian mysticism; ascetic rules mingle there and inter with deep speculation, outbursts of passionate love, and glowing dogmatic controversies. Briefly, the teaching of Maximus mirrors the various elements of Byzantine culture.

It is true, indeed, that the popularity of Maximus and the weight of his influence on the mystics of later times is beyond all comparison with that exerted by St. John of Damascus. The reason of it we find in this fact, that, carried away by the heat of polemics, Maximus had no leisure to blend together in an organic system the elements scattered in the writings. But, as concerns mystical teaching, he truly became a master of a long line of Greek mystics that reverently followed in his steps. His chief meaning was to vivify the dry speculation of the Areopagite by the ethical element of contemplative asceticism. Thus, he created a new type of Byzantine mysticism, upon which later mystics rested their experience. No wonder, if competent judges call him a creative genius of Byzantine mysticism,⁴⁸ whose influence on the Greek Church vies with that of Augustine on Western Christianity.

⁴⁷ "De Haeresibus, PG.," xciv., 757.

⁴⁸ "Krumbacher-Ehrhard, Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur, p. 141.

The main basis of Maximus' mysticism is an ascetic one. His method of treating spiritual matters greatly differs from that of the Areopagite. Maximus lays stress upon the purification of the soul, the struggle against the passions and the removal of the moral hindrances from souls straining after perfection. In man, by a felicitous symbolic phraseology, he finds a temple of God, that is the body, a sanctuary, the soul, and the altar of deity, the mind. Mystical life goes on from the portal of the soul to the altar concealed in the inmost recesses of the sanctuary. To reach the symbolic altar, where man is placed before the dazzling radiance of the Divine Being, it is necessary to pass through three stages and to exert a threefold activity. As a sheep gives wool, a lamb and milk, so our nature needs food, clothes and riches. The first aim of the mystic soul is to be cleansed from the grime and filth of sin, and it is practical philosophy that achieves the purification of the conscience⁴⁹ and maps out the way to the contemplation of God.⁵⁰ A purified soul crushes all animal desires, walks on in the road of a higher spiritual life and enters in the illuminative state by the contemplation of the divine being.⁵¹ Contemplation enables us to pluck from the heart of God the spiritual meaning of the things that are the objects of our knowledge⁵² and to invade the field of mystical theology or theological philosophy.⁵³ By the latter God reveals Himself to us in a multiloquent silence and in His atmosphere of infinite light.⁵⁴

Thus in the spiritual life he distinguishes a progress that consists in the dispelling of those mists that put our soul out of all touch with God, an ascension that raises up our soul to a brighter knowledge of divine and human things, an assumption that makes us grasp the meaning of mysteries, and the marvels of the divine life.⁵⁵

A soul that would concentrate itself within God ought to contend against the world of passion, and to slay the sinful self that intercepts for us the vision of the divine glory⁵⁶ are to be placed under the leadership of God. True happiness to man is afforded by his victory over sensuous passions.⁵⁷ The spiritual healing of a soul clogged by sin requires a hierarchy of virtues that are headed by

⁴⁹ "Quaest. Thal." vi., PG., lxxx., 281.

⁵⁰ "Ambigua, PG., xci., 1300, 1369, 1393.

⁵¹ *Ib.*, 1277, 1297.

⁵² *Ib.*, 1357.

⁵³ *Ib.*, 1297.

⁵⁴ "Mystag.," iv., PG., xci., 672.

⁵⁵ "Ambigua," 1240.

⁵⁶ "Quaest. Thal.," 39, PG., xc., 393.

⁵⁷ "Ambigua," 1196.

the fear of God, and crowned by love.⁵⁸ The ascetic discipline, by a ceaseless exercise, establishes the soul in a state of apathy, a state of inner peace and immunity from evil,⁵⁹ that implies a detachment from the visible world and an insatiate longing for God. The love of Gods glows in the purified soul, which is borne upward to a higher state of perfection. Instead of being a loving-God soul she becomes a deified soul.⁶⁰ The radiance of love is followed by ecstatic experiences. The soul gives itself entirely to God, who embraces it and makes it like to Him.⁶¹ It feels the stirring of a super-natural love. A new life sprouts through the clods of his body and expands into the mind in the sunshine of the eternal light. Man is attracted within the sphere of the divine life. He craves for a deeper knowledge of God. His chief aim is contemplation. Under the guidance of practical philosophy he has been crucified into apathy. He has been nailed to the cross and made worthy to share in the sacrifice of Calvary by the inward crucifixion of himself. From the sight of the body of Christ he is carried over to His soul and delights himself in contemplating his Saviour. As soon as a whirlpool of new energies brushes away the sinful self the beams of the divine glory dispel his mists of spiritual ignorance.⁶² Contemplation makes man tower up to God,⁶³ conquers death, partake of the angelic life.⁶⁴ This heightening of the spiritual faculties is the best fruit of the flowers of grace, the final point of an inward illumination, coming from above in the perfect rest of apathy; it is a spiritual knowledge that changes the fibres of the heart,⁶⁵ a supernatural gift that effects an inexpressible and incommensurable union and fellowship between God and man.⁶⁶ A sunrise and pouring streams of light on earth reveals itself and, in the radiance of its glory, makes visible the beauty of within the sanctuary of a purified soul, shows Himself, and in the mirror of His divine mind are reflected the essences of the beings that He calls into existence or that will be called by His almighty power.⁶⁷

By a progressive enlightenment man draws nearer and nearer to the transcendent Light, to the effulgence of God. The vision of the abstract Infinity runs before his admiring gaze.⁶⁸ Natural contemplation fades away. His insight into the world of the senses

⁵⁸ Ep., v., PG., xci., 421.

⁵⁹ "Quaest. Thal.," liv., 512.

⁶⁰ Ep., 2, PG., xci., 397.

⁶¹ "Ambigua," 1249.

⁶² "Quaest. Thal., liv., 512.

⁶³ Ib., lx., 617.

⁶⁴ "Mystag.," 24.

⁶⁵ "Ambigua," 861.

⁶⁶ "Quaest. Thal.," i., 252.

⁶⁷ "Cap. de Char.," i., 95.

becomes a deeper insight into the world of intellect, and of the beings perceived by the intellect alone.⁶⁸ An immaterial science is bestowed upon him. The contemplation of the visible things is a preliminary step to the grasping of the treasures of the divine Wisdom,⁶⁹ to the strictly theological vision, when man sees and enjoys God face to face.

Standing then on the highest rung of the spiritual ladder, man is initiated into the mysteries of God. His mind swims in the radiance of God above all material things and forms.⁷¹ The yawning abyss between God and man is bridged over. In a constant thrill of love the shining soul is entirely carried into the immensity of the divine Being.⁷² It enters into an ineffable fellowship with Him;⁷³ it merges itself in the Ocean of the Godhead; it is imbued with the spirit of God; it becomes the perfect mirror of the Infinite Beautiful, the faithful echo of His unspeakable silence. United to God by the knot of love, it enjoys bliss far beyond aught that we can imagine in the mystic embraces of the Deity.⁷⁴ Still living on earth, he is hearing the super-celestial harmonies of the angels that magnify God.⁷⁵

With Maximus the Confessor we are at the end of the golden era of Christian Greek mysticism. When compared with the teaching of the Areopagite, the mysticism of Maximus marks a coming back to the noblest tradition of genuine religious experiences. Maximus is aware that the soul cannot in a single bound ascend the mountain heights of perfection. Hence he quickened his mystic sayings with that spirit of deeply felt religion and love for God which made his writings a luscious spiritual food for the mystics of later times.

Considered from this point of view, the system of Maximus in a certain sense soars higher than that of the Areopagite, because it establishes a link of connection between heaven and earth, while that of Dionysius evaporates in the realm of the driest abstractions. To Maximus the perfection of the mystic life does not stop the upwelling tides of the divine love, and the practical exploitation of that principle by him lays open to us the reason of the great influence of his writing upon the later mystics of the Greek Church.

If St. John of Damascus is followed closely by the Areopagite,⁷⁶

⁶⁸ "Ambigua," 1360.

⁶⁹ "Quaest. Thal.," x., 292.

⁷⁰ Ep., xxxvi., 629.

⁷¹ "Mystag.," xxiii., 700.

⁷² "Ambigua," 1113.

⁷³ Ib., 1220.

⁷⁴ "Ambigua," 1241.

⁷⁵ Ib., 1124, 1220, 1361.

the Greek mystics of the eleventh century, as Simeon, the Theologian, and Nicetas Stethatos, tread on the heels of Maximus.

The mystics of the fourteenth century, as Gregory the Sinaite, Callistus Xanthopoulos, Callistus Kataphygiotes, Nicholas Kabasilas, are the pupils of Maximus, the followers of his method, the imitators of his phraseology, the borrowers of his mystical rules, the mirrors of his symbolic interpretations. While the exaggerated mysticism of Dionysian mysticism paved the way to the faddish Hesychasts, the ascetic mysticism of Maximus never ceased in the Greek Church to nourish the souls straining after perfection, firmly convinced that God is not a cloudy abstraction, but the beating heart and the animating reality of our religious life.

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**SOME EARLY EXPLORERS AND MISSIONARIES IN THE
TERRITORY NOW KNOWN AS THE
UNITED STATES.**

THERE is no page of American history that is more pregnant with romantic situations and dramatic incident than the one devoted to the pioneers and missionaries of the period of discovery and exploration. The soldier with his sword and the priest with his Cross and his Rosary have given repeated examples of the most remarkable daring, the most patient suffering and the most indefatigable and self-sacrificing effort for the salvation of souls.

After the fall of Granada and the expulsion of the Moors from a Christian land they had ruled for nearly eight hundred years, the death-knell of chivalry seemed to have sounded for Spain. Thus it came to pass that many of the youthful cavaliers who had flashed their swords along the walls of the Alhambra crowded the ships of the discoverers of the New World in the hope that a new career of arms was about to be opened to them—a sort of crusade into splendid and unknown regions of infidels. The very weapons and armor they had used against the Moslem were drawn from their resting places to equip the heroes of these remote adventures, and some of the most noted of the early commanders in the New World will be found to have made their first essay in arms under the banner of Ferdinand and Isabelle, in their romantic campaigns among the mountains of Andalusia.

In the singular cruise of the brave but credulous old cavalier, Juan Ponce de Leon, who fell upon the flowery coast of Florida in his search after an imaginary fountain of youth, only to meet the arrow of death, and also in the checkered fortunes of Cabeza de Vaca and de Soto, we find some of the most striking incidents in the history of the New World, and their fate might furnish a theme of wonderful interest for a poem or a drama.

Let us follow a few of these personages in their expeditions and thus gain an insight into early American Catholic history not to be found in the average histories that come within the reach of the general reader.

Pamfilo de Narvaez, a Spanish adventurer, was born at Valladolid about the year 1482. After holding various positions under Velasquez, he was sent to Mexico to compel Cortez to renounce his command. Failing in this and having suffered defeat at Cempoalla, he returned to Spain. Later on he succeeded in obtaining

from Charles V. a grant of the Floridian peninsula as far as de Palmas, and in 1527 he sailed with five ships, on which he besides some secular priests, five Franciscan Fathers, with the brated Father Juan Juarez as their superior, and a force varied estimated at from three to five hundred men. He landed where near Tampa Bay on April 12, 1528, and by June 2 reached "Apalache." His perilous journey proved to him all his fabulous dreams of wealth were illusory and he decided to return to the coast. In the following month he reached Bahos Caballos (so called because of the number of horses here for food) at or near San Marcos. Here he built boats with his much reduced company sailed thence for Mexico, but his vessel was driven to sea by a storm and he perished.

His lieutenant, Cabeza de Vaca¹ with three companions escaped. These three were Dorantes, Castillo and Estevan (or Stephen Negro. After years of suffering and privation they reached Tlan, in Sinaloa, April 1, 1536.

This expedition of Pamfilo de Narvaez would hardly make place in the pages of history had it not paved the way for the wonderful adventures of Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions. These four Catholic laymen, while heroically battling for existence and a return to civilization, found themselves at times forced to act as missionaries, physicians and almost everything else, for the Indians into whose hands they fell insisted upon them performing miracles, and when the Spaniards endeavored to convince them that they did not possess supernatural powers, not even the healing art, they were deprived of food. "At last," says Cabeza de Vaca, "we found ourselves in such great want that we were forced to obey. The method we practiced, was to bless the sick, breathe upon them, recite a *Pater* and an *Ave*, praying with all earnestness to God, Lord that He would give us strength and influence them to do some great good. In His mercy He willed that all those for whom we supplicated should directly, after we had made the sign of the Holy Cross over them, tell the others that they were sound in health. For this the Indians treated us kindly, depriving themselves of food that they might give it to us; they also presented us with some skins and some trifles."

With this reputation of great "medicine men," the four survivors made their escape while their masters were on a hunting

¹ Cabeza de Vaca, or the Cow's Head. His family derives its original not very euphonic name from Martin Alhaja, a mountaineer of Ferral, who, placing the bones of a cow's head as a landmark, was instrumental in gaining for the Christians the decisive battle of Las de Tolosa (1212) and was ennobled in consequence.

pedition, and journeyed in a northerly direction to the Tennessee River, thence westerly and crossed the Mississippi River, which Cabeza de Vaca described as "a mighty river running from North towards South." They seem to have crossed this river about the mouth of the Arkansas and continuing in a westerly direction they probably crossed the latter river near the Canadian. The Indians in the villages through which they passed would bring their sick to them to be healed, and this done, they would manifest their gratitude by bestowing all their personal property upon their benefactors. When the three white men and their negro companion left their villages, the Indians invariably escorted them to the next. At this next village the same healing of the sick would take place, the same offering would be made to the wonderful "medicine men," and they would turn it over to their escort.

Cabeza de Vaca, in his *Rebacion* tells us that up to this point he and his companions left all the land through which they passed, in peace, and that they even taught the inhabitants by signs that in heaven was a "Man called God, who had created the sky and the earth," that the white men worshipped Him and had Him for a Master, that we did what He commanded and from His hand had come all good." The Spaniards found these people so "ready of apprehension" that it was only a lack of the knowledge of their language that prevented them from effecting their conversion.

While the Spaniards sojourned in the village of these Indians, Castillo noticed the buckle of a sword-belt on the neck of an Indian and stitched to it was the nail of a horseshoe. When questioned about them, the savage replied that they were from heaven. Further questioning elicited the statement that "certain men who wore beards like us have come from heaven and arrived at that river, bringing horses, lances and swords, and that they had lanced two Indians." It was further learned that these men had gone to sea and had sailed towards the sunset. This was cheering news, and the Spaniards resumed their journey.

From the account given by Cabeza di Vaca,² he and his companions would seem to have crossed the Rio Grande del Norte some distance above the mouth of the Pecos River, and no one can fully realize the extraordinary character of their journey or appreciate the sufferings they must have endured. From the Rio Grande they seem, from his description of the country, to have gone through the

² "La Relacion del governador Alvar Nuñez, Cabeza de Vaca, de lo acaecido en las dos jornadas que hizo a los Indios." This narrative, written after his journey, is at times somewhat confusing as to his exact itinerary.

Guadalupe Pass to the head waters of the Yaqui River, passing probably through the Misilla Valley. Here he described the people as having "permanent habitations and an abundance of maize," and they gave him a large quantity of "grain and flour and calabash beans and blankets of cotton." Of these he loaded the people who had guarded him there, and "they then returned the happiest creatures on earth."

The Spaniards continued their march by the junction of the Rio Chicos and Yaqui and thence down the course of the latter stream one day's journey, after which they struck south and crossed the Mayo and Fuerte Rivers, where Cabeza de Vaca was rejoiced in meeting a party of Spanish soldiers under the command of Capt. Diego di Alcaraz. Cabeza de Vaca reached the City of Mexico in July, 1537, nine years from the date of the setting out of the expedition to Florida, and he is the first white man to have crossed North America from East to West—and that on foot.

Don Antonio di Mendoza, the wise and honorable viceroy and successor of Cortez in Mexico, having heard the strange story of Cabeza de Vaca's adventures from his own lips, conceived the grand idea of sending zealous missionaries into the country now known as Arizona. The Franciscan Fathers had long been yearning to plant the cross in this far-off portion of the American Continent. Vasquez di Coronado was to be sent out as Governor of Sonora, and Father Marco, from Nice, Italy, sometimes called Father Nizza, started at once to survey the country. The Negro, Estevan, sometimes called Estevanito, who had accompanied Cabeza de Vaca from the East, was to act as guide, and the Indians were given to understand that they were no longer to be made slaves, and that nothing was desired save the salvation of their souls. Viceroy Mendoza's instructions to Father Marco were as follows:

"If God Our Lord is pleased that you find any large town where it seems to you that there is a good opportunity for establishing a convent and sending religious to undertake their conversion, you are to advise me by Indians or return in person to Culiacan. You are to give notice so that provision may be made without delay because the service of Our Lord and the good of the people of the land is the aim of the pacification of whatever is discovered."

Father Marco, taking Estevan as his attendant, made a long journey, passing through Sonora and beyond the Gila River, and penetrated the villages of the Pueblo Indians, north of the Gila, where he found a people who raised cotton and wove cloth of that material, which cloth they used as garments, and they had also vessels of gold. The houses were of stone, three and four stories high, the doors adorned with turkey-stones or turquoises. "The Ind-

along the way brought their sick to him to be cured, over whom he read the Gospels."³ . . .

Father Marco, having made all the observations he thought necessary, prepared to return to Culiacan and report as directed. Before doing so, however, learning that he was near a large town, he sent Estevan to reconnoitre and bring him a report, but the Negro, behaving indiscreetly with the people, they lynched him. (See Herrera, "Historia General.") This seems to have been the first case of lynching on this Continent. Father Marco laid together a heap of stones, erected a cross upon it, took possession of the region for the King of Spain, and after ascending a hill and looking over into the promised land, returned alone to Culiacan without accomplishing the object of his mission.

Father Marco's report on the wonders he had seen and the miraculous things he had heard about the "seven cities of Cibola," etc., induced the Viceroy, Mendoza, to hasten preparations for a large expedition to Arizona. This expedition, which left Mexico in 1542, was placed under the command of Francisco Velasquez de Coronado and moved in a northeasterly direction. It was composed of cavalry, infantry and artillery and was accompanied by several Franciscan Fathers, among whom we find the names of Juan de Padilla and that "very holy person, Brother Luis Descalona" (sometimes written de Escalona). After meeting with considerable opposition on the part of the Indians and worn out by a two years' campaign, Coronado resolved to return to Mexico with his troops. But his journey had been by no means fruitless. He had first "set out across the plains in search of Quibira, more on account of the story which had been told him, . . . and after proceeding many days by the needle (i. e., to the North), it pleased God that after a march of thirty days they found the River Quibira, which is thirty leagues below the settlement. While going up the valley they found a people who were hunting and who were natives of Quibira. What there is in Quibira is a very brutish people, without any decency whatever in their houses nor in anything. These (houses) are of straw like the Tarascan settlements; there are 200 houses together in some villages. They have corn and beans and melons; they do not have cotton nor fowls, nor do they make bread which is cooked, except under ashes."⁴

During the expedition Coronado traversed the present States of New Mexico and Arizona and discovered the Colorado and Kansas

³ "Relation au voyage à Cibola, entrepris en 1540 où l'on traite de toutes les peuplades qui habitent celle contrée, de leurs mœurs et coutumes," par Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera.

⁴ Coronado's letter to Mendoza.

rivers. The whites also made their first acquaintance with the American bison or buffalo. Finding it impossible to spend the winter in these regions on account of the *extreme cold*, "because there is no wood nor cloth with which to protect men, except the skins (buffalo robes) which the natives wear and some small amount of cotton cloaks," and having explored the country for 200 leagues and more around Cibola, and having reached a point 400 leagues from the North Sea and more than 200 from the South Sea, where which it was impossible to make any connection, Coronado resolved as we have seen, to return to Mexico.

But Father Padilla and good Brother Descalona were not disposed to abandon a field that promised so many spiritual triumphs. They besought and obtained permission to remain and evangelize the country; they hope to improve the condition of the poor people they had found and to baptize at least a small part of the numerous population living in ignorance of the truths of Christianity. Thus we find that Arizona and New Mexico possessed native Christians and that the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was offered up daily within their borders nearly eighty years before the Mayflower anchored at Plymouth Rock.

But good Father Padilla's missionary career was not destined to be a long one, for one day, while on his way to Quibira to visit another wandering tribe, he was attacked by hostile Indians on the plains. He thought not of himself, but of his companions, and urged them to save themselves as best they could. As for himself, realizing that escape was impossible, he fell upon his knees and commended his soul to God, in Whose service his life had been spent. While yet in this position a shower of arrows pierced his body and he fell, the first martyr of Holy Church in this portion of the American Continent.

Father Padilla is, strictly speaking, the proto-martyr of the American missions. Others before him have fallen by the way, overcome by disease and the hardships inseparable from expeditions engaged in exploring new countries or from the effects of savage cruelty, but these had not as yet entered upon the real work of the missionary.

The history of the early missions in Arizona is not without interest. With the Spanish conquerors, even from the very first, missionaries were not slow in going into the wilderness to engage in the heroic work of evangelization. The warrior went forth to conquer new lands, but the missionary sought only to win souls for Christ. Their weapons were as different as the ends they sought. The one carried the sword with which to strike down the aborigine he could not enslave; the other held aloft the Cross to console and

set him free. The missionary and the soldier moved with rapid strides. Scarcely thirty years had passed after the conquest of Mexico by Cortez when all the missions in New Mexico, from Paso del Norte to Taos—that is, nearly the entire extent of Arizona, from north to south and extending to the Rio Grande—were fully established and amply provided with priests to attend them.

The march of civilization was not so rapid to the west of the Sierra Madre. Nearly a century elapsed after the martyrdom of Father Padilla, before the Jesuits (1567) undertook to revive the old missions and preach the Gospel to the Papagos and Pimas along the banks of the Gila and also to the Cocomaricopas and others in this vicinity. Prominent among these Jesuit Fathers was the famous Eusebio Francisco Kuhn (who was always known among the Spaniards as Padre Kino). Father Kino had associated with him Father Ignacio Xavier Kelier and Juan Jacobo Sadelmayer. Their missionary field extended from Culiacan to San Xavier del Bac, more than 200 leagues.⁵

Father Kino was a native of Trent and was at one time professor of mathematics at the University of Ingoldstadt. He was a man of great learning and of remarkable powers of endurance and was highly esteemed by the Elector of Bavaria. On one occasion, when dangerously ill, he made a vow that if he recovered he would devote the rest of his life to the conversion of the Indians of America. His prayer was answered; he enlisted under the banner of Loyola and served as chaplain in Admiral Otondo's expedition to the coast of Lower California. On May 13, 1687, he established his first mission, Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, at Upper Pimeria. He likewise urged and aided in the establishment of missions in Lower California. In 1684 Father Kino paid a visit to a tribe of Indians known as Pimas, who dwelt along the shores of the Gila as far as Casas Grandes. There were two missions here—one known as the Incarnation and the other as San Andres. Father Kino gave instructions and baptized quite a number of the natives. Year after year he visited these regions, taking missionaries with him, when he could get them, and founding permanent missionary stations wherever he found suitable places.

On February 7, 1699, Father Kino took another journey towards the Gila and visited the Yumas and Cocomaricopas. These Indians told him about the different neighboring nations, especially about the Iguanas, the Culganans and the Achedunas. These three tribes have since disappeared or changed their names while amalgamating with others.

⁵ "Provincia de Sonora; sus terminos y confines," 1761-62; San Agustín de la Florida, Año 1863.

This band of Jesuits had pushed their explorations along the whole western coast as far as the Gulf of California. In 1717 Father Kino proved that the old Spanish maps of the Gulf of California made by Cortez were correct in representing Lower California as a peninsula and not as an island, as European geographies of the latter half of the sixteenth century had declared on the testimony of Sir Francis Drake and others.⁶

The prediction of persecutions made by the Redeemer of the world to His disciples was destined to be verified even in the far-remissions of the New World. The zealous Jesuits had already made a very considerable number of converts to Christianity, and the indications were that they would gain many more, but all of a sudden the Pimas revolted and murdered the father attending the mission at Cábónca. Shortly after the missions were called upon to bear another trial no less severe, but independent at least of human action. It was the death of Father Kino, the very life of the missions. He died at the Church of St. Francis Xavier, at Magdalena, to the dedication of which he had gone at the invitation of his devoted co-laborer, Father Campos. "Praying before the altar over which hung a picture of his patron, the Apostle of the Indians, Father Kino felt that his life work was over and he prepared for death, which was the holy crown of his devoted life."⁷

Father Kino was a most extraordinary man. He is said to have traveled more than 20,000 miles and to have baptized more than 48,000 children and adults. He never failed to say Mass daily and never slept in a bed.⁸

The restlessness of the Indians and the death of good Father Kino had a depressing effect upon the work already undertaken. In 1727 Monseñor Benito Crespo, Bishop of Durango, Mexico, whose jurisdiction all the Jesuit missions in New Spain were subject to after having visited a portion of the Province of Sonora, made a report of the condition of the missions to King Philip V. This resulted in such pecuniary aid as to enable the missionaries, in 1730 to found three new missions.

From this time on until 1750 the reports are very meagre and the main confined to a few incomplete registers at the Papago Mission of St. Francis Xavier, some nine miles south of Tucson. From these enough can be gleaned, however, to show that the mission had been supplied with priests from its very beginning, which must have been in 1690, the time when the missionaries arrived among

⁶ This map was published in the "Lettres Edifiantes," Vol. V., in 1717. It was reengraved in Paris in 1754 by the geographer Buache, and was later by Sayer, of London.

⁷ Shea's "The Catholic Church in Colonial Days," Vol. I., page 527.

⁸ Clavigero's "Storia della California."

Sobahispuris. From the number of baptisms registered, the mission must have been a very large one.

But the period of trials was not yet ended. On November 21, 1751, the Pimas, together with the Seris and all the Indians of the northwestern portion of the province, again rose up against the missionaries. "The Alta Pimeria Indians, being still new in the faith and coming in daily contact with the pagans of the tribe to which they belonged, were unstable, aggressive, obstinate and very strongly attached to their old superstitions."

The uprising lasted two years and resulted in the death of three missionaries, Fathers Francisca Xavier Saeta, Enrique Ruen and Tomas Tello, while others were obliged to abandon their churches and allow the Indians to drift back to their former superstitions.

It was not until 1754 that the Jesuit Fathers were able to resume their labors at such of the missions as had escaped the general destruction. Father Francisca Paner, who took charge of the San Xavier mission, has left the following record:

"On November 21, 1751, the entire Pima nation revolted; for this reason this church was without fathers from that time until the year 1754. In testimony whereof I here affix my signature: Francisco Paner."

This same father had also charge of the missions of Tucson, Tubac and Tumacacori, all in the valley of Santa Cruz and along a line extending some sixty miles, and he records 177 baptisms during his administration. After the visitation of peace the missionaries began the work of restoration, and in 1761-62 the Jesuit Fathers had within the territory of what is now Arizona twenty-nine missions, divided into four rectorates, viz., St. Francis Borgia, with eight missions; Holy Martyrs of Japan, six missions; St. Francis Xavier, seven missions, and Nuestra Señora de la Pimeria Alta, eight missions, comprising sixty-three pueblos of Christian Indians.

No sooner did the missionaries begin to feel secure in their work and from revolts among their own Indians than they found themselves threatened from without. The terrible Apaches roamed along the entire northern frontier of the province and made constant incursions upon the missions. The records of the missionaries repeatedly show that these savages were not merely the cause of trouble and losses to their Christians, but that they were the cause of the death of several of their fathers, and also of the entire extinction of the Sobahispuris tribe of San Pedro. Nor was this the only trial these good apostles were destined to endure. Jealous and unprincipled men in Europe had been plotting for some years past to deprive the Jesuit Fathers of the support their missions had

* "Provincia de Sonora," already quoted.

been receiving from the Spanish Government, until finally, in 1763 they succeeded in securing the suppression of the society. A year later the Jesuits were driven away from their missions in Lower California and some were even lodged in jails. They were accused of no crime and condemned without trial, perhaps for the same reason that they were later on suppressed in Europe, "not in punishment for any fault, but as a political measure."

During the same year the Marquis de la Cruz, Viceroy of Mexico at the command of King Charles III., applied to the Franciscan Fathers at the Colegio de la Santa Cruz, at Queretaro, for two or fourteen priests to take the places of the exiled Jesuits. The guardian responded favorably to this appeal and sent fourteen fathers to conduct the missions of that part of Sonora within the present territory of Arizona.

It would seem that Pimeria Alta was the part of the province that suffered least since the departure of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. This is, doubtless, due to the military posts established along the frontier at the time of the Pima revolt. The Franciscans established their headquarters at San Miguel de Horcacitas, and from here Father Francisco Garcez attended the mission of San Xavier, which he continued to do up to 1781. This zealous priest repeatedly visited the tribes scattered along the banks of the Colorado and the Colorado for a distance of more than 300 miles.¹⁰ The knowledge he had acquired of the country on his numerous journeys in almost every direction naturally led to his selection as guide in a military expedition organized in 1774 to open the way that would bring the Sonora missions in communication with those of Monterey, in California. In the following year he was sent to guide another expedition as far as the port of San Francisco. From various *Relaciones* left by Father Garcez concerning the tribes at the Gila, it appears that their number reached somewhere at 25,000 souls.

On his return from one of his visitations this zealous missionary encouraged by the friendly disposition of the Yumas, applied to his superiors for assistance with which to found new missions among them. Three priests were sent to him—Fathers Juan Diaz, Matias Moreno and Juan Antonio Bereneche. With their assistance he succeeded, in March, 1778, in establishing two missions on the right bank of the Colorado—that of the Immaculate Conception at the junction of the Gila and the Colorado, and that of St. Peter and St. Paul, nine miles further down.

At first these missions gave great promise of future benefits,

¹⁰ The knowledge he had acquired of the country on "Corona Serenissima y Apostolica del Colegio de Santa Cruz de Queretaro."

these hopes were not destined to be realized. On Sunday, July 17, 1781, the Indians, under pretext of some damage done to their crops by the horses of the soldiers, and for which they felt they had not been adequately compensated, fell upon the churches while the faithful were hearing Mass and massacred the priests, the soldiers and every one present. Father Garcez and his three assistants, Fathers Diaz, Moreno and Bereneche, ended their apostolic labors with the crown of martyrdom.

That the missions flourished under the care of the Franciscans as they did under the Jesuits is evinced by the monuments these zealous apostles have left all over the country, notwithstanding the fact that many of them are now in ruins. San Xavier, Termacacori, el Pueblecito and Taborca are places in which the traveler loves to wander and ponder over the ruins of works which modern civilization has not yet been able to imitate in these regions.

As indicated by the date, 1767, found in the Church of San Xavier, and as borne out by the tradition still existing among the Papago Indians, the present church is not the one erected by the Jesuit missionaries, but the one built in its place by the Franciscans. It is a handsome edifice of brick and stone, of the Roman-Byzantine style, ornamented with bas-reliefs and paintings. It has (or had at one time) over forty statues, many of which are regarded as models, the most remarkable being those of the apostles. The others, besides those of Our Lord and the Blessed Virgin, represent nearly all the saints of the Franciscan Order. This church, until a quite recent date at least, was still in a good state of preservation and is still used.

The churches of Tumacacori and Pueblecito, although of more recent date, are no longer in use. The Franciscans attended these missions until December 2, 1827, the period of the Spanish expulsion.

The early Franciscan missionaries in the field, like their Jesuit predecessors, were men worthy of remembrance in the annals of the Catholic Church in America. Father Tomas Hermegild Garcez (sometimes called Francisco) was born at Morata del Conde, in the Kingdom of Arragon, in Spain. Having enlisted under the banner of St. Francis in a zealous community, he was sent to Mexico and began his labors in the Apostolic College de Propaganda—that of the Santa Cruz, at Queretaro, as stated above. Here he was distinguished for his zeal in the confessional—he was essentially the children's confessor. When the suppression of the Jesuit missions took place and the Franciscans were called upon to replace them, Father Garcez, as we have seen, was sent to San Xavier del Bac, in Arizona, a mission so severe that even the Jesuits regarded

it as a novitiate. Few of the fathers, it is said, could endure hardships more than a year. Father Garcez labored here for two years among the Papagos, Sobaipuris and Pimas, sharing the life of his flock, "living on Indian corn, with no bed but the earth and often with no shelter of any kind." Things that were not of prime necessity, such as chocolate, tobacco, etc., which were sometimes given to him by the whites, he always gave away.

He had been but three months in his mission when, in 1768, began those apostolic journeys which have made his name famous even in the secular history of our country. We learn that his first exploration was in 1768, to the nations lying to the west of the mission. The following year found him carrying the banner of the Crucified to the east, toward the terrible Apaches, and penetrating several hundred miles into the territory held by these fierce people. In 1770 he visited the tribes of the Gila, everywhere proclaiming the truths of the Gospel. The next year he went some hundreds of miles to the west, and by 1772 he had reached the new settlements in California.

The sixth journey undertaken by Father Garcez extended from October, 1775, to September, 1776, and during this time he crossed an immense district to the north, visiting the mission of San Gabriel, in California. The object of these journeys was the founding of a series of missions to connect Sonora with California, New Mexico and Texas. It was with this in view that he visited the natives, gaining their good will and such knowledge of their position, numbers and connection with one another as would make plans possible. His aims were not attained without great hardships and even hunger, nor without dangers from wild beasts, frightful precipices and savage and hostile tribes; but his devotion to the cause of Christ made him weigh all these trials as light when compared with the great advantages he foresaw.

Father Garcez often traveled alone, without guide or guard, living on roots, seeds or any animal he could capture. It is related that on one of these occasions his horse ran off, leaving him alone and destitute. On another occasion his horse fell dead and he was soon surprised by a band of Apaches, who, providentially and to his surprise, no doubt, recognizing the good missionary, asked what had become of his horse, and on learning his loss sent some of the party to get the saddle and other articles the good missionary was obliged to abandon, and placing them on a new horse allowed him to continue his journey.

On another occasion, while kneeling on the ground absorbed in prayer and reading his office, he was surrounded by a party of Indians, and immediately their bows were bent and their arrows were

ready to take the life of this solitary servant of God. A mysterious awe restrained them. When at last the priest perceived them, he continued his devotions and after he had concluded won them by his affectionate words.

In 1780 Father Garcez was sent to found two new missions on the Colorado among the Yumas. He reached his destination and soon succeeded in establishing the missions of the Immaculate Conception and of St. Peter and St. Paul. The plan adopted was a new one in Spanish missions. The Jesuit Fathers had followed the system of "reducciones,"¹¹ or the bringing of neophytes and converts into a kind of community directed by the missionary. The Franciscans adopted the same plan, but as the Jesuit system had been the object of violent attack, it was resolved not to have on the Colorado any *presidio* or post occupied by troops to defend the mission village, but to place in each mission eight soldiers and eight married settlers, in whose hands all temporal affairs were to be left, the missionaries confining themselves to spirituals alone. Moreover, the converted Indians were to remain among their pagan countrymen.

The missions were founded with the usual ceremonies and the fathers began their labors. Father Garcez devoted himself to the mission of the Immaculate Conception, assisted by Father Juan Antonio de Bereneche, a native of the Basque Province of Navarre, in Spain. He was a man of most exemplary life, a model of religious observance and rigid penance. Like many other youths, he had gone to Cuba in quest of a fortune, but at the age of seventeen, like the good Las Casas before him, he abandoned a promising business future and donned the coarse habit of the seraphic state. His virtues were soon recognized, and after edifying the Cuban capital for three years, he spent seven years in the college at Queretaro, to which he traveled on foot from Tampico. Of him it was said: "His habitation was the choir; his breakfast, abstinence; his rest, watching and prayer; his delight, a discipline of blood; his visits, paid to the Blessed Sacrament; his whole care, to continue through life the punctual, scrupulous observance of the practice of his novitiate."

Father Juan Diaz, who had charge of the mission of St. Paul, was born at Alaxer, Archdiocese of Sevilla, in 1736, and received the habit of St. Francis at the age of eighteen. He came to America in 1763 and labored zealously, never heeding the hardships that fell to his lot.

Father Juan Matthias, born at Almoza in 1744, took the habit at Logroño when but seventeen years of age. He was known as a man of great modesty and humility and as a profound philosopher

¹¹ *Neophytorum oppidum.*

and theologian, but he longed for work in foreign lands. In a letter written to his sister and dated March 26, 1769, he describes the missionary college of the Santa Cruz at Queretaro, and concludes as follows: "It is true that there is much hardship, hunger and thirst, intolerable heat and painful journeys, but what is this in comparison with what the souls cost Christ and the benefits which I have received from Him?"

Nine months had scarcely elapsed since the foundation of the missions in the Colorado when the evil effects of the Government system produced their fruits. The settlers and soldiers occupied the fields the Yumas had for their scanty, ill-raised crops of maize, beans, squashes and melons, while their cattle consumed a large portion of the grass seeds on which the Indians subsisted. This was aggravated by an injury done by a soldier. The Indians were aroused and they resolved on a general massacre. The missionaries, who were constantly visiting the Indian huts instructing the neophytes, encouraging them amid temptation and inviting all to the general instructions, had some suspicion of danger. They sent Father Diaz to Sonora to lay the case before the authorities. His visit was fruitless; he returned with his companion and, gathering his people together as if at a mission, he prepared them for death.

On July 17, 1781, the storm broke. Father Barrenecke had just finished Mass and Father Garcez was about to celebrate another Mass, when the yells of the Indians and the shrieks of the wounded and dying burst upon their ears. The mission of the Concepcion was doomed; the missionaries hastened to the dying; Father Barrenecke, though wounded and maltreated, heard the confessions and gave absolution to all who came within his reach. The Indians, meantime, having completed their bloody work here, hastened to the other mission, ten miles away. Here Father Diaz had just finished Mass and was about to give the last sacraments to a sick woman when the Yumas arrived. He and Father Moreno were the first victims. Father Diaz was beaten to death and Father Moreno was cut down by a blow on the head with an axe. The murderers then set the churches on fire, leaving the bodies of the missionaries there, and continued the massacre until, satisfied with their work, they retired to an adjacent woods.

Fathers Garcez and Barrenecke, though suffering from the wounds, remained at the mission all that day and the next, preparing the survivors for the death that awaited them. The latter proposed to Father Garcez to take refuge at the other mission. As daylight had come to him from above, he replied: "It is useless; they have already destroyed our people there." Finally they set out, hoping to get their little band of followers to a place of safety. A

lake, where they halted, Father Barrenecke heard a wounded Spaniard calling to him from the opposite side. Forgetting his own condition, the good Franciscan swam across the lake and, crucifix in hand, administered to the wants of the dying man. Father Garcez shared his clothing with some of the band who had lost their all and then swam across the lake to join his brother in religion. These two holy men reached the wigwam of a pagan Indian, where, on the 19th, they were discovered by a band of Yumas, who soon put them to death.

Five months after these dreadful events a party of Spanish soldiers, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Pedro Fages, started for the missions. They found all in ruins and the bodies of Fathers Diaz and Moreno still unburied. They lay some distance from each other and they were placed in coffins. Search was made for the bodies of Fathers Garcez and Bereneche. After a long search their graves were found and the bodies, strange to say, were perfectly intact. The expedition of Colonel Fages returned with the bodies of the four martyrs, worthy sons of St. Francis, and they were delivered to the superior of the Sonora mission. It was not, however, until July 19, 1794, thirteen years after their martyrdom, that these precious relics found their last resting place. They were carried to Queretaro on this day, a Solemn Mass of Requiem was celebrated and a sermon on the virtues of these heroes of the faith was delivered in Spanish by Father Diego Miguel Brigas de Manzaneda and another in Latin by Father Jose Maria Carranza.

An ancient father of the Church says that "the place where a martyr dies is his native place," and this statement made it desirable that the exact position of these two missions be established beyond all doubt. Much of the territory once held by Spain is now within the limits of the United States, and as these missions were near the mouth of the Colorado, there was some doubt as to whether the American Church could claim these martyrs or whether the honor belonged to Mexico.

Father Zephyrin Englehardt, a zealous Franciscan, who labored for many years on the Indian missions until impaired health made it necessary for him to find a more congenial climate, was sent by his superiors to labor in the region. The stories he heard of the old missionaries inspired him with the desire to identify their missions.

"I gladly undertook," he says, "to find the mission which I was told was on the west side of the Colorado, ten or fifteen miles north of Fort Yuma, as Father Chancot, of Yuma, insisted, though he had never been there, and though all the Indians who preserved any tradition of the mission agreed with him. They knew, however,

only one mission. Some old Mexican women contended that one mission was 'right on the hill where Fort Yuma stands,' which is exactly opposite the Gila river and ten miles from the Mexican border on this side of the river.

"The Yumas insist that they 'have always lived right here' so that the missions established among them could not have been in Mexico. The reservation at present extends five miles south of Fort Yuma and two miles north, running six miles west, and the Indians maintain that this has always been their home. They have not even any tradition of having come from any other place. Well, two miles north of Fort Yuma is a ridge of mountains, running from west to east, and on the east sloping down to a level with the Colorado. Just at this point on the river I found vestiges of some large stockades and of buildings that must have stood there. It is a beautiful place. On the north and west it is shut in by mountains; on the east are the Colorado and Arizona, while to the south a wide plain on both sides of the river extends to Mexico, with only here and there a solitary mountain. It is just such a place as the missionaries would have selected. I found only one piece of a post projecting about two inches from the ground. The whole place is now perfectly bare. It is rocky, and the rocks and indeed the whole surface is still blackened, showing that the fire must have swept over it. This, the Indian explained to me, was the case. The ground or rocky soil was dug up in various places, and the Indian explained that this had been done by the Mexicans, who came after the priests had been killed. They came to find the gold which the fathers were said to have buried there. This is his version of it; probably it was to find the bodies or sacred vessels. The breaking of the ground might have been done by miners, however, as well, as there are silver mines not far away. The Indians could not tell me where the priests were killed, unless it was right here, or where buried at first. In fact, they know or want to know very little about it. Now if, according to Spanish accounts, one mission was only three leagues north of the other, then the place I describe above was the mission of St. Peter and St. Paul and Fort Yuma was La Concepcion. The place at the end of the mountain ridge is the boundary of the Yuma reserve north and is just ten miles from Fort Yuma. This is their sacred ground."

In connection with this report Father Engelhardt made a little map giving the exact surroundings. He marked the site of La Concepcion with a cross a little above Fort Yuma. St. Peter and St. Paul appear on the Gila.

In summing up the events related in this article the writer may be permitted to add a few explanatory notes.

The wonderful journey accomplished by Cabeza de Vaca and his companions—a journey, as we have seen, performed on foot, occupying nine years in its accomplishment and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, through an unknown and frequently a hostile country—is fraught with many interesting details, which, when we consider the times and circumstances under which they occurred, assume an added importance. A careful reading of Cabeza de Vaca's "*Relacion*" and "*Coronado's Letter to Mendoza*" will afford occasional references to the inner life of the aboriginies. For instance, we learn that the Indians of some of the tribes the Spaniards encountered gave the strangers an insight into their domestic life. "They gave us," on one occasion, says the "*Relacion*," "beans and pumpkins for our subsistence. . . . The *method of cooking* is so very new that for its strangeness I desire to speak of it. . . . Not having discovered the use of pipkins to boil what they wanted to eat, they filled the half of a large calabash with water and threw in the fire as many stones of such as were most convenient and readily take the heat. When hot they are taken up with tongs of sticks and dropped into the calabash until the water in it boils from the heat of the stones. Then whatever is to be cooked is put in and until it is done they continue taking out the cooled stones and throwing in hot ones. It is thus they boil their food." Verily, "necessity is the mother of invention."

In another account we are told that the Spaniards met a people who "for a third part of the year eat nothing but the powder of straw." We wonder whether the German food scientists of to-day are indebted to the poor American Indians for "some points" in this direction. The *houses* of the aborigines, we are told, "are of earth, the rest all of cane mats," which indicates a certain knowledge of trades and handicraft.

Among the people the women are treated "with decorum. They wear a shirt of cotton that falls as low as the knees and over it half sleeves, with skirts reaching to the ground, made of dressed skin. They soap this with a certain root that cleanses well, by which they are enabled to keep it becomingly. Shoes are worn." I wonder what these Indian maidens would think of the street dress worn by many of the highly civilized ladies of to-day!

On another occasion we learn that the Indians brought the Spaniards gifts of "grain and flour and pumpkins, beans and *shawls* of cotton." Although cotton is especially mentioned here, in many parts of the country there is no cotton and the *shawls* are made of the feathers of fowls raised more for their feathers than for food. Cloaks or shawls are also made of *henequen*, a fibrous plant, and the skins of deer and sometimes of "curs." The Spanish word *mantas*

is variously used for capes, shawls and coverings of skins—i. e., cow (*vaca*), which here means the bison or buffalo.

Cabeza de Vaca makes frequent reference in his "Relacion" to meeting "Christians." The natives in many places expressed "great fear at their approach." It must be borne in mind that the epithet *Christianos* so often met with in Spanish works of the period of discovery and explanation is intended to mean white men, Europeans, and does not necessarily refer to men noted for their resplendent Christian qualities. So, too, the word *corsario* does not necessarily mean a corsair or pirate, but a cruiser or coaster.

The "Seven Cities of Cibola" seems to have been a sort of charm word among the early explorers of the Sonora region. In place of being a sort of centre of civilization—a group of cities supplied with all the modern improvements, including an economical and patriotic Board of Aldermen—let us see what Coronado has to say on the subject:

"Father Marco de Nizza understood, or gave us to understand, that the location and neighborhood in which there are seven villages was a single village, which he called Cibola, but the whole of this population and region is called Cibola. The villages have from 300 to 200 and 150 houses; some have the houses of the village all together, although in some villages they are divided into two or three divisions, but for the most part they are all together, and within their courtyards; and in this are their hot rooms (*estufas*, sometimes called *kivas*) for winter, and they have their summer ones outside the villages. The houses have two or three stories, the walls of stone and mud and some with mud walls. . . . For Indians the houses are too good, especially for these, since they are brutish and have no decency in anything except in their houses."

In speaking of the religious condition of these people, Coronado tells us that their rites and sacrifices were somewhat idolatrous, and that "water is what they worship most, to which they offer small painted sticks and feathers and a yellow powder made of flowers, and usually this offering is made to springs." This worship of water seems to be an act of gratitude, for they say "it causes their corn to grow and maintains their life, and that they know no other reason but that their ancestors did so."

Some authorities claim that the Zuni Indians have preserved the tradition of the coming of Fra Marco di Nizza and of the killing of the Negro Estevan, whom they named the "black Mexican" at the ruined pueblo called Quaquina. They even go so far as to claim a tradition relating to Coronado's visit and another concerning Cabeza de Vaca.

MARC F. VALLETTE.

JEAN HENRI FABRE—THE HOMER OF THE INSECTS.*

*"The Fighting Wasps." New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1915.

"Social Life in the Insect World." Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1914.

"The Life of the Fly," with which are interspersed some chapters of autobiography by J. Henri Fabre. Translated by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos, Fellow of the Zoological Society of London. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1913.

THESE excellent translations make available for English readers a few of the great chapters in science which Jean Henri Fabre has contributed to the ever more and more important scientific department of entomology in his "Souvenirs Entomologiques" during the past fifty years. Those who can read French will find an inexhaustible mine of information with regard to the insects of the world in Fabre's some twenty magnificent volumes. I understand that most of this material is to be made available in English, but those who can only read English will have to await the convenience of translation and publication, as is always true of the student of science who cannot read more than one language. In the meantime the death of Fabre within the year makes a review of his work not only opportune, but quite demanded by his importance in modern science.

Probably the most interesting work that has been done in science, certainly the scientific writing that has attracted most popular attention all over the world in recent years, was that of M. Jean Henri Fabre, who died, at the age of ninety-two, October 11, 1915. His work belonged in its great beginnings at least to a preceding generation, for Darwin spoke of him as "an incomparable observer" and Victor Hugo gave him the title of "the Homer of the insects," a designation that has been popularized by Maeterlinck's use of it in our own time. The title is most appropriate, for that was literally what Fabre was, the epic poet of the lives of the insects. While he was thoroughly scientific, he was not at all a mere dry-as-dust accumulator of facts and classifier of observations, and yet he gathered together an immense amount of information about his loved insects and presented it in charmingly readable form. Gladstone once said that there is more information about the Greeks in Homer than would have been found in a many volumed encyclopedia written about them at that time, and yet Homer is poetry. Fabre has given us the lives of the insects in minutest detail and yet made genuine poetry of it, or at least real literature, so vivid is his vision and his power of portraying it.

Indeed Fabre wrote so interestingly that some people, and especially some dry-as-dust scientists accustomed to ordinary scien-

tific books and their arid style, suspected the thoroughly scientific quality of his underlying observations. This did not disturb Fabre, however, who continued to write his delightful prose with flashes of fancy and bits of humor here and there and some eminently human reflections, and in addition did not hesitate to declare that he detested the barbarous argon and utterly austere statements of fact which made science so thorny and repellant to the young. This unjust scientific suspicion faded in the course of time, while Fabre's literary reputation constantly grew. Edmund Rostand, the famous French poet, characterized Fabre as "this great scientist who thinks as a philosopher, sees as an artist and feels and expresses himself as a poet." Maeterlinck called him "one of the most profound and inventive scholars, one of the purest writers and one of the finest poets of the century that has just passed."

It is sometimes said that an adequate yet thoroughly definite and concrete definition of genius is that it is an infinite capacity for taking pains. If this be so, then surely Jean Henri Fabre was a genius almost beyond compare. No amount of trouble was too much for him to take in order to secure absolutely first hand knowledge with regard to insects. It was nothing for him to watch patiently for hours in order to determine a single apparently quite unimportant point with regard to insect activities. Nothing but actual observation would satisfy him. Sometimes, so minute are the organs of insects that he was studying, he was compelled to use a glass in order to determine just what it was that he was seeing, but all of the pains necessary only added zest to his search after what was as yet unknown in these matters.

Fortunately for Fabre, the vogue of nature study books began to awake about a generation ago and the sale of his works afforded him the meagre support which was all that he demanded in order to be able to continue his investigation. Even with this, however, toward the end of his life he felt the severe touch of poverty and had for a time to be cared for in the Sisters' Hospital until Mistral, the well-known Provençal poet, learning of his destitution, appealed to his friends and brought Fabre's case before the French Government, who allowed him a pension and this enabled the old man to go on undisturbed once more with his work. It is the way of this dear old-fashioned world of ours to give its largest rewards and to give them very readily to those who amuse, not to those who instruct and above all, not to those who merely devote their lives to finding new truths for us.

All his life, however, Fabre wanted only the opportunity to pursue his studies without too much distraction. Money meant literally nothing to him and he was absolutely blessed in having found his

work and needed only the chance to go on with it. He illustrates very well in his career the fact that genius makes its way in spite of obstacles and discouragements, for there was almost nothing to encourage him in the course of study and a great many things to discourage him. Very probably few men have had happier lives. He was constantly occupied with problems, some of which looked insoluble, and yet most of which he succeeded in solving by patient observation. He was constantly finding some new thing or lighting quite unexpectedly on some novel significance of an old fact. It is easy to understand under these circumstances how much of happiness must have been his.

Fabre had none of the advantages that are often supposed to be helpful in the pursuit of scientific studies. In the chapters of his autobiography which he included in "*Souvenirs Entomologiques*," and which have been printed in English with his papers on "*The Life on the Fly*."* Fabre has argued out the question of the influence of heredity and environment in his own case and leads inevitably to the conclusion that it is nature and not nurture that counts, though the nature does not necessarily seem to come from the family stock, but is a free gift accorded the individual. Those who are interested in this world-old dispute as to whether heredity or environment counts the most in helping human beings will find these chapters of Fabre's autobiography very interesting, but rather disappointing if they hold any sides in the matter.

Fabre's maternal grandfather was a process-server who knew how to read and write and spell in "primitive fashion," but nothing more. His maternal grandmother "looked on the alphabet as a set of hieroglyphics only to spoil your sight for nothing." His paternal grandfather was a herdsman farmer, who would have been dumb-founded to learn that one of his family became enamored of those insignificant creatures, the insects, to which he had never vouchsafed a glance in his life. His grandam, by whom Fabre was brought up, because there were so many children at home, could not read or write, though she could tell the children wonderful stories of the animals that Fabre remembered to the end of his life. As the youngest of the household he "had a right to the mattress, a sack stuffed with oat chaff; the others had to be content with straw. His mother was quite illiterate. His father knew how to write, though he took the greatest liberties with spelling. He was

* "*The Life of the Fly*," with which are interspersed some chapters of autobiography by J. Henri Fabre, translated by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos, Fellow of the Zoological Society of London. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1913.

the first of his line to allow himself to be tempted by the town and he lived to regret it. Badly off, having but little outlet for his industries, making God knows what shifts to pick up a livelihood, he went through all the disappointments of the countryman turned townsman. Persecuted by bad luck, borne down by the burden for all his energy and good will, he was far indeed from starting me in entomology. He had other cares, cares more direct and more serious. A good cuff or two when he saw me pinning an insect to a cork was all the encouragement that I received from him. Perhaps he was right! Farther back all Fabre's "ancestors were sons of the soil, ploughmen, sowers of rye, neat-herds," and yet before he was six Fabre's power of observation had wakened up and he was beginning to make experiments for himself.

He tells the story of his first experimental scientific observation, made when he was between five and six. He saw the sunrise one morning and looking at it wondered why it gave him so much pleasure. His only pleasure before this had been that of taste for food, though poverty had not permitted much of that nor any great variety, still he thought that perhaps the sun affected him through his mouth. He opened his mouth then and shut his eyes and the sun vanished. When he shut his mouth and opened his eyes, all the glory of the sun came to him. "I had learned by deduction that I see the sun with my eyes. O what a discovery! That evening I told the whole house about it. Grandmother smiled fondly at my simplicity, the others laughed at it. It is the way of the world. Subsequent discoveries were not published for fear of the great laughter that greeted my story about the sun."

Just as heredity furnishes no clue as to why this boy in the midst of his sordid poverty-stricken conditions should become interested in insects and nature study with an ardor that could not be quenched, so the story of his education would seem to furnish many reasons why he should not have become interested in nature study. How a modern educator would sniff at the idea of teaching children anything in the crowded distracting conditions amid the utterly inadequate facilities of the school to which Fabre went. Besides being schoolmaster, the teacher was barber, bellringer, choirmaster, clock-tender to the village and also had charge of the estate of an absentee landlord in the neighborhood. "He was an excellent man, who could have kept school very well but for his lack of one thing, and that was time," and yet Fabre's taste for nature-study and his love for the insects was not stifled, but he snatched every opportunity to learn more about the little creatures around him. "The rustic school even in the heart of winter furnished continuous food for my interest in things." He was slow to learn his letters until they came to be represented for him as the initials of the names of animals and insects. Reading was difficult until he got hold of

Fontaine's "Fables" with the crow, the magpie, the fox, the wolf and the insects, all persons of his acquaintance, and then reading came easy.

Like many another man who was later to be famous in the annals of science, Fabre owed the opportunity to get more than an elementary education to the interest of his parish priest. With the help of the curé he entered as a serving boy in the chapel at Rodez College, and for his services he was entitled to free instruction as a day boarder. Virgil, with his stories of the bee, the cicada, the turtle dove, the crow, the nannygoat and the golden broom, made Latin easy, just as Fontaine had made French reading like play. All his leisure time was spent with insects, though he was only ten.

Then suddenly failure came to his father in his little business and Fabre had to turn in to earn his own "peneorth of potatoes" as best he could and help in the support of the family. "Life became a hideous inferno of hunger and hard work." "Amid this lamentable chaos my love for the insect ought to have gone under, but it did not." He found his consolation at odd moments in the discovery of what were to him new and wonderful insects, which "were as a ray of sunshine in the gloomy wretchedness of the day." Finally, when he was about fourteen, he got a position at a school that assured him food—"dried chestnuts and chick peas." His penchant for nature-study kept dragging him, but he pushed it aside and took up mathematics, because *there* seemed the hope of rising above the primary school, whose staff could barely earn their bread in those days.

Fabre has described how he learned his mathematics and physical sciences for himself. "Mathematics remained, with its very simple equipment a blackboard, a bit of chalk and a few books."

"So I flung myself with might and main into conic sections and the calculus—a hard battle, if ever there was one, without guides or counsellors, face to face for days on end with the abstruse problem which my stubborn thinking at last stripped of its mysteries. Next came the physical sciences, studied in the same manner, with an impossible laboratory, the work of my own hands."

Then for a time Fabre suppressed all his aspirations after knowledge of nature, for natural history could not bring him anywhere in the educational system of the time and he devoted himself to mathematics. He taught for some years at Ajaccio, in Corsica, but he could not quite resist the temptations of the treasures in biology of the Mediterranean lying all around him. He says of these years: "We are the wisp of straw, the plaything of the winds; we think that we are making for a goal deliberately

chosen. Providence drives us towards another. Mathematics, the exaggerated preoccupation of my youth, did me hardly any service, and natural science, which I avoided as much as ever I could, is the consolation of my old age." He was discovered by visiting naturalists, who recognized his talents for observation and encouraged him to broaden his knowledge of biology. One of them, Moquin-Tandon, professor at the University of Toulouse, showed Fabre one day the anatomy of a snail in a soup plate filled with water, using a pair of scissors from the family work basket and a couple of needles stuck into bits of vines. "This was the only never-to-be-forgotten lesson in natural history that I ever received in my life," says Fabre.

When it is recalled how much money has been spent in the last half century in the training of embryo-scientists and in the supplying of proper facilities for scientific investigation, this simple tale of the boyhood and scientific training of Fabre, one of the greatest of our scientists, becomes doubly interesting. All that was needed for him in anything was a start, and then he did the rest for himself. He received that start as a rule only after he had manifested a special talent for the work. We are constantly talking in our time about the necessity of *interesting* young folks in their educational work. Everything in the world was done consciously and unconsciously to discourage the beginnings of Fabre's life-work, and yet his nature brought him back to it and worked out its purpose. He talks himself of his liking for the insects and his faculty for observation as a quality resembling the instincts that are such prominent features in the lives of all manner of insects. His observations and studies on these little creatures brought him to the conclusion that instincts were gifts. He suggests then that human abilities of a special order are practically always gifts, and that without this precious basis, opportunities and a favorable environment mean very little.

Fabre sums up the influences at work in his life in a single paragraph as follows:

"After the details which I have already given about my ancestors, it would be ridiculous to look to heredity for an explanation of the fact. Nor would any one venture to suggest the words or example of my masters. Of scientific education, the fruit of college training, I had none whatever. I never set foot in a lecture hall except to undergo the ordeal of examination. Without masters, without guides, often without books, in spite of poverty, that terrible extinguisher, I went ahead, persisted, facing my difficulties, until the indomitable bump ended by shedding its scanty contents. Yes, they were very scanty, yet possibly of some value, if circum-

stances had come to their assistance. I was a born animalist. Why and how? No reply."

Very probably the most interesting result of Fabre's long life of studies is the demonstration that any and every insect is a marvelous being, with instincts and habits, organs and functions that represent simply wonderful adaptations of means to ends. All the world has known that certain insects, as the bees and the wasps, were possessed of the most delicate instincts that had been favorite subject of study for years. What Fabre has shown, however, is that every insect when studied deeply enough presents the same sort of wonderful picture. There are mysteries of function and organs and habits of life that only the most patient careful study elucidate, but which illustrate very clearly the mysteries that exist even in the smallest and apparently most trivial beings in the world around us. It is this calling to popular attention of the universality of the underlying mysteries intricacy of insect life that has made Fabre's reputation. He has made the grasshoppers and beetles and the flies and every other minute flying thing a subject of profound interest. He does not think for the moment that he has learned all about them, but, on the contrary, he confessed that he was only beginning to know how little he really knew about them, in the face of how much remained to be known, as the term of existence approached for him.

The cricket would not seem to be ordinarily a very promising subject for study, and yet by the time Fabre gets through with his researches, the cricket has taken on an interest quite equal to that of the bee or the ant. Indeed, it is apparently only because the bee and the ant are more familiar to man and have been more studied that they seem to be of so much more interest. Manifestly none of these little creatures are without wonderful exhibitions of the adaptations of means to end that require all of human ingenuity and patience to elucidate and that respect wondrous mysteries, the origin of which can only be attributed to an Overseeing Power that cares as marvelously for the least as for the greatest of His creatures. The growth of the cricket's wings, for instance, seems to Fabre to present a marvelous summary of the processes of growth in general, which usually pass unperceived, because growth is so slow that it is obscured beneath the veil of time. Here by exception growth is accomplished with a swiftness that forces the attention. "The wing of a cricket, that wonderful piece of lace work emerging from a tiny sheath, speaks to us of another Architect, the author of the plan according to which life labors." Fabre adds:

"Whosoever would gain, without wearisome delays, a glimpse

of the inconceivable dexterity with which the forces of life can labor, has only to consider the Great Cricket of the vineyard. The insect will show him that which is hidden from our curiosity by extreme deliberation in the germinating seed, the opening leaf and the budding flower. We cannot see the grass grow, but we can watch the growth of the cricket's wing."

Long ago Pliny said: "*In his tam parvis, fere nullis, quae vis, quae sapientia, quam inextricabilis perfectio!*" In these humble creatures, so small that they are almost nothings, what power, what wisdom, what inconceivable perfection! After contemplating what even the vineyard cricket has demonstrated, though every one from the oldest times to our own who have studied insects has noted it, Fabre grows impatient with those who think to explain the world of life as merely so many chemical forces, or as summed up in some combination of chemistry and physics for which a long Greek name is secured. George Eliot said we map out our ignorance in long Greek names. After making his marvelous minute observations, Fabre, whose long life of study has given him the right to express himself with regard to life's problems, has this to say to the over-confident theorist with regard to the origin and significance of vitality:

"I have heard that a learned inquirer, for whom life is only a conflict of physical and chemical forces, does not despair of one day obtaining artificially organizable matter—protoplasm, as the official argon has it. If it were in my power, I should hasten to satisfy this ambitious gentleman.

"But so be it; you have really prepared protoplasm. By force of meditation, profound study, minute care, impregnable patience, your desire is realized; you have extracted from your apparatus an albuminous slime, easily corruptible and stinking like the devil at the end of a few days; in short, a nastiness. What are you going to do about it? Organize something? Will you give it the structure of a living edifice? Will you inject it with a hypodermic syringe between two impalpable plates to obtain were it only the wing of a fly? That is very much what the cricket does. It injects its protoplasm between the two surfaces of an embryo organ, and the material forms a wing cover, because it finds as guide the ideal archetype of which I spoke but now. It is controlled in the labyrinth of its course by a device anterior to the injection, anterior to the material itself. This archetype, the coördinator of forms, this primordial regulator, have you got it on the end of your syringe? No! Then throw away your product. Life will never spring from that chemical filth."

No form of insect, no matter how trivial or commonplace it

might appear, has failed to be of interest to Fabre if it came within the sphere of his attention, and invariably when he investigated, he was sure to find wonderful instincts at work and his patience elaborated the explanations of them. One of his classic studies is on the elephant beetle, that grotesque-looking insect, a living caricature in the insect world of the elephant, the beetle with the prodigious snout. It was very hard to understand for a long time just why this creature had to carry "this embarrassing pike, this ridiculous snout, stiffly outstretched like a lance, in rest in order to keep from stumbling." When Fabre began his study he could not help but feel that for most people the answer to the question that he was posing was of so little importance that all they would do over it would be to shrug their shoulders. His reflection is, "Well, if the only end of life is to make money by hook or by crook, such questions are certainly ridiculous." He answers his own reflection, however, with the counter reflection:

"Happily there are some to whom nothing in the majestic riddle of the universe is little. They know of what humble materials the bread of thought is kneaded—a nutriment no less necessary than the bread made from wheat, and they know that both laborers and inquirers nourish the world with an accumulation of crumbs."

Fabre soon found that this trunk-like appendage in the elephant beetle was an awl for boring into acorns. He worked out that its length was adapted to penetrating into the cup of the acorn in such a way as to provide a place for the larvæ that would hatch from its egg just in that portion of the acorn where the new-born grub will find light and juicy and easily digested nutriment. Though the process of boring the acorn with a slow to and fro motion, such as men use in inserting an awl, often takes the better part of a day, mother will try many acorns in order to assure herself that the food provided for the young is of just the proper kind. The surprise is that the long canal shall be made through the full length of the acorn in many cases instead of boring directly through the cap, which would be much easier, and depositing the egg there. In the making of the long canal, however, mother provides an amount of finely divided food material which the young grub after feasting on the succulent material at the base of the acorn consumes from day to day, gradually growing in strength until it is able to tackle successfully the harder and less digestible material of the solid acorn itself and complete its growth by the nutrition thus obtained.

In a word, this grotesque-looking beetle mother possesses instincts that enable her to anticipate very exactly the need of her

unborn offspring and to provide for them, even though it takes her comparatively quite as much trouble as any human mother to provide for her little ones. No trouble is too much to take, and with tenacious perseverance the ovum is placed just where the new-born grub can drink from a living spring of nourishment in the acorn, and at the same time mother prepares for the next stage of nutrition a long tube of fine easily digested meal.

"But these are trivialities! Not so, if you please, but high and important matters, speaking to us of the Infinite pains which preside over the preservation of the least of things, witnesses of a superior logic which regulates the smallest details."

Fabre's studies of insects have led him above all to question the ordinarily accepted explanation of odor as being invariably due to minute particles of the substance which contains or causes the scent floating in the air or else to gaseous products which are given off from it. His studies particularly of such butterflies as the so-called peacock butterflies make it very clear that this explanation of the power of scent which they exhibit is altogether inadequate. Within twenty four hours after the great peacock female butterfly is born dozens of males come from miles around to visit her, though none of them had been noted before in that neighborhood. Manifestly there was some lure in the atmosphere that attracted them. There is not the slightest odor that is in any way discernible to human senses connected with this great moth. Not only that, but if the creature be surrounded by a whole series of strongly smelling materials, they do not seem to disturb in any way the attraction which the moth has. In a room that is full of strong scents and rank odors of all kinds the male moth will go straight to the door of a closet in which the female moth is confined and beat against it till exhausted. If the moth is confined, however, within a closed bell jar sealed with a glass plate, even though it is placed in the open window in the light where its magnificent colors are very striking, the male moths will pass by this apparently unescapeable object to seek the wire cage in which the female was previously confined and to which manifestly still clings the lure that has attracted them.

Fabre argues then that while many odors doubtless are due to emission processes, some of them undoubtedly are due to vibrations, and he insists that smell has two domains, that of particles carried in the air and that of etheric waves. We human mortals know only the first category of odors. The second category of odor, far superior in its action through space, escapes us completely because we lack the essential sensory equipment. The moth does not emit molecules, but something about it vibrates, causing waves

capable of propagation to distances incompatible with an actual diffusion of matter. The great entomologists conclusion is: "Like light, odor has its x-rays. Let science, instructed by the insect, one day give us a radiograph sensitive to odors, and this artificial nose will open a new world of marvels."

Some of Fabre's observations have revolutionized the traditional significance of insects and their ways very strikingly and not infrequently modified profoundly also the scientific knowledge with regard to these little creatures. Perhaps one of the most striking revolutions in popular science came with regard to the *cigale*, a word that may be translated grasshopper, though Fabre's studies were with regard to a species not usually classed as grasshopper in English. Nearly every one remembers the fable of the *cigale*, or the grasshopper, and the ant. According to this story with a moral the *cigale* spends its time all during the warm weather of the summer singing idly for its own satisfaction, careless of the future and apparently forgetful of the fact that the cold weather is coming, when it will not be able to obtain food and therefore must perish if it has no store of provisions. According to the fable, the *cigale* in its extremity in the winter weather goes begging to the ant for food and is refused in the famous words, "You sang all summertime, now you can dance during the winter."

Fabre in his book "Social Life in the Insect World" has traced this fable or legend back to the distant classic literature. *Æsop* has it and probably it is even older than that. It has been one of the means of teaching children thrift among many nations and will doubtless continue to serve that same useful purpose, though Fabre has shown that it is entirely false to the realities of nature. According to the old story, the *cigale* begs for grain, though any such diet would be absolutely incompatible with her delicate mouth arrangements, which are meant only for drinking in the sap of trees, for this is the only food that the *cigale* takes. The child is the best guardian of tradition and Fabre suggests that "he will doubtless preserve for future generations the absurd nonsense of which the body of the fable is constructed; the *cigale* will always be hungry when the cold comes, although there were never *cigales* in winter; she will always beg alms in the shape of a few grains of wheat, a diet absolutely incompatible with her delicate capillary 'tongue' and according to the story, in desperation 'she will hunt for flies and grubs although she never eats.'"

As a matter of fact, as Fabre proceeds to show in his article on the *cigale*, it is the ant that comes to the *cigale* for food, not the opposite that is ever the case. There is just exactly a corresponding reversal of significance to that which has taken place

with regard to the spider and the fly. Children used to be taught to look upon the spider as an awful ogre, who laid in wait for and devoured the innocent flies. Many a fable has been constructed in which there was a warning of the dangers of life for young folks represented by the story of the spider and the fly, who is invited to walk into the spider's parlor and meets her doom there. Feelings of abhorrence were created for the spider, while the fly was looked at as an innocent victim of her enemy's wiles. As a matter of fact, instead of the spider being an enemy of mankind, deserving in any way to be dreaded, recent knowledge shows him constantly a helpmate of mankind, while the fly is perhaps man's worst enemy in the insect world. More diseases and death are due to the fly than to any other of the winged creatures. At last we are getting to know something of the realities of insect life.

The ant is not only a shameless beggar from the cigale, but even does not hesitate at theft from the cigale's private well which that creature is wont to bore, especially during the season of drought, through the bark of some suitable shrub until she reaches the little rivers of sap within the branch. Fabre has seen ants gnaw at the claws of the cigale, tug at the ends of her wings, climb on her back, tickle her antennæ, try to move her in any possible way in order to get some share in the liquid that she was drawing out of the branch. The great French entomologist still further reverses the action described by the fable by the observation that when the cigale dies, as it does toward the end of the summer, the ants often discover the remains, dissect it into tiny fragments and store it away in their stock of provisions. They sometimes do not wait for the death of the insect, and Fabre has often seen a dying cigale whose wings were still trembling in the dust drawn and quartered by a gang of bandit ants.

A good old story with a fine moral to it is thus spoiled, but a series of true observations comes in to take its place. One of the younger Provençal poets has told the newer story in verse of the real grasshopper and the ant, and the terminal stanzas carry that other moral, that the practical man of affairs is always prone to think of the artist as doing nothing, though it so often proves that the artist's work is ever so much more enduring than that of the self-sufficient maker of money and storer up of "unconsidered trifles;" for the dreamer lives forever and the toiler dies in a day."

"Here is the tale related duly,
And little resembling the fable, truly!
Hoarders of farthings, I know, deuce take it,
It isn't the story as you would make it!

Crook-fingers, big bellies, what do you say,
Who govern the world with the cash-box—hey?

“You have spread the story, with shrug and smirk,
That the artist ne’er does a stroke of work;
And so let him suffer, the imbecile !
Be you silent! ’tis you, I think,
When the cigale pierces the vine to drink,
Drive her away, her drink to steal;
And when she is dead—you make your meal!”

Fabre himself emphasizes over and over again that the insects far from being unthriftly or sluggards, are usually workers of the most strenuous kind and accomplish purposes that seem quite beyond them. Nature has little room for drones of any kind and usually they are disposed of without much ado by those around them. Indeed, the great purpose of insect life seems to be that there shall be no waste in the world. Whenever there is anything lying idle, apparently there is an insect provided to use it up in some way. As soon as the fruits are ripe, many different kinds of insects find their way into them to lay their eggs, and the larvæ then hatched are thus provided with a plentiful store of food. If wool garments are put aside, it requires the most careful precaution to keep them from being eaten by moths. Meat that is unprotected soon becomes the home of various crawling things, whose own purpose is their nutrition in the meat, but whose place in the scheme of things in general is to help dispose of something that is not being used. Nature has no use for the accumulation of materials that may be stored away where they accomplish no good purpose. Insect life was especially designed to prevent such idle accumulations and there are some wonderful ingenuities in the process.

Fabre discusses what seems to be at first glance the awful cruelty of the insect world, needless apparently or at least often gratuitous, quite purposeless. As in the case of *philanthus*, which after killing the bees by stinging them in the cervical ganglion, presses the honey out of the bee’s stomach and greedily laps it up, gluttony sometimes seems to be the only impelling motive. More careful study, however, always reveals other purposes and often redeems nature from the charge of cruelty. Indeed, this has so often proven to be the case when the subject was carefully investigated that it seems almost sure that whenever enough is known about the events, there is some much deeper justification for what seems needless cruelty than could possibly be imagined from superficial information.

Fabre found that *philanthus* after killing the bees by a sting, which brought practically instantaneous and therefore quite painless death, fed the bodies to her larvæ. These little creatures are exclusively proteid eaters, are quite incapable of digesting honey and the slightest amount of that material or anything resembling it, if it is mixed with their food, leads them to refuse it, or, if they are hungry enough to eat it, causes them to sicken and die from it. The mother insect *philanthus* then in removing the honey entirely from the bee's stomach is in reality saving her offspring from being poisoned. Men in the preparation of foodstuffs have learned how to eliminate a number of materials that would prove harmful if allowed to remain. How *philanthus* learned to do this and came to the knowledge that food material which she herself liked very much would be fatal to her young we do not know. The whole procedure, however, of providing food for her young and seeing that toxic material was not allowed to contaminate it is so completely reminiscent of what men do in their preparation of animal food as to constitute a very striking compliment to the instinct of the insect.

Much has been made of the presence of cruelty in the animal world, and particularly among the insects, as if this argued the absence of Providence or any spirit of kindness in the universe around us. Fabre's investigations, however, show clearly that while in poetic phrase nature may be "red in tooth and claw," there is always something behind the apparent needless cruelty that justifies it. Above all, his studies demonstrate that even the animals and insects are "cruel to be kind." It is almost as a rule in the exercise of the maternal instinct of providing food for their young that the insects seem to be most cruel. They deprive others of life, but it is surprising how often this is done under circumstances that make the death agony as brief and as painless as possible. These little creatures know how to find the vital spot in the armor of their prey and to attack that portion which will most surely cause rapid death. How they learned their lessons in comparative anatomy is indeed difficult for us to understand, but such facts represent some of the most wonderful mysteries that there are in the science of living creatures.

The principle of the struggle for existence so often quoted in justification of cruelty among men, or at least of egotistic striving and forgetfulness of others, has its true significance illustrated very well among the insects. The various species do not quarrel among themselves, though they may sacrifice members of other species for their own benefit and particularly for their children. What is particularly found among the insects is mutual aid. A

great many of them live in communities and prove by their helpfulness to each other how much can be accomplished in this way. Above all, the instincts for the care of the young are developed to such an extent as to make the study of this phase of insect life one of the most interesting in biology. Nowhere is the Scriptural phrase that the weak may confound the strong so well illustrated as in the results of the studies of insect life. These little creatures would seem to present only the most childish interests and traits of the simplest possible description, but, on the contrary, their lives are very complex and are full of a wisdom far above anything that man had imagined in their regard.

Commenting on the fact that *philanthus* larvæ is so exclusively carnivorous that even small amount of other food material proved disturbing and even fatal to it, suggests that believers in transformism, that is, in the theory of descent according to which species become gradually transformed into others, would explain it on the evolutionary principle that all of the very early animals were carnivorous, as man was himself at the beginning, but that such creatures as the bee have learned in the process of evolution to dispense completely with chance won aliments, and renouncing the chase forever have acquired a degree of moral and physical prosperity that the predatory species are far from sharing.

Fabre says, "This is what I should say if I were a transformist. All this is a chain of highly logical deductions and hangs together with a certain air of reality, such as we like to look for in a host of transformist's arguments which are put forward as irrefutable. Well, I make a present of this pretty deductive theory to whosoever desire it and without the least regret; I do not believe a single word of it, and I confess my profound ignorance of the origin of the twofold system of diet."

Over and over again Fabre insists that the spinning of theories means very little for real advance in science, and that it is the making of observations that count. While Father Wasmann, S. J., after Fabre perhaps the best known of European entomologists, though his labors were more particularly confined to the ants and their hosts and guests, has come to be persuaded that there is not only a possibility, but an actuality of the transformation of certain species into others, Fabre, whose knowledge is ever so much wider, whose powers of observation are, if possible, more acute and whose years of study far exceed those of his Jesuit colleague, has no patience at all with the theories of evolution. Like Virchow, Fabre did not hesitate to say that the spinning of theories of evolution has wasted an immense amount of time in the science of the last half century, and that we are not nearly knowing enough as yet to

understand anything about the matter and that it is quite futile to speculate until we know ever so much more.

Fabre's greatest work is his "Souvenirs Entomologiques," which has gone into many editions. A few of the volumes of this series have, as we have said, already appeared in English and others are about to appear. The best known is his "Social Life in the Insect World," but practically any of his books is intensely interesting and has a certain sympathetically human point of view that is almost sure to attract attention. One need not be an entomologist or even much interested in insects to find these marvelous stories a real wonder book. The tales of insect life are as interesting as fairy stories for children, and in many ways and cases quite as surprising as those fables for childhood; but Fabre's stories are all realities of actual observation in the little creatures around us that seem to be of such little importance and yet prove to have been the subject of the most loving care, the most beneficent wisdom and the most ingenious adaptation of means to end.

With all his wonderful knowledge of details in his science, so far surpassing other men in his department, Fabre was one of the humblest of men. What he craved was not recognition, but the chance to do ever more and more of his beloved work. He had to work as hard in the midst of poverty and trial for himself and his family as Millet, the great French painter, had to and with as marvelous success. Indeed, a striking parallel between the lives of the two men might very readily be drawn, and probably the most interesting feature of it would be the fact that these two of the greatest geniuses of France in their generation lacked anything like appreciation until toward the end of their lives. When one looks around and sees the trivial accomplishments, especially if they provide superficial entertainment for the multitude, that are richly rewarded and then considers that Francois Millet and Jean Henri Fabre had to be rescued from poverty by friends or they might have perished in the midst of their work, and that Millet's life was probably shortened by the sufferings he had to endure, then indeed the supreme trivialty of popular estimation is brought home to us. If you can use your heels in some novel way, there is a fortune in it. To have something in your head, however, that sets you far above the rest of mankind, so that what you accomplish in life may be a precious heritage for all future generations, in no guarantee against starvation.

It is a long while ago since Publius Syrus, himself probably a slave, who had been brought to Rome, yet whose reflections on humanity probably represent as profound insight into human ways as were ever written, declared "Ingenium laudatur et alget"—

"genius is praised"—and starves. Fortunately neither his trials nor his hard work shortened Fabre's life. On the contrary, his constant occupation of mind with his beloved insects and the new discoveries that he was ever making and the pleasant surprises of unexpected knowledge that were ever coming to him gave a zest to existence that made life supremely interesting even beyond fourscore and ten. Until the very end Fabre was able to go on with his work and his writing.

It was not until he was seventy that he was able to give up all other work and devote himself to his insects. By that time his writings brought him the meagre income that was all sufficient for his modest wants. He wrote at this time: "The wish is realized. It is a little late, O my pretty insects! I greatly fear that the peach is offered me only when I have no teeth wherewith to eat it. Is the time remaining enough, O my busy hymenoptera, to enable me to add yet a few seemly pages to your history? Or will my failing strength cheat my good intentions?"

His cottage was not in the midst of lovely gardens and with the romantic surroundings that one might readily anticipate in Southern France. On the contrary, it was on one of those sun-baked wind-swept wastes which the Provençals call *harnas*—nothing but weeds grew around him. Land was cheaper in such surroundings and economy had always to be a compelling motive with Fabre, but the principal reason for his location was that in the weeds all round him insects swarmed in great profusion and that made it a paradise for Fabre.

With all that he knew toward the end of his life and, above all, all that he had added to human knowledge, the one deep impression that had been produced by him was how little he knew. He had learned so much, had undone so many false impressions of his own, had found the facts that he discovered so often to contradict the theories that he had formed, that he came to realize what an immense amount remains still to be known. This he emphasized over and over again, and above all was impatient with those who because they knew a few things, or had learned a new fact or two about life, wanted to theorize about the whole subject of vitality and dictate their theories to others. He once said:

"Because I have stirred a few grains of sand on the shore, am I in a position to know the depths of the ocean? Life has unfathomable secrets. Human knowledge will be erased from the archives of the world before we possess the last word that the gnat has to say to us. Scientifically, Nature is a riddle without a definite solution to satisfy man's curiosity. Hypothesis follows hypothesis; the theoretical rubbish heap accumulates and truth

ever eludes us. To know how not to know (what is not so) might well be the last word of wisdom."

Fabre is one of the men whose serious studies would give him a right, if any one were to have it, to spin theories. Ordinarily, however, it is exactly those who have least right from their personal studies who insist on making theories supposed to fit into nature studies in various ways and which often seem logical enough until some small newly discovered fact or other completely revolutionizes our knowledge and shows that nature usually does things much more simply than man imagines. For a time, Fabre, because of his refusal to pay any attention to the various theories of evolution and their many developments, which were supposed to explain so many things otherwise inexplicable, was looked upon among scientists as being old fogyish or influenced by some extraneous consideration to oppose what they were sure represented the last word in science. Virchow, the great German pathologist, as I have recently shown in a sketch of him in "Makers of Modern Medicine," suffered some of the same scientific disfavor for the same reason. Vitalism, that is, the belief in a principle of life independent of physical and chemical forces, became unpopular and its adherents were looked upon as exhibiting some senile attributes of impossibility of advance in thought. The wheel of opinion has swung round in science, however, and now vitalism is in favor once more, conservatism has become the rule and the decade from 70 to 80 in the nineteenth century, when so many superficial scientists were sure that they could explain "everything under the sun and a few other things besides," is now often spoken of as "the silly seventies."

Fabre lived long enough to see this change of opinion. A great many of the older scientists of the nineteenth century, however, including particularly our own Agassiz, who always stood out against natural selective theories of the explanation of evolution and insisted that the world would some time come to recognize how utterly superficial they were, did not have that privilege. Now that those theories are nearly two generations before the public without any proof being afforded of their doctrinal character, it is much easier to understand on what dubious grounds they were presented and how well it was for science that at least any of the older scientists stood out against them. The objection of old fogyism so often urged against the conservative scientists is now seen to be only an expression of impatience on the part of superficial students of subjects who think that they have exhausted all knowledge with regard to it when they are as yet only on the threshold of their knowledge. Fabre's death closes the

roll of the scientists who lived through the stormy period, and it is a consolation to know that he lived to see the reaction toward conservatism in full swing before his passing.

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OUTLINES OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE MYSTICAL LIFE.

THE MIRACULOUS.

"Vere tu es Deus absconditus," says the Prophet. "Thou, O Lord, art indeed a hidden God." (Is. xlv., 15.)

GOD is hidden behind the veil of natural causes as far as His natural presence and action are concerned. He is hidden behind the veil of faith and the sacraments as far as His supernatural action and presence of love in the soul of the just are concerned. During the thirty-three years of His life on earth the Son of God was hidden behind the transparent veil of His sacred flesh, taken from the most pure womb of the Virgin Mary, and He is now totally hidden behind the veil of the sacramental species in the sacrament of His love. Hidden! hidden! hidden!

Is then God without the power of showing forth His presence and His action? Is He deprived of the means of raising or drawing aside from time to time one or the other of these veils which are of His own making? Cannot He, when He so wills, intervene directly in the affairs of this lower world and manifest Himself to men? It would be absurd to admit it, for it would be setting bounds to the Infinite power of God, which would amount to a denial of God, pure and simple. Besides, we have positive evidence of such an interference of God in human affairs. History, both sacred and profane, that of our own times as well as that of all past centuries, bears witness to the fact that God has a way of His own of showing forth, when He so wills, His presence and His action. God has a sign all His own, which, when it appears, men, even the most obtuse or the most obdurate, are compelled, unless they deliberately stultify themselves, to exclaim: "Digitus Dei est hic!" Here surely is the finger of God, the mark of God, the sign of God, the unmistakable sign of His presence and of His action!

That sign is *the miraculous*.

What is a miracle? What place does it hold in the economy of religion? What place does it obtain particularly in this department of religion which we call the "Mystical Life?" Is the miraculous the all in all of mystical life, as some modern writers would fain have us believe? Or is it but an exception, or at least an accidental adjunct to mystical life proper?

It is time that we should at last grapple at close quarters with this question, which is not difficult in itself, but which has been terribly obscured by the rashness of some writers. I propose to

do so in this and the next (two) chapters. I want to show (clearly) that the miraculous is not an essential element of the mystical life, and that it is a grievous mistake to make the two terms *miraculous* and *mystical* synonymous. In order to do this successfully, I have thought of nothing better than of offering first (in this chapter) a summary of the doctrine on miracle as I have gathered it from the "Summa Theologica" of St. Thomas. However, in order not to be taxing the patience of the reader by incessant quotations, I will give here all at once, for the use of the diligent student, the references in their proper order. Prima: 9. 105, a 6, 7, 8. 9. 110. 4.—111. 3, 4.—114. 4.—117. 3 ad 1. Prima Secundæ: 9. 111. 1, 4.—113. 10. Secunda Secundæ: 9. 171-178. Tertia: 9. 13.—27-36,—38. 2 ad 2.—40. 2 ad 1.—43-45.—76. 8.—84. 3 ad 4.

What then is a miracle?

A miracle is an event of the sensible order, which totally exceeds the capacity of created nature, and therefore can have but God alone for its secret cause. It is a marvelous sort of event, calculated forcibly to draw upon itself the attention of men and excite their admiration. It is a kind of a sign, the special sign of God, which He employs in order to give to men an extraordinary demonstration of something supernatural, as, for example, of His divine attributes—infinite power, justice, mercy, love, etc., or of some mystery of religion, as the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, the Redemption, the glory of Christ in heaven, His real Presence in the Blessed Sacrament; or, again, in order to give some glimpse of the Church Triumphant, or of the Church Suffering, or of the present or the future state of the Militant Church, or of the awful secrets of the world of sin and damnation, or, finally, in order to set in its proper light the wonderful sanctity of some servant of God, even during the days of his pilgrimage on earth, or to enable him to accomplish some special mission. This was the case, for instance, with St. Catherine of Siena when she brought back the Papacy from Avignon to Rome, and with Blessed Joan of Arc when she delivered France from the yoke of the English, to the greatest weal of both nations.

From this description of miracle as a marvelous sign of God, totally exceeding the capacity of created nature and given to men to teach them something supernatural, it will be easy to determine and useful to point out what is no miracle.

First. The work of the six days of creation was not a miracle properly speaking, though indeed the immediate work of God and stupendous beyond expression, because it was no exception to the laws of nature, but their very institution, and there was no man as yet to be a witness of the process. Secondly, the immediate

creation of souls by Almighty God day by day, generation after generation, throughout all centuries is no miracle, since it evades the direct observation of man and is inviolably linked with the natural laws which rule the propagation of the race. Thirdly, the purely spiritual effects of grace, under all its forms, of the Sacraments, of Prayer at all its degrees, of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, the justification of the sinner, the internal illumination and invigoration of a soul, the transformation of the fervent Christian into Christ, the wonderful ascent of the same Christian, from virtue to virtue, even to the highest peak of heroic sanctity—all these purely spiritual effects are not miracles, because, in themselves, they are out of the sphere of the direct observation of men. Fourthly, the intervention, on the one hand, of our guardian angel, on the other of the devils in the affairs of our soul, have nothing of the miraculous as long as they do not take some tangible or visible form. Fifthly, the illusions of the devil, as is obvious, cannot be called miracles. Sixthly, the tricks of clever mountebanks, the frauds of sacrilegious scoundrels, be they never so inexplicable to the simple-minded, are not miracles. Seventhly, nor are miracles those natural phenomena of rare occurrence and the cause of which may happen to be unknown, such as an eclipse of the sun or of the moon, the aurora borealis, comets, shooting stars, etc., which have the privilege of exciting intense wonder, especially among the unlearned. Finally, though most of the ecstasies of the great servants of God are genuine miracles, some, however, are not, as we shall explain in its proper place, in Part II. of these "Outlines."

There are three degrees of miraculousness—the lowest, the higher and the highest. The lowest degree of a miracle consists in the manner in which an event took place, as, for instance, when a sick person is suddenly cured, as is related of St. Peter's mother-in-law (Mat. viii., 15), or when a conversion from unbelief and sinfulness to sanctity is made, as that of St. Paul, in an instant, all gradual process being dispensed with. The higher degree is the miracle called *in the person*, as, for instance, when a dead man is made to live again, or one born blind to see. The highest degree of miracle is when the *whole substance of the event* totally exceeds the forces of created agencies, as when the shadow on the clock of Achaz was made to go back so many degrees, or when two bodies are made to occupy the same space, as was the case in the virgin birth of Our Lord, and in His coming out of the tomb without removing the stone, and in His coming into the room, the doors remaining closed; as will be the case also with all the predestined, after the resurrection of the bodies, whenever they will

encounter material obstacles and go through them with the ease of a ray of light passing through clearest crystal.

Not all miracles are public. Some are accomplished in secret, so that he only that is the object of miraculous intervention knows the fact and can give testimony of it. Such miracles have very often happened in the lives of the saints. Some hidden miracles are articles of faith; thus the conception of our Lord from a virgin and His virgin birth. But those wrought in confirmation of the truth faith are necessarily manifest; such were the many miracles performed by our Lord during His public apostolate, as also those in favor of the people of God in the Old Testament and those which the Apostles, the first Christians, the martyrs and the saints of all centuries have performed in order to establish or to consolidate the religion of Christ.

Although the gift of miracles is of the kind of graces called "*gratis datæ*" and therefore must not be confused with the grace "*gratum faciens*," which is properly sanctifying grace, nevertheless, certain dispositions, such as a lively faith, either in the performer of the miracle or in him who is the object of it, perseverance in prayer and fasting, chastity and an heroic spirit of mortification contribute greatly to the operation of miracles, as our Lord has taken pains to inculcate time and again in His Gospel. Except in the blessed Soul of our Lord, Who had it in its fullness to exercise it for Himself and to communicate it to men as He willed, the grace of miracles is not an habitual possession, but only a passing impression.

To what sort of the presence of God is the performance of miracles to be ascribed? Simply to His natural presence; God suspends the laws of nature by the same power that He established them. The invisible ministrations of the angels are pressed into service for the carrying out of miracles, just as it is pressed into service for the government of this material universe. "*Nonne omnes sunt administratorii spiritus?*" Are they not all ministering spirits, sent to minister for them who shall receive the inheritance of salvation? (Hab. i., 16).

Almost innumerable are the varieties of miracles that have been wrought out by Almighty God at various times in the sky, on the earth, on the sea, on the persons of men, in beasts and plants and rocks and all the elements, in all departments of this material universe, as was fitting indeed to show forth His absolutely sovereign dominion over the works of His hands.

Here, now, are some of the most common miracles:

The marvelous command given to some men over brute nature, animate and inanimate. This was very conspicuous in Moses,

Elias, Elisæus, Our Lord, His Apostles and certain privileged saints—the gifts of tongue, of healing, of casting out devils, of prophecy, of reading the secret thoughts of men and the hidden state of their conscience.

Seeing God face to face in bodily form, as did Adam, Abraham, Moses; or after the Resurrection of Our Lord, seeing Him in some incident of His earthly life and dolorous passion, or in His glory, or in the Blessed Sacrament also seeing the saints in glory, or the poor souls in purgatory, or angels or devils in bodily form and having speech with them.

The constancy of martyrs in the midst of the most horrible torments. Certain extraordinary diseases of the saints, as, for instance, those of St. Lidwine of Shiedam. Living a considerable time without food or on no other nourishment but the Holy Eucharist. Bearing the Sacred Stigmata or a Crown of Thorns, sometimes visible, sometimes invisible, etc.

Levitation of the body in the air its instantaneous transportation at enormous distances, apparent bilocation.

Visions, revelations, locutions, either imaginary, i. e., perceptible to the senses or purely intellectual, raptures or the like extraordinary phenomena met with in the lives of the saints.

The rules for discerning genuine miracles from apparent or spurious ones will find their proper place in the third part of these "Outlines," when we shall have to treat of the "Discernment of the Various Spirits." Suffice it to say that the Church is the supreme, infallible judge of the genuineness of miracles, because she has received from our Lord, together with the Holy Ghost, the fullness of teaching authority and the promise of His own personal assistance: "Behold," He said to His Apostles on the day of His Ascension, "I am with you even till the consummation of the world."

MIRACULOUS VERSUS MYSTICAL.

How it ever came into the mind of some modern Catholic writers to make mysticism synonymous with miracle passes my understanding.

Compare the two notions; they are simply contradictory with one another. The essence of mysticism consists in its pure spiritualness and secrecy; on the contrary, that of miracle in its manifestation, its coming into the order of things perceived by the senses, its striking wonder in the mind of those who witness it.

Mystical life, as we must by this time have realized, is nothing else but the intercourse of a loving soul with the loving God in the secret of the heart. It is something hidden, secret, hence

the name. Now, as long as God is blindly perceived by the loving soul in the secret of her heart, there is no miracle, because it is a purely spiritual fact; but the moment the vision of God takes a definite aspect, or words either intellectual or articulate are spoken and a distinct message delivered to the mystic, or some extraordinary, sensible token of what is passing between God and him is given to the outside world, then we are in the miraculous.

I am not far from thinking that if all Christians lived the fullness of Christian life, lived the mystical life, pure and simple and common, as I am endeavoring to describe it in these "Outlines," lived it to the best of their ability and to the fullest extent of the grace that would undoubtedly be given them—they all would be favored, at some time or other of their pilgrimage, publicly or in secret, oftener in secret, with some miraculous communication from God. I am inclined to believe that whenever God meets with a truly faithful and generous soul, He cannot restrain Himself, and in the impetuosity of His love, He feels compelled to lift a corner of the veil and allow His servant a glimpse, just a passing glimpse, of heavenly things, or to deal out to him, now and again, one of those entrancing, heavenly delicacies which fill a soul with unutterable, unearthly delights.

The wonder perhaps is not so much that this should occur now and again, as we see in the lives of the saints, but that it should, even with the saints, be but the exception, and not the constant rule. The wonder is that the supernatural presence of the loving God in the loving soul and its body should not betray itself oftener by miraculous effects, and that this marvelous new being, the fervent Christian, this true child of God, this little God, should go through life appearing in no way different physically from the other men, abandoned to sloth and sin and infidelity. But there is good reason for such being the case. A comparison will help us to understand this.

During the earthly life of Our Lord for obvious reasons it was not desirable that the glory of His hypostatic union should break forth openly and habitually upon His human countenance and shine in the eyes of all. It would have interfered with the plan of God as to the way of our redemption, made the Passion of Christ an impossibility and rung from men, by a sort of moral violence, the assent they ought to have given Him only freely. Still, the divine glory was, even then, by right due to His sacred Humanity, and it was, no doubt, in order to teach us this truth that the incident of the Transfiguration took place. Was the Transfiguration a miracle? It was rather the momentary cessation of a long continued miracle. It was by a miracle that the divine glory did not

shine all the time around our Saviour, from the moment of His virginal birth to that of His entombment and the transfiguration was but a short respite, an interruption for a brief space of time, of that life-long miracle.

Now, very much in the same way we may assume that, for obvious reasons, it is desirable that during the days of their pilgrimage on earth the essential glory of the mystical union of the saints with God should not be allowed to shine in the eyes of men continually by miraculous phenomena, such as visions, revelations, raptures, the gifts of healing, of prophecy, of command over nature, etc. Otherwise it would gravely interfere with the conditions of our present life of trial, during which we are to walk by faith. It would put an earthly premium upon sanctity, tamper with the purity of our intention, take away the merit of faith and threaten the solidity of the whole supernatural order. It would so glorify the true Church in the eyes of men as to interfere, by a sort of moral violence, with their free will. Moreover, it would have within the Church the grave inconvenience of revealing not only who are mystics, but also by contrast who are not; of publishing to the world the secret of consciences, since we would have in our hands a test whereby to tell who is a saint and, by implication, also who is a sinner. Furthermore, it would make the lives of the saints unbearable, by reason of the many who would gape at them, dog their footsteps everywhere, in order to see miracles, crowd around them, importunate them. Finally, the constant gift of visions and revelations would make lives of the saints unbearable also by reason of the too intense joy and proportionately intense revulsion of sorrow which would be their lot; intensest joy at what they would be made to see and taste of the heavenly mysteries, and immediately after, sadness unspeakable at being compelled to live yet a while in such a world of sin and to mix with men who love not God.

From all this it clearly follows that we must look upon it as one of the laws of the general economy of grace that with the saints, as well as with Holy Church and the world at large, miraculous phenomena are the exception and not the rule.

Is it not evident in view of all this that those modern writers who now talk of mystical states, meaning thereby only extraordinary and miraculous states, make themselves guilty of an intolerable misuse of language? The mystical states are the following: First, that of a beginner, which is called also the way of Purity; secondly, that of one making progress or the Illuminative Way; thirdly, that of the Perfect or the Unitive Way. There are in reality no other mystical states but these three, and they are so irrespective of the

presence or absence of any miraculous element. If some miraculous phenomena are occasionally superadded, these are something absolutely accidental, distinct from the mystical state as such and must not be confused with it.

Some miracles may, indeed, be a manifestation of the mystical life within, but they are not the mystical life itself, nor are they essential to it; they are simply an overgrowth, a sort of divine *superfetation* or ornament, as ivy on the wall of a beautiful castle or on the rugged trunk of a giant of the forest. It is not because of some miracles wrought in their favor or performed by themselves that the saints are mystics, but just the reverse; it is because they are mystics that some miraculous phenomena happen to them occasionally. The saints are mystics first; and for some of them, at some time of their life, miracles are thrown in by Almighty God, according to His Will, for some wise purpose of His own, over and above the measure of common mystical life.

In fact, one can very well be a mystic without any miraculous adjunct, as, on the other hand, one may happen to be no mystic at all, and yet, for some wise purpose of God, be the subject of miraculous intervention or even a performer of miracles. Thus the Fathers of the Church are agreed, on the evidence of the Gospel, that Judas exercised, as well as the other Apostles, the gifts of healing and of casting out devils. Thus also at Lourdes, among the many persons miraculously cured, have been found infants and adults in the state of actual sin, and even downright infidels. Ivy is found also on crumbling walls, and through it adorns them and the scenery at large, it is no sign of their solidity.

THE TWO DEFINITIONS OF MYSTICISM.

Now, then, we find ourselves confronted with the two definitions of mysticism; on the one hand the more modern or narrow definition, very much in favor of to-day, both with Catholic and non-Catholic writers, which confines mystical life within the circle of extraordinary, miraculous phenomena; and on the other hand, the wide definition, the truly Catholic, traditional one, which places the essence of mystical life in the secret intercourse of a fervent soul with God.

I could name a mighty host of witnesses in favor of my contention that the broad definition of mystical life, as simply the life of union with God, is the Catholic, traditional one. Let a few suffice for the moment. The "*Theologia Mystica*" and other treatises of Dyonisius the Areopagite, the "*Scala Paradisi*" of St. John Climachus, the "*De Quantitate Animæ, Epistola De videndo Deo*" and other works of St. Augustine, "*The Conferences of*

Cassian," the "Holy Rule" of St. Benedict, the "Moralia" of St. Gregory the Great, the mystical works of Hugh and Richard of Saint Victor, the treatise of Albertus Magnus, "De adhaerendo Deo," the second part of the "Summa Theologica" of St. Thomas, the "Vitis Mystica" attributed by some to St. Bonaventure, the "Following of Christ," the many and marvelous treatises (alas! hardly known to-day) of John Gerson on mystical life, the "Via Compendii ad Deum" of Cardinal Bona, the "Exercises of the Spiritual Life" of Abbot Cisneros, the celebrated "Exercises" of St. Ignatius Loyola, the treatise of the "Love of God" of St. Francis of Sales, the deep and luminous treatises of St. John of the Cross, the spiritual work of Blossius—all these, (and I may repeat it, hundreds of others), every one of which is in its own way a practical introduction to the mystical life, make no mention whatever of miraculous manifestations as an essential part of the mystical life. It is true that a contemporary writer of no small repute informs us that "The Following of Christ" is not a mystical book.¹ Well, well; what next? Perhaps we shall be told soon that the Epistles of St. Paul or even the Four Gospels are not mystical books. I suppose the Sermon on the Mount will not be considered as very mystical; there is no mention in this "Magna Charta" of Christianity of any miraculous states or miraculous phenomena. We only read there: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, the clean of heart, they that suffer persecution. If thy right eye scandalize thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee. Let your speech be yea, yea, no, no! Love your enemies, that you may be the children of your Father who is in heaven," and such like things.

There is one saint in the Middle Ages who towers above all others as a mystic—St. Bernard. Let us single out this well-known and universally appreciated master. Now what is for him the main thing in mystical life? For St. Bernard the only thing that matters in the long range of spiritual life is *loving union with God*, no mention being made of miraculous manifestations of any sort in favor of the loving soul, spouse of Christ. Read his "Sermons on the Canticle of Canticles" and all his other sermons and treatises and letters and you will remain convinced that for him mystical life is the loving intercourse of the soul with God in the secret of the heart, simply that and nothing else. Here is a real master of the spiritual craft and (do not fail to note this) one so highly favored with the gift of miracles, who brings back for us the notion of mystical life to its true and only legitimate meaning.

How mischievous the modern idea of mysticism is will readily appear when we consider that it has a tendency to make us lose

¹ R. P. Aug. Poulain, S. J., "The Graces of Interior Prayer."

sight of the real value of the most wonderful gifts of God, which are not the extraordinary and miraculous ones, but the common ones. The best gifts of God in themselves, if we only knew how to appreciate them, are Baptism, Confirmation, Penance, Holy Communion, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and the Real Presence, day and night, on our altars. No other gifts of God here below can come in comparison with these.

It has also a tendency to make weak-minded, superficial Christians desire the extraordinary favors for themselves, not indeed for any spiritual good there is in them, but only for their exterior *éclat*, and the admiration of men, which they conciliate to one. And it has given occasion not infrequently to bad men to play on the credulity of people and to pretend spurious miracles, thus making themselves guilty of sacrilegious charlatany.

Let us understand, once and for all, that what is greatest and most admirable in the saints who have visions, revelations, raptures and perhaps stigmata and who perform miracles is not these things, but their union with God; yes, just what they have in common with us—their union with Christ through Baptism, their official enrollment in the active militia of Christ through Confirmation; and if they are priests, this stupendous fact of their sharing in the eternal priesthood of Christ, and whether priests or laymen, the marvelous privilege of eating the flesh of Christ and drinking His blood in Holy Communion. Only the saints knew how to coöperate with the grace of these Sacraments and make them yield the fruits of sanctity.

They make me laugh, those men who, like Father Poulain, write treatises "strictly for the guidance of those who are favored with extraordinary and miraculous graces." They seem to me to be acting just the reverse of the Good Shepherd. They do not leave on the mountain ninety-nine good sheep in order to run after one single erring one and bring it back to the fold; they seem rather to abandon the many erring ones, the enormous number of tepid, unsatisfactory Christians, to their sad and dangerous condition, instead of shepherding them back to mystical life, pure and simple, to the mystical life that is meant for all in common with the saints, to the mystical life of Faith and the Sacraments, of the Theological Virtues, of the Seven Gifts, of the Beatitudes, of unmiraculous mental prayer, of unmiraculous contemplation and of Good Works. And they labor uselessly in the endeavor to establish the rules of miraculous mystical life for just a few souls here and there who do not need such direction and will never read their book. I feel tempted to tell them: "O my friends, *Æmulamini charismata meliora.*"

Need we add that the saints never desired the extraordinary favors of God? They feared them. They knew that the safest way, because the one where there is no room for illusion, is the common way, the unmiraculous one, where one walks by faith under the steady guidance of Holy Mother Church. They knew that private revelations, though they may come from God, may come also from quite another sort of spirit, either from the devil or from one's own hallucinations, and that even when quite genuine and coming from God, a private revelation may be unconsciously wrought upon, added to or distorted by the recipient's own bias of mind and imagination. Hence the extreme reserve of the Church in receiving and approving visions and revelations, even the most authentic, vouchsafed to the greatest servant of God and related by them in obedience to their confessors or superiors or moved thereto by the Holy Ghost. The personal element is so subtle and so difficult to eliminate. Hence also the absolutely child-like obedience of the saints to the directions of their spiritual fathers, even when these went counter to their revelations, well knowing that obedience is more pleasing to God than sacrifice. The great St. Theresa is an example in point.

Before leaving this question of the respective merits of the two definitions of mysticism, the broad, traditional one and the modern, narrow one, it may not be amiss to call the attention of the reader a last time to what may be considered as the logical aspect of the case. In his "Doctrine on Development," ch. i., sec. 3, Newman lays down seven distinctive tests whereby one may be enabled to distinguish between true and legitimate *Development* of an Idea, and what is no development, but a downright *Corruption* of it. In a genuine development of an idea there is always to be found:

1. Preservation of type or Idea.
2. Continuity of Principles.
3. Power of Assimilation.
4. Early Anticipation.
5. Logical Sequence.
6. Preservative Additions.
7. Chronic Continuance.

Now the idea of mysticism in the Catholic Church up to the sixteenth century has been that of a secret intercourse of love between God and Christian man. Can we say that the modern idea is a desirable substitute to this primitive, traditional idea of mysticism? Can we say that it is a legitimate development of this primitive idea? In the light of the above seven tests does it not rather appear as a deviation, a rash, unwarranted and mischievous deviation, from the traditional idea, a corruption of it? A volume

could be written in proof of this. Let it suffice to call the attention of diligent students of philosophy and theology to this line of observation. It would repay the labors of any one to work it out for himself.

My present task is quite different. It is not contentious or controversial, except within the strict limits of absolute necessity. My purpose in these "Outlines" is to state the traditional notion, to formulate it, to show it forth under all its aspects, set it in its proper light and let it speak for itself. In the very harmoniousness of the development of this doctrine, in its weight and depth and unity and logical sequence, there is, I trust, a sort of persuasiveness that can hardly be resisted.

TEPIDITY IN THE LIGHT OF MYSTICISM.

Thus far we have been considering the part played on the one hand by the loving God, on the other hand by the loving soul, in the joint affair of the mystical life. Now for these *Preliminaries* to be complete, we have to consider also the case of the bad servants, of those, that is, who, in some way or other, refuse themselves to the loving advances of God and will not work with Him.

There are three different ways or degrees of being a bad servant—first, Tepidity; secondly, False Mysticism; thirdly, Mortal sin. They will help us, as shades in a painting, more clearly to set forth and bring into its proper light, by contrast, the idea of mystical life. For one thing, they serve at once to show us the essential requirements of a mystic, namely, *orthodox faith* as against false mysticism; the *state of grace* as against mortal sin, and *fervent love* as against tepidity. No one can be called a mystic to whom any of these three gifts is lacking. Indeed, he that has suffered shipwreck of the faith through heresy, or even never had the faith, who consequently is outside the pale of the Catholic Church, how could he lay claim to the most exquisite familiarities of God? He is not of the family; he is not even yet born to supernatural life. As for the man, even if he be a Christian, who is fallen into mortal sin, he is dead to God; there is an abyss between him and God which must be bridged and passed over before he can have again with God the intercourse of love. The case of the tepid Christian, though not so desperate in itself as the other two, is bad enough, as we shall now see, and is perhaps the most puzzling of all.

What is tepidity?

We may define it a certain state of the Christian soul which our

Lord declares most unsatisfactory to Himself; that of being "neither hot nor cold," neither greatly criminal, nor at all fervent.

A Christian in that state provokes the divine nausea. Our Lord says of such a one: "I know thy works, that thou art neither hot nor cold. I would thou wert cold or hot, but because thou art lukewarm and neither cold nor hot, I will begin to vomit thee out of My mouth." (Apoc. iii., 15-16.)

The tepid Christian does as little as he possibly can for God. He has no relish for heavenly things. He grudges all the time given to pious exercises, reduces his Confessions and Communions, Sunday devotions and daily prayers to the strictest minimum and finds all religious functions tedious and irksome. The fact is his heart is elsewhere. Without perhaps owning it to himself, he secretly worships at the altars of the world. He has tried that compromise of which our Lord speaks in the Gospel, serving two masters, and has proved in himself that it will not work; so he takes inwardly and outwardly the attitude of a worldling and he follows the maxims of the world and he repeats with conviction its shibboleths.

It can hardly be said of him that he wants to avoid mortal sin; no, what he wants to avoid is purely and simply eternal punishment. Mortal sin as such has no terror for him, but he fears damnation. His faith avails him at least thus far. Has he still hope? Oh, yes. At least he has a sort of presumptuous hope of, sometime and somehow, reaching heaven, as there is no choice; but he has certainly no keen desire of getting there, and if it were possible to loiter indefinitely here below, he would by far prefer it. Has he still charity? Well, he has yet a spark of it, just enough for him to be still in the state of grace; but the spark is quite out of sight, buried under a mountain of ashes, in perpetual danger of going out for good and forever.

Tepidity is a sort of half-way house between mysticism and its opposite or diabolical life, which is the life of sin. For the Christian who does not resolutely turn to mystical life, the state of grace itself is but a very precarious possession, and no one must be surprised to see him fall again and again into mortal sin. The tepid one falls thus occasionally, but because he manages somehow to rise again by means of attrition and the Sacrament of Penance, he is not a bit alarmed at his own sad state.

The tepid Christian is well satisfied with himself as he is, and is quite determined to remain as he is. In fact, this self-complacency in the midst of the grossest and most alarming imperfections and this firm resolve not to change for the better are the two characteristic features of tepidity. Our Lord rebukes him in these

scathing terms: "Thou sayest, I am rich and made wealthy and have need of nothing, and knowest not that thou art wretched and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked. I counsel to thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be made rich, and mayest be clothed in white garments, that the shame of thy nakedness may not appear; and anoint thy eyes with eye-salve, that thou mayest see." (Apoc. iii., 18). But the lukewarm takes no heed. He is quite pleased with himself; he lives in a fool's paradise and persuades himself that all will come out right in the end. He is like the foolish virgins of the parable, up to the moment when the cry goes up in the middle of the night: "Behold the Bridegroom cometh; go ye forth to meet him!" Then indeed there is sudden trepidation of the lukewarm and confusion and looking for assurance to others who are not able to help him. What if Jesus carries out His threat and when this foolish one knocks at the gate of heaven, answers: "Amen I say to you, I know you not?"

"Behold I stand at the door and knock," says our Lord Himself, still speaking to the lukewarm; "If any man shall hear My voice and open to Me the gate, I will come in to him and sup with him and he with Me." (Apoc. iii., 20). Here we have in these few words a most touching invitation to mystical life and description of it, but the tepid Christian will have none of it. He does not hear, or he does not want to hear, the gentle knocking and the pleading voice of his Saviour and Lover. He will not open to Him.

I may perhaps venture further to illustrate the negative attitude of the tepid Christian in regard to God by a homely similitude. If one were to drop into the sea an empty vessel, say a bottle, the sea water would rush into it at once and fill it to its utmost capacity, would it not? But suppose the empty bottle, instead of being open, is tightly stopped up and sealed, then the whole ocean presses around it in vain; no sea water will get into that empty vessel. The whole strength of the mighty ocean is defied and set at naught by that puny thing. The sealed bottle may be caught up in the currents of the sea or tossed up by the waves or finally dashed against the rocks and shattered to bits, but so long as it remains whole and sealed up, it will also remain empty. The case would be the same with a vessel filled to the neck with some extraneous matter—pitch, for example, or cement; as long as that vessel is thus filled, the whole ocean pressing around cannot force an entrance into it. Behold here an image of the tepid Christian soul.

The Christian is immersed, body and soul, into the infinite ocean of the love of God, into the divine supernatural order. If he be

void of self, and of all worldly, inordinate affection, he will be filled to his utmost capacity with the divine element. He then becomes, so to say, a form of God; every mystic is in himself a form of God.² But if the Christian is stopped up against the inrush of God by self-complacency or filled with inordinate love of created things, no entrance can be made into him.

It seems at times that it would be easier for God to break this human being, the lukewarm Christian, to annihilate him altogether, than to put an end to his obstinacy and persuade him to lay himself open to the advances of divine love. But God does not annihilate. It is repugnant to this transcendent goodness that the end of His act should be nothingness. He has not created His own image and likeness in order to destroy it. What He has made out of love and for sharing His own happiness will have to stand for ever. The whole ocean, then, of the love of God is pressing around this puny vessel in order to fill it with sanctity and happiness; but a time must come at last when the very love of God, defied and set at nought, will compel him to cast away the vessel that will not be turned to the purposes of love—cast it upon the shores of eternity, into the waste and desolate land which is called the hell of the damned.

The bare thought of such a formidable perspective causes souls of good will to shudder, but the tepid one will not be moved nor will he fall into despair, not he! Nothing can move him out of his serene self-complacency. Will he even have had the patience of reading this chapter? Perhaps on reading its title he shrugged his shoulders with the remark: "Oh! that old chestnut! A subject worn out threadbare by all the preachers of retreats!" and skipped over it.

In beautiful contrast with the callousness of the lukewarm stands the anxious sensitiveness of all souls of good will. When they hear the subject of tepidity mentioned they fear that all that is being said applies to them, and this very fear is the best proof that it is not so. A great searching of heart takes place on their part and they find themselves so full of imperfections. I ask one who in his distress applies to me: "But do you love your imperfections? Do you want to keep them?" "Ah! no; I have a horror of them; I am constantly fighting against them, but they always manage to come back." Be of good cheer, my friend; the very fact that you are fighting your imperfections, with whatever measure of success, makes it plain that you are not a slave of tepidity.

Let us never tire of repeating it, the characteristic feature of

² The word is not of my own invention. I have found it in Bishop Gay's treatise on the "Christian Virtues."

the tepid is not that he has imperfections, but that he will not amend them. Even fervent souls may happen to have a good many imperfections. One may not yet be a saint, not yet have attained to a very high degree of perfection; one may be but a raw recruit, a beginner, just emerging from the slough of an impure life and the bondage of sin—provided one be, nevertheless, fervent and zealous, provided one will set to work with fervent love and press on with fervent love and persevere in fervent love; yes, even in the midst of distressing imperfections one will really be a mystic.

There are even souls who are eternal beginners, who seem unable somehow to get any further than the threshold of mystical life, and who yet should not be considered as tepid. Where the trouble lies with them may not be easy to determine; sometimes it is the fault of a wrong spiritual direction. But the very fact that they have the courage to keep beginning over and over again shows them to be of good will. Let them keep on; our Lord will give them, at any rate in heaven, a very great reward for their brave fighting.

Not unfrequently it happens also that a truly fervent soul whilst passing through the ordeal of spiritual darkness and interior desolation will mistake her state for that of tepidity, suffering thereby a twofold distress. Such a soul ought to be tenderly consoled and encouraged. One ought to tell her that all is well with her and assure her that, in the loving God's good time, she will see again the light of His countenance. Meanwhile let her be patient; she is gaining great merits for heaven. It is in the hottest and driest days of summer that the harvest turns to golden sheaves and the fruit comes to full maturity.

To sum up all this chapter, we may say that as tepidity is the unmistakable sign of the non-mystic, so is fervent love the hallmark of mysticism at all its degrees, from its bare beginnings to its very sublimest consummation.

PSYCHOLOGY OF THE TEPID CHRISTIAN.

The root of the trouble with the tepid Christian lies in this, that he is satisfied with *simply being* a Christian and will not *act* as one. It is the same disorder as that of a man who should be satisfied with simply existing and should refuse to make use of his limbs or of his other natural faculties, should refuse to play the man, should not, in fact, act as a reasonable free agent. When one has been raised to the supernatural state, one is expected to act up to it. This the tepid will not do. God wants the Christian to think of Him a great deal, and lovingly and tenderly; this the tepid will not

do. God wants the Christian to use creatures as a ladder by which to raise himself into the sphere of the supernatural and not as a snare in which to remain entangled; this the tepid will not do.

It is true that all the human acts of a Christian which are morally good are in themselves supernatural and worthy of an eternal reward; they are, so to say, automatically directed heavenward by the very fact of his being in the state of grace. But this holds good only on condition that he does not introduce into his acts an element positively unchristian, such as an unworthy or perverse intention, either explicit or implicit. Now this is precisely the misfortune of the tepid man, that in his acts the Christian element, the implicit, habitual, pure intention, is positively eliminated and the quite explicit intention of simply gratifying self substituted. This, apart even from any material, sinful disorder, which often creeps in, is enough to take away from one's acts all relish of sanctity, all supernatural meritoriousness.

The whole substance of the Christian, body and soul, has been made one with Christ; the tree, we may say, has been taken bodily out of the sphere of pure nature and rooted in God. Does it not follow that the fruits of such a tree should now be all supernatural? Is it not a disconcerting phenomenon, a monstrous anomaly, when the tree, root and branch and all, is divine, that the fruits thereof are not divine? The explanation is not far to seek. We are two in one. The old Adam, though mortified in the Christian, is not yet dead, and when not kept down with the strong hand of the will, helped by the grace of God, when allowed to raise his head again and have his own way, the old Adam becomes the rival of the new man, Jesus Christ, and supplants Him and becomes the ruling power and the principle of all the acts. Thus his actions will have a bitter earthly taste and will lose the divine flavor. For the old Adam is of the earth earthly, and his natural inclinations are to pride and covetousness, and lust, and envy, and gluttony, and anger, and sloth.

The Council of Trent, Sess. vi., ch. 5-7, declares that in the work of the justification of an adult person two distinct activities concur and coöperate in order to bring that man to the illumination of faith and the Sacrament of Baptism. By Baptism he has been made a new creature, the adopted child of God, brother of Jesus Christ and His living member and the living, breathing temple of the Holy Ghost. The two activities are on the one hand that of God and on the other that of the party interested; God by His grace rousing and strengthening and uplifting and upholding man above his natural self, and man by his will consenting and coöperating in all these divine effects. Such a happy concurrence of

the two activities ought not to end at Baptism; on the contrary, it is more needed than ever henceforth; for to live up to the requirements of the Christian state is no child's play. In the midst of a world of sin and of invisible spiritual enemies, the devils, full of cunning and of malice and with the wounds of the threefold concupiscence in one's nature, man stands in imminent peril without the divine assistance. Not only is the grace of God necessary, but it must be abundant and superabundant, or, rather, let us say, it must be taken by man abundantly and superabundantly; for, on the part of God, grace is proffered with prodigious prodigality. Look at the Sacraments and the treasure of Holy Scriptures and all the other means of sanctification found in the Catholic Church, to say nothing of the countless multitude and variety of interior, actual graces showered constantly upon all, good and bad, without any distinction. Truly, it is not God who ever fails man; it is man who fails both God and himself, when, through tepidity, he will not make use of all the love of God, of all the graces at hand.

The two activities, that of God and that of man, should then go hand in hand, working harmoniously all through the life of the Christian in order to bring out this most marvelous result, the sanctity of mystical life. God, on His part, is most desirous to do so, and, on the other hand, is free either to coöperate heartily with God or to haggle and drive a hard bargain, yielding himself as little as he possibly can, or even refusing completely his coöperation.

The tepid Christian has everything that God can give him in order to make him a mystic. He has received (to use the words of the Gospel) *one talent*. On the one side of this talent is stamped the grace of the orthodox faith; on the other, the grace of the Sacraments. Now it is required of him that with this he will earn yet another talent. It is required that he will by his own exertion draw out of his orthodox faith the illuminations of divine contemplation, and out of the grace of his Sacraments the practice of all Christian virtues, the three Theological ones and the infused moral ones. The lukewarm Christian is too lazy to do this, or, at any rate, he has not love enough. His first talent he keeps wrapped up, so to say, in a napkin and put away out of sight; he will not earn the second talent, and so he fails through his own fault to become a mystic.

One can sometimes be made a Christian by Almighty God without any actual coöperation of one's own will; this we see in the case of infants when they are baptized; but one can never be made a mystic by Almighty God without one's own coöperation.

"Why stand ye idle all day?" asked the householder in the parable

of those whom he wanted to send to his vineyard. It is not said that they were idle after they went. The tepid Christian is in the vineyard and it is *there* he is idle. He is in the Church of God, in the state of grace, and he makes nothing of his privileges and opportunities. He neglects the exercise of virtues and divine contemplation through mental prayer; this is enough to deprive the sacraments, even if he receives them frequently, of the greater part of their efficacy.

The Israelites in the Desert, cared for and fed, so marvelously, by the constant intervention of God should have been carried beyond themselves with admiration and gratitude, and all the time, alas! they repined and grumbled, calling to memory with loud voices of regret the flesh-pots and onions of Egypt, and they were ever ready to throw themselves into some gross, monstrous infidelity; these Israelites, I say, are not a bad image of the Christian who allows himself to fall into the natural life of the old Adam. He is moving in the midst of a supernatural world infinitely more marvelous than the Desert of Sinaie. He is every day the object of divine favors incomparably more prodigious than those of the Israelites; such, for instance, as Holy Mass, Holy Communion, if he will but make use of them; the real presence of Our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament, day and night, the presence of love, of God, in him, with the infused virtues and the seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost and innumerable actual graces, if he will only attend to them: but all these most precious favors of God make no impression on him. He looks aside and lusts after the worldly pleasures of those who know not God. The Holy Will of God, even when he is the direct object of all its tenderest cares, has no attraction for him.

How different the attitude of the true mystic, whether only a beginner or already progressing or perfect! With his lips, with his body and soul, with his whole heart, he cries out to God constantly: "Behold, Lord, here I am! Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do? Behold, I come, and Thy law is in the midst of my heart! I am Thy servant and the son of Thy handmaiden! Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it done to me according to Thy word! Father, not my will be done, but Thine! Thy Will be done on earth as it is in heaven!"

THE HOTHOUSE OF PURGATORY.

We must now turn our attention to the ultimate results of tepidity.

S. Mark, xi., 12-21, relates how one day, as Jesus came out with His Apostles from Bethania, He was hungry. And when He had seen afar off a fig tree having leaves, He came if perhaps He might

find anything on it. He found nothing but leaves, for it was not the time for figs. Then He said: "May no man hereafter eat fruit of thee any more forever." And the next day, "when they passed by in the morning, they saw the fig tree dried up from the roots. And Peter said to Him: "Rabbi, behold the fig tree, which Thou didst curse, it withered away."

The fig tree with leaves and no fruit is the lukewarm Christian. He has a certain promising appearance from afar, but never a fruit to slake the thirst of our Lord. It is said of the fig tree in the Gospel that it was not the time of fruit, and therefore it seems at first it was a strange act on the part of our Lord to curse it, but in the tree He cursed the Christian who yields no fruit, because with the Christian there is no time when he is not expected to bear fruit. The swift withering away of the tree is a terrible image of the doom of a barren soul, abandoned by grace and called suddenly to its account.

Is it even this? Does it mean death, physical death, or is it not perhaps purely and simply the death of the soul, i. e., its being definitely abandoned by our Lord, and in consequence falling in mortal sin and remaining in it till death supervenes, whenever that may be? Either interpretation may be accepted.

Sometimes the doom does not overtake one quite so swiftly. In St. Luke, xiii., 6-9, our Lord speaks also this parable. "A certain man had a fig tree planted in his vineyard, and he came seeking fruit on it, and he found none. And he said to the dresser of the vineyard: Behold, for these three years I came seeking fruit on this fig tree and found none. Cut it down therefore; why cumbereth it the ground? But he answering, said to him: Lord, let it alone this year also, until I dig about it and dung it, and if haply it bear fruit: but if not, then, after that, thou shalt cut it down."

Thus we see that if some are lost suddenly, instantly, some also are granted a respite. The parable does not state whether after the year of grace the fig tree hitherto barren did produce some fruit and was saved; but let us suppose it was. The dresser of the vineyard, the guardian angel of that tepid soul, intercedes for it and obtains a respite, and by dint of the most urgent solicitations he wrings from it at last some poor paucity of good works. And, on the other hand, the mercy of our Lord is so unspeakable; He will seize upon the least excuse in order to save even a lukewarm Christian. Very well, he will then be saved, "but so as by fire."

For whom is Purgatory if not for the tepid, unsatisfactory Christian? Who will make a stay there, long and terrible, if not the lukewarm? He would not burn during life here below with the flames of fervent love; he will have to be burnt after death with the

flames of divine wrath. He has wronged God very much; he owes His divine justice and slighted love very great and prolonged satisfaction.

Apart even from the debts to the divine justice, it would seem that the tepid Christian's soul has to be detained in Purgatory also for its own sake. The following comparisons will make my meaning plain.

The tepid Christian whilst on earth makes no progress. He may be compared to a rose-bud which would fail to open out and become a full-blown flower. The light, the heat, the dew and rain, all the atmospheric influences, so to say, of the love of God, surround him, press on him on every side. But by a sad sort of miracle he will not open out under the action of divine Revelation and the grace of the Sacraments. All through life he remains as a rose-bud, shut in himself and self-contained and will not become the full blown spiritual man. In vain does God call him to an active, holy life and the joy attendant upon it. He will not drink in the light and heat of the love of God shining full upon him; he will not rejoice the eyes of God and His angels by putting on the vivid, bright colors of deeds of charity; he will exhale no perfume of supernatural goodness, but rather the rank odor of an almost purely natural life. Now even if such a languid, undeveloped bud of a Christian does not eventually die out altogether on its stem and have to be thrown away on the heap of rubbish, which the fire of hell is to burn for ever, at all events, before it can be transplanted by the divine Gardener into the bowers of paradise, it will have to go through a very violent process of treatment by fire in the hothouse of Purgatory.

I would again compare the Christian who fails during life to become a mystic to a silkworm which has entered its chrysalis state without ever progressing to butterfly's estate. The worm is our old man of sin, as he is before Baptism; the chrysalis is the infant or adult as he comes out of the Baptismal font, wrapped about with the dazzling white cocoon of innocence. He is then a new being, with all the outlines and rudimental beginnings of the splendid supernatural faculties of Faith, Hope and Charity and the infused moral virtues. All these are as so many lovely wings, which must spread out and take their full development before he can wing his flight into the azure of the Divine Essence and bask in the warm light of God's love and alight on His infinite perfections, as on so many bright flowers, full of sweetest honey, out of which he would draw his nourishment. Only he must first of all break through the fetters of spiritual sloth, spread out his wings, that is to say, exercise his faith and hope and charity and other virtues, raise himself

above the earth, and, through mental prayer, fly on high and go in quest of the divine nectar of the sweetness of God, which he will draw into himself by holy contemplation. But all this the tepid Christian leaves undone, satisfied with remaining a stunted, apathetic, motionless and colorless being, until God takes it and thrusts it into the dread oven of Purgatory, where the poor soul cannot help but stir itself at last and become through most severe treatment by fire the perfect butterfly of God, worthy of the garden of Paradise.

But are we not carried away here by our imagination? Yes, but only to a slight extent. It is so difficult to express the mysteries of the next world. The truth is that on the one hand the tepid soul which is finally saved arrives at the end of her life undeveloped, but that the development after death is made *in instanti* and not progressively, whatever length of time that soul may have to abide in Purgatory.

There are two views about the state of a separate soul which has to undergo the punishment of Purgatory. The first view is that which finds favor with the popular mind; the second, that which is the expression of strict theological truth. The first view is equivalent to what we say of the sun when we speak of it as rising and setting and moving, according to the time of the year around us through all the signs of the zodiac; the other is equivalent to the bald statement that it is not the sun which moves, but that it is the whole world of planets which moves around the sun. The comparison, of course, must not be pressed; it is brought here only to illustrate two different attitudes of the human mind respecting an objective, concrete fact of the next world as revealed to us by the light of faith.

The popular mind about Purgatory is that one finishes there gradually to become pure, gradually to become a saint, whilst the truth is that one not a reprobate at the moment of death becomes a full-fledged saint the moment after, whatever be his debts to the divine justice, which indeed will have to be paid to the very last farthing.

It is not every one who can grasp this theological truth, and that is why we need not try to make it prevail in the popular mind. But the greatest theologians assure us that the very first effect of the separation of the soul and body of a man who dies in the state of grace is to constitute that soul in full and absolute moral rectitude. This is due to a certain law of the world of pure spirits in which this soul is now entered. Her very first act in her new condition has all the qualities proper to the acts of pure spirits; it is produced with full intensity and irrevocableness. Now as this

first act is one of adhesion to the divine goodness suddenly manifested to the soul, it is an act of perfect charity, which does away at once with all past blemishes of the soul.

Then, one will be tempted to ask, why should this soul be detained at all in Purgatory when by her first act she is constituted in perfect sanctity? Simply to pay the debts incurred during the days of her vanity. Can we not conceive the case of a personal friend of a King, loving his sovereign perfectly, and still more loved by his sovereign, and yet detained for some time far from him in order to purge in prison some previous condemnation, so that perfect justice be done? This, then, is how the case stands with the poor souls in Purgatory.

OUT OF THE CHURCH NO MYSTICISM.

Truth in whatever order of ideas is uncompromising, intolerant. Thus, two and two make four, means *four* and not three or three and three-quarters, nor again four and a half, or four and one-eighth, or one-tenth of a unit, but four purely and simply and absolutely and exclusively.

Out of the Church there is no mysticism just as "Out of the Church there is no salvation."

This may appear at first sight not only an intolerant, but also a preposterous and unjustifiable proposition, and yet when we look closely into it, we find it to be as sober a scientific statement of the matter in hand as was ever formulated, whether in the abstract sciences or in those of observation.

First of all let us see the meaning of these words: "Out of the Church." They mean out of the one and only Church which God made, out of the Church which Jesus built, out of the Church which is One, and Catholic, and Apostolic, whose visible head is the successor of St. Peter, the Pope of Rome; out of the Church of the seven Sacraments and of the true Sacrifice of the Mass. Out of that Church no mysticism, no mystical life, no salvation.

On the Day of General Judgment all the redeemed will be found to have been whilst in life real Catholics at heart, whether they knew it or not, whether other men knew it or only God. They will be found to have been saved by no other agency than the grace of God through faith in Jesus Christ and incorporation, public or secret, to His mystical body, the Church, which is His Bride; and to have lived the life supernatural, the life of grace: thus and no otherwise shall they be proclaimed worthy of admission to the eternal Nuptials of the Lamb. None but such shall find an entrance there!

Taken in this sense and with this qualification that many who

are not known to men as children "of the household of the faith" are, nevertheless, really so in the eyes of God, are really in the Church and not out of it, these propositions, "Out of the Church no salvation" and "Out of the Church no mysticism," are absolutely uncompromising, uncontrovertible, intolerant of any addition or retrenchment.

Do we then really contend that only a Catholic can be a mystic? Most assuredly so!

Mysticism is a gift of God. Now God is the Master of His gifts and He has laid down His law in regard to precisely that one gift, the intercourse of mutual love between Him and man. It cannot be contested that God is the lawgiver of the supernatural order as much at least as of the natural. Man has there not a word to say. Whenever he has attempted to establish the mystical connection outside of the conditions laid down by Almighty God, he has conspicuously failed, and not unfrequently fallen into monstrous errors.

God has laid down as the supreme law of mystical life that the means of union with Him are FAITH IN CHRIST; before His coming, faith in Him as in the Promised One of God, the Messiah; and after His coming, as in the acknowledged true Son of God and Redeemer of the world. Man has no right, no power to change this ordinance of God, to introduce another name whereby he shall be illumined, whereby he shall be united to God, whereby he shall finally be saved.

These are really axioms and need no demonstration. The wonder is that they should have to be recalled.

Therefore any one in the past history of the world or at the present time or in the future laying claim to supernatural authority to teach and power to unite to God outside the Catholic Church, or, within the Church, outside her sanction, stands convicted of being either deluded or a sacrilegious impostor. Show us the sign of God, we may ask such an one; show us miracles; or, without miracles, show us the sign manual of the Bride of Christ, her approbation. Of course, he cannot.

Thus all pagan, idolatrous worships of one God or many Gods, of devils, of nature, of natural objects, or of the dead are disproved and rejected. False mysticism, all the occult sciences of the past, they could never procure a loving intercourse between man and God. False mysticism, all the ancient *Mysteries*, whether austere or licentious, of Koré, of Eleusis, of Dionisius, of Adonis, of Attis, of Mithra, of the Celtic religions. False mysticism, that of the Greek and Roman philosophers, "who," says St. Paul, "have known God, but not glorified Him as God, and professing themselves to be

wise became fools (Rom. i., 21-22), as well as that of the neoplatonists of subsequent epochs. False mysticism, the Gnostic heresies of the first centuries, A. G., and of the Middle Ages. Also the Judaic religion after the destruction of the second Temple, since it consists in the rejection of the true Christ and the vain expectation of one of their own invention. Also the religion of the Koran, started by that impostor, Mahomet, and which spread so rapidly well nigh threatening the extinction of Christianity. False mysticism, Pantheism, under all its forms, the religion of the Brahmins, of Buddha, Shintoism, Hinduism, Totemism, whether of the Primitives past or present or of ancient Egypt—all forms of divination, magic, sorcery.

False mysticism, all Protestant heretical worship as such and all emotional forms of religion without any doctrinal foundation, all the pious extravagances of revivalists, whatever be their names and colors, as, for instance, the so-called Salvation Army, of to-day. False mysticism, Theosophy, Spiritualism, Christian Science, Occultism; also the grotesque and abominable rites of Free Masonry in all its degrees, and finally the "farrago of all heresies," branded by Pope Pius X. with the name of Modernism. It is self-evident that none of these human or diabolical inventions can lead a man to God and establish between him and his Maker the sweet intercourse of supernatural love.

One can be very spiritually minded indeed, really and truly spiritual and austere and ascetical in one's mode of life, as was, for instance, Plotinus, the founder of neoplatonism, and yet for all that not be supernatural. The faint shadow of mysticism that is discernible in such a case bears the same relation to true and genuine mysticism as nature to the supernatural order. It is not the thing itself; it is at an infinite distance from it, and yet it shows already an aptitude for it. This aptitude may become the substratum or pedestal for true mysticism to rest upon if it be ever given by Almighty God; that is to say, if that man will ever law himself open to the illuminations of faith and the inrush of the love of God.

The real mystics, known to God alone, that have existed before the time of Christ outside the people of God, and after the time of Christ outside the public membership of the Catholic Church, are such not by virtue of their heresy or schism, but in spite of it. By virtue of their genuine faith, either explicit, or implicit, in Jesus Christ the Redeemer and of their good will, they have been enabled to accomplish the law of God according to their light. "I know," exclaimed the illustrious Patriarch of Idumea, in the midst of his most grievous afflictions. "I know that my Redeemer liveth, and

in the last day I shall rise out of the earth and I shall be clothed again with my skin, and in my flesh I shall see my God. This my hope is laid in my bosom." (Job. xix., 25-27).

We conceive it as very likely that Job stands as the type, the representative of a comparatively large number of righteous men scattered among the Gentiles, of all ages before Christ, whose privilege it was, by the grace of God, to have preserved faith in the primitive revelation and led a pure life, and thus to have laid themselves open to the mystical communication of the love of God. Furthermore, this may have been the case, and may be to this day, and yet in times to come with a number of souls known to God alone from among the wild tribes of the American forests or of darkest Africa, where Catholic missionaries more than once have come upon undoubted remains of the primitive religion, standing as majestic and indestructible ruins in the midst of the most cruel and degrading superstitions. As a matter of fact, before they have heard from the lips of the missionary the Gospel message of salvation, these people seem to me to stand in regard to our Lord in the same relation as the Gentiles before His coming, and consequently to be under the same *régime* as to the economy of divine grace that was vouchsafed to them.

Marvelous indeed are the ways of God and the inventions of His love for the salvation of men of good will wherever found, at all times and under all circumstances, be these ever so unpromising in appearance.

Theologians assure us that even those heretics who have not really received the Sacrament of Baptism, either because it is not administered in their sect or because it is administered so wrongly, or so carelessly, as to vitiate its form, may happen nevertheless to have the Baptism of desire; that is to say, the grace of Baptism, without the Sacrament. The consequent result in such a case is that original sin is blotted out of the soul, and such a soul becomes as truly as other Christians the adopted child of God, the living member of Jesus Christ, a secret member of the Church, and is, of course, enabled to live in the mystical intercourse of love with God.

The Holy Bible, where it is not vitiated and interpolated, as it is the true Word of God, helps a large number of souls of good will whose heresy is but material and not formal to get glimpses of the mystical life, to come very near to it; nay, even to begin to live it, when they read, not in a spirit of contention, but in a spirit of prayerful humility and for the very purpose of seeking God and finding Him.

It is true, at the same time, that they are at a terrible disadvantage, in that being left to their own private interpretation, they may

be led into the grossest forms of self-delusion. The evolution of Protestantism has but too vividly illustrated this grave peril.

Still another terrible disadvantage of heretics is that they are deprived of the Sacraments of Confirmation, Holy Eucharist, Penance and Extreme Unction, the first three of which are such mighty helps unto mystical life. The Greek schismatics and other Oriental churches which have preserved an unbroken succession of duly ordained priests and Bishops are in this regard much better situated.

From all this it must appear how greatly favored we Catholics are, being children of the household of the faith, true children of light and in full participation of all the treasures of grace to be found in the Church. How easy for us to be mystics if we only desire it, and indeed it is incumbent on us to desire it. Oh! what confusion if when we come to judgment, we are found wanting, when some poor savages, some sorely puzzled heretics have succeeded in the midst of most inauspicious circumstances in making their way to God and leading the mystical life! What a horrible judgment, though so palpably just, if the children of the Kingdom have to be ejected when these strangers from the east, west, north and south shall come and be seated at table in Paradise with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the saints!

FALSE MYSTICISM WITHIN THE CHURCH.

"Beware lest any man cheat you by philosophy and vain deceit; according to the tradition of men, according to the elements of the world and not according to Christ." (Coloss. ii., 8.) Such is the warning of the Apostle to the faithful of his time at the very outset of Christianity. This same warning assuredly holds good after the life of nineteen hundred years of Holy Church. The manifold and varied experiences through which she had to pass have proved that, among other things, not only is there no salvation for mysticism outside the Church of God, but even within the Church there is no salvation for mysticism but in perfect docility to her teaching.

Every form of spurious mysticism within the Church has proved simply a perversion of the idea of mutual love that ought to subsist between God and the fervent soul.

It is always a palpable, gross deviation on some particular point from the true spirit and express teaching of the Gospel of Christ, a perversion, one way or another, by exaggeration or attenuation, of the Gospel ideal of Christian perfection.

All forms of false mysticism tend to one or other of the two extremes, Rigorism, or what, for want of a better word, we will call Laxism. Either they lay upon the man of good-will who wants to

go to God burdens which our Lord does not impose—a yoke which is not His own, light and sweet; or they proclaim the gate to be wide and the way to be broad that leadeth to life; whereas, our Lord declared these to be narrow and strait. Either they raise gratuitous obstacles between the loving soul and God, Who is the object of its love, or they wantonly do away with the necessary safeguards to perfect love, which are purity, piety and justice.

Whether they are aware of it or not, false mystics derive their peculiar principles from some formally heretical doctrine or from one tending to formal heresy. Rigorism links itself to Jansenism, which in its turn has a close affinity to Calvinism. Laxism, on the other hand, not unnaturally links itself to Quietism, which in its turn has affinities with Protestant Antinomianism and Hindu Pantheism.

It is only fair to remark that much spurious mysticism is not mysticism at all, but only talk, a mere dissertation upon mysticism. "My little children," says St. John, "let us not love in word nor in tongue, but in deed and in truth." (John iii., 18.) True mysticism is all for practice.

It is difficult to avoid the snares and pitfalls of spurious mysticism? Most assuredly not. I would even contend that it is more difficult to be a false mystic than a true one; more science and erudition and skill of a sort are required thereto. One has for this to be able to discourse with great subtlety upon God and man, upon grace and nature, upon free-will and delectation and many other things, and one has to force one's own soul into attitudes which are neither natural nor supernatural.

The plain Gospel is all that one needs in order to enter into the ways of mystical life and to discern true mysticism from false. With much more reason even than the Psalmist can the Christian exclaim: "Thy word is a lamp to my feet and a light to my paths." cxviii., (Ps. 3.) The true mystic guards himself as carefully from Rigorism as from Laxism, testing every suspicious doctrine by the plain teaching of the Gospel, and where doubt may still subsist, referring the matter to the judgment of Holy Church. It is not necessary even to know that there are such spurious forms of Mysticism; all that is necessary is to keep the Gospel in mind and follow the lead of interior grace, just as it is not necessary to know the heresies in order to avoid them, but simply to keep in mind the lessons of the Catechism.

Here one may perhaps be tempted to ask: But if true mysticism is so easy, why should there be any false mysticism at all? I answer by another question: Why should there be any sinners at all? The truth is, there need be no sinners and there need be no false

mystics, but God has placed man in the hands of his own counsel; he is free to do right or to do wrong, to love truth and embrace it, or to prefer error. This is the root of merit, and it is one of the trials of our present condition that a wrong course of action should offer allurements to us. The love of novelty, the pleasure of having a following, of starting, as it is called, a school of thought, of posing before the world, the natural restlessness of some minds, the wish to show one's erudition or skill in dispute—all these causes, (and there are many others) would suffice to account for the existence of so many false opinions in matters where the Gospel teaching is as clear as daylight and where it is of the greatest importance not to swerve from it.

St. Paul says to his disciple Timothy: "The end of the Commandment is charity from a pure heart and a good conscience and an unfeigned faith; from which things some going astray are turned aside to vain talk, desiring to be teachers of the law, understanding neither the things they say nor whereof they affirm." (Tim. i., 5-6.) And again in the same Epistle, vi., 3-4: "If any man teach otherwise and consent not to the sound words of our Lord Jesus Christ and to that doctrine which is according to piety, he is proud, knowing nothing, but sick about questions and strifes of words, from which arise envies, contentions, blasphemies, etc." In his second Epistle to the same Timothy, ch. 3, St. Paul says again: "Know this, that in the last days shall come on dangerous times. Men shall be lovers of themselves, having an appearance indeed of godliness, but denying the power thereof. Of these sort are they who creep into houses and lead captives silly women laden with sins, who are led away with divers desires, ever learning and never attaining to the knowledge of the truth." One might almost fancy in reading these prophetic words that St. Paul had in sight the Abbé de Saint Cyran, with his famous Mother Angelica, and the Barnabite Father Lacombe, with his no less famous Madame Guyon.

The affection of embracing the most rigorous opinions either in matters of faith or morals is usually the failing peculiar to men without experience, such as theologians who spend their whole lives indoors, at their studies, or, again, men, young and rash, who have not yet come into contact with real life and the souls of their fellow-men. Seldom is rigorism found among the evangelical workers, priests and missionaries, who have grown gray in the care of souls. Their zeal, matured by experience, is naturally sweetened with charity and mercy, and their opinions in matters of doctrine, in consonance with the Gospel of Christ, are those that exalt the mercy of God above His justice. They know how necessary it is to comfort the faint-hearted and encourage the poor sinner in his hard struggle

against evil habits, as also the man of good will and the saint himself in their many difficulties. They know how easily weak souls fall into discouragement and despair. And they know the yearning tenderness of the heart of our Lord and of God for all, even for sinners the most wretched and abandoned.

The Jansenists have given us a horrible idea of God, a caricature representing Him not as the Heavenly Father and Divine Saviour and Spirit of Joy that He shows Himself in the New Testament, but as a harsh, whimsical, tyrannical master, unloving and unlovable. They make of the Sacrament of Penance such a difficult process that men finally gave it up in despair. They frightened people away from Holy Communion. They cast such a gloom over all the practices of religion that it is no wonder large sections of Christians practically left the Church and would have nothing to do with it for the rest of their lives.

Could these men have ever read in the Gospel that God is charity? And did they realize that God made us, His reasonable creatures, to His own image and likeness, that is to say, capable, with the help of grace, of loving Him and of deserving to be loved by Him? Is it possible that they ever read the merciful utterances of our Lord, the history of His miracles, the parables of the Good Samaritan, of the Prodigal, of the Good Shepherd and the moving drama of His Sacred Passion? In order to frame their new Gospel so harsh and conducive only to despair, they must have deliberately turned aside from the Gospel of Jesus and from the lessons of divine mercy and tenderness which breathe forth through all the Epistles of St. Paul and the other Apostles, just as the Pharisees of old turned away from the person of our Lord.

A spirit of rigorism persisted long after the main tenets and maxims of Jansenism had been routed. Those of us who have passed the meridian of life may remember having seen in their childhood very saintly priests whose usefulness in the Church of God was marred by their unbending severity. Thanks be to God, this rigorism has at last been exercised from our midst, and Pope Pius X. has dealt its death-blow in his decrees concerning Holy Communion daily for all classes of Christians, and even for little children. It now requires but very little skill to detect and reject any Jansenistic venom which may yet be lurking in some old books of piety. Unfortunately this is not the case with that other form of false mysticism summed up and represented by Quietism, as we shall presently see.

QUIETISM.

There is a great resemblance between laxism and tepidity, but

there is also a difference, and this is that, whilst tepidity makes no pretense at giving itself a theological status and justification, laxism does.

Laxism is the system of so-called spirituality which would conciliate piety with the widest concessions to worldliness, sensuality and self-love. It is a conception of Christian liberty growing beyond all reasonable bounds, even to unlimited licentiousness. It will, for instance, take hold of such a maxim as this of St. Augustine; "*Ama et fac quod vis*," "Love God and do what thou wilt," which, rightly understood, is an affirmation that he who truly loves God can be trusted never to stray away from the faithful observance of His commandments. But people of this stamp twist it and pervert it to quite another meaning wholly foreign to the mind of the great saint who formulated it. Thus a frivolous Christian lady will succeed in forming her own conscience, or rather deforming it, to the point of finding it quite the correct thing to be seen in the morning of a great feast-day, Christmas or Easter, at Holy Communion as modest and pious as an angel, and in the evening of the same day, in the ball-room, *en grand décolleté*, taking part in those fashionable dances which as at present carried on are revolting to every feeling of delicacy and propriety. The world approves of such doings. Now what is our Lord's verdict in the Gospel? "You have heard that it was said to them of old: Thou shalt not commit adultery; but I say to you that whosoever looks on a woman to lust after her hath already committed adultery with her in his heart." (Mat. v., 27-28.) But if it is a grievous sin for a Christian man to look on a woman to lust after her, will it be no sin on the part of the Christian woman who exposes herself to be gazed at and lusted after? "Ah, but there can be no harm in it," is the excuse; "my intention is not evil." As well might the incendiary say he does not want to burn the house when he applies the flaming torch thereto. Is it not evident that these public exhibitions of immodesty offer the greatest possible incentive to both private and public immorality in its worst and most insidious form? It is even said that there are spiritual directors who countenance, excuse and justify such a course of action. Blind are they, leading the blind. If they do not open their eyes in time and do penance, they will together be cast into the pit of hell fire.

Upon the vantage ground of the wrong interpretation of "*Ama et fac quod vis*," these worldly-minded Christians meet with another class of dogmatists who have deluged the world of piety with books about the pure love of God and at the same time have authorized under the garb of mysticism all sorts of licentiousness. Gentle reader, beware of books written "on the pure love of God,"

except those written by saints, if such there are; for I must confess that though I have seen an infinitude of books from the pens of saints on the love of God, under one title or another, I do not remember a single one to have borne the suspicious label of "the pure love of God."

Simple-minded persons may be scandalized at this warning, but whoever knows the history of Quietism will readily understand my caution.

As Jansenism is answerable for the falling away of large numbers of people in Catholic countries from the public practice of religion, so Quietism, with all its vagaries, is answerable for most of the odium and ridicule that has been thrown upon the very idea of mysticism, as also for the prejudices which are entertained against it to this very day. Many persons unite in the same reprobation—genuine mysticism and spurious mysticism. No distinction is made between them. People will put on the Index all books on mysticism, even those written by canonized saints and full of the true spirit of the Gospel. They are afraid of reading such books; they not only will not recommend them, but will even dissuade others from reading them. They prefer to such works pious literature of an inferior quality, written by authors devoid of experience in the ways of God. And thus it is that souls are famished and that modern piety has descended to such a degree of weakness and inefficiency.

This is as yet but an indirect result of the influence of Quietism. Were we now to detail all the direct injuries it has done to religion, were we to track its baleful influence in all the branches of the spiritual life, and to point out how many otherwise good books of piety, especially in the sixteenth century, have been damaged by just one touch of Quietism, it is not one chapter only, but a whole volume and a very large one indeed, which would have to be written in order to do full justice to the subject. It will suffice for my present purpose to state what are the working principles of Quietism. Besides, we shall have more to say on the subject, later on, in Parts ii. and iii. of these "Outlines," when treating at length of Divine Contemplation and Saintly Action.

he capital error of the Quietists is that they propose to the mystic a state of union with God absolutely impossible in the present life. They make perfection to consist in uninterrupted contemplation. But here words are misleading. For every right-minded and unbiased person on hearing the word contemplation would naturally think of an active application of one's mind to the thought of God. Now that is not at all what the sectaries mean. In the state of quiet in which they pretend to plunge the soul, one must cease

to reason, to reflect, nay, even to think on either one's self or on God. One must even cease to perform any of the ordinary acts of faith, hope or charity, the sole function of the spiritual man being, as they say, passively to receive the infused heavenly light supposed to accompany this state of inactive contemplation.

Carried to its logical conclusions, Quietism would infallibly lead to Antinomianism. This error would pretend that to the perfect all things are permitted, they being incapable of losing their spiritual holiness by any act of theirs, be it never such a direct violation of the law of God. In this sublime state of contemplation all external things are held to become indifferent to the soul, because it is absorbed in God. Hence good works, the Sacraments, prayer, are not necessary, nay, they are hardly compatible with the repose of the soul. Hence also in so complete a self-absorption the soul is said to become independent of corporeal sense, to the point that even obscene and licentious representations, impure motions of the sensitive part, criminal actions of the body fail to contaminate the contemplating soul or to make it incur the guilt of sin.

The Spanish priest Molinos (1640-1696), the father of modern Quietism, does not shrink from giving expression to these monstrous tenets, as may be seen in Denziger's "Enchiridion Symbolorum," by the list of sixty-eight propositions extracted from his works and duly condemned by Pope Innocent XI. Madame Guynon, the French propagandist of Quietism, though she protested that she had not read Molinos' works when she elaborated her own system of spirituality, and though she professed to be horrified at the logical conclusions which might be worked out of her own principles, fully deserved the strong denunciations and severe measures of which she became the object, both from the Church and State. Fénelon himself, the otherwise saintly Archbishop of Cambrai, can hardly be absolved of rashness and obstinacy throughout all the controversy which raged around his book entitled "Maxims of the Saints," which culminated in its condemnation by Pope Innocent XII.

Quietism is the very antithesis of Mysticism. Mysticism is, if anything, an active intercourse of the loving soul with the loving God; Quietism, on the contrary, condemns activity as a wicked thing and is all for passivity. Quietists in aiming at the simplification of man do not take into account his complex nature and the present conditions of our life on earth, so removed from the direct intuition of God. Catholic Mysticism takes man as he is at present, and without trying to bring about an impossible simplification of his nature, it simplifies his life in sanctifying his body and soul through the efficacy of the Sacraments and the practice of all virtues, centering all his affections upon God through Jesus Christ.

Our deification as described by Catholic theology and as brought about by true mysticism is not an absorption of our own substance into that of God, for then we would cease to be our own selves, that is to say, we would simply cease to be. God would not (I speak in a human way) gain anything thereby and we would lose all. Nor is our deification a sort of transubstantiation of ourselves into God, as Eckart contended; for this also would be tantamount to a suppression pure and simple of our very existence. The Christian, the true mystic, in his union with God, whether in this life or the next, will always preserve his own identity. He will remain himself for evermore in the individual substance of his own created being, personally distinct from all the rest of the world and from God—a little god by the grace of God and yet not God. The divine transformation which gradually takes place in him through his vital union with Jesus Christ to be consummated in glory is a mighty change indeed, but accidental and not essential; a stupendous change in the quality of his substance and in the habits of his faculties and in the merits of his acts, but his person remains essentially the same human person forever, marked with his own individuality, such as he will have formed it for himself. Adam will be Adam forever. Paul will be Paul forever, and it is in this preservation of their identity that their happiness will be rooted ineradicably.

Therefore when St. Theresa tells us that in her raptures there were moments when she could not distinguish any more her own being from that of God, we must take it in this wise, that though she at the time was unable to discern the distinction, nevertheless her own being remained quite distinct in itself from that of God.

Quietism has a very pronounced leaning towards the monstrous error of Pantheism, whilst orthodox Mysticism has an invincible horror of it.

THE BEST MANUAL OF MYSTICISM.

The Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, the holy Gospel as it has been written by the four Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, the pure and simple Gospel, is the first and by far the best manual of Mysticism, as high above those written by the hands of men as the heavens are above the earth. And the best commentary upon this first manual of mysticism is, taking them altogether as one book, the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of St. Paul and the other canonical Epistles and the Apocalypse. Only the commentary is, in places, much more obscure than the text it is made to illustrate, and so it is not every one who can understand it or

profit by it. But every one, even the least cultured and most simpleminded, can understand all that is needful from the Gospel to profit by it without diving below the surface to its very depths. For it is the characteristic of this marvelous book that the most sublime genius will never be able to grasp its full meaning, whilst there is not even a child's mind to which it does not bring the plain message of the love of God in all its splendor.

The Old Testament is also a commentary upon the Gospel, but still more obscure and difficult to understand than the Epistles of St. Paul and the rest of the New Testament, because, though it is the preparation and preface of the Gospel and contains it in anticipation, as the bud contains the flower, still it presents to us a different character and physiognomy. Hence it is a mistake, under the law of Christ, to go back to the terrors and harshness of the first covenant. This mistake has been made by many a false mystic and it is one reason, among many others, why the Church has found herself compelled to put some salutary restraint upon the indiscriminate reading of the Scriptures by any one.

The Gospel is a manual of mysticism at one theoretical and practical, illuminating and moving. All others are borrowed from it and are but echoes and repetitions, commentaries or explanations of it. All must conform thereto most accurately, under pain of failing to be in any way mystical. Some of these so-called spiritual treatises are weak, very weak dilutions of the Gospel—just a few drops of its generous wine, drowned in a sea of meaningless verbiage. Why not have the pure wine? There it is, at your elbow, in the New Testament: "Eat, friends, and drink, and be inebriated, oh my dearly beloved. (Cant. Cantic. v., 1.)

Christians at the present day, as a rule, do not know their Gospel well enough and are not conversant with it. It is small wonder that they are so weak and unstable, so easily upset or led astray. He that reads the Gospel assiduously alone can realize how far short he falls from practising it, and only he that really tries to put it into practice comes at last to understand it.

There are two ways of knowing—the first is by rote, mechanically, without touching the inner consciousness; the second is by a vital process of discovery or rediscovery, as it were, of what before made no impression and a vital process of tasting, enjoying and assimilating the same. Thus, until by much reading and rereading, prayer and meditation, one has made this discovery or rediscovery of the Gospel, one can hardly be said to possess the knowledge of it. When the point is arrived at where it seems we had heretofore not known it, then is the soul flooded with light and inundated with an inexpressibly entrancing spiritual delight.

We must come at last to feel that the Gospel is not a book, a dead letter, but a teacher, a living person and what a person, the very One we sought for in our mystical life, God Himself, our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God! He it is and not the Evangelist who speaks to us from the Gospel page, straight into our very heart, if we only lay it open before Him. Then our Lord will cease to be a stranger, a far-away person, shadowy and unreal; we shall come into touch with Him, we shall live in His company, even as the Apostles did; we shall watch Him lovingly and He will discover to us His secrets.

Alas! some have never read the holy Gospel, not even once, from end to end. They only know the extracts which are read at the Sunday Masses through the liturgical year, always the same, year after year. This is certainly good as far as it goes, only it does not go far enough; it leaves out too many of the sayings and doings of our Lord. These persons have not the complete knowledge of Our Lord that they could and should have and their souls suffer a loss in proportion to their ignorance. The Church does not intend that we should content ourselves with these extracts from the Gospel; she gives them to us as choice morsels and samples of the feast that is in store for us, to tempt our appetite and lead us on to partake of the whole course.

I would therefore suggest that every Christian read one of the many learned and beautiful lives of Christ written of late years by eminent Catholic writers and in which all the events and discourses of our Lord in the four Gospels are fused into one continuous story. This done, I should suggest that he take up the text itself of the Evangelists and read at least one chapter every day. Let him read and reread it until he becomes quite familiar with it, and even then keep on reading and rereading it, for it is the experience of all who have done so that at every fresh perusal new grace is imparted and new light and a new infusion of joy. Of course this is on condition that it is read slowly, thoughtfully and prayerfully. Once a habit has been formed of thus reading the Gospel and tasting the sweetness of it, there is little danger of becoming tired of the exercise. It would be easy to read the whole of the New Testament once a year, as it contains in all but two hundred and sixty chapters whilst it would take a little over three years to read the whole Bible, from Genesis to Apocalypse, at the rate of one chapter a day. Most pious priests make it a practice of reading their daily chapter of Holy Scripture on their knees and of devoutly kissing the Sacred text. This certainly helps to enter into the sitting down at ease whilst reading, pen in hand, in order to follow spirit of reverence and love. Still, one could not be blamed for

up and note down any light received from the sacred page. The pen plied industriously is a marvelous instrument and a revealer of hidden secrets, even of the secrets of God.

If every educated Christian, layman as well as priest, were thus to feed his soul every day with the marrow of spiritual life as it is in the Gospel what a change there would soon come upon the world! How much more enlightened piety and sterling virtue and happiness for men and glory to God there would be! Then indeed we should see Christians worthy of the name, like those of the Middle Ages, or, still better, of the first centuries of the Church.

It is for us, priests and religious, to bring again into the world such a happy state of things. It is in some measure within our power to achieve this desirable result. But we must begin by being real mystics ourselves before we can think of making others such, and for this purpose we must use the means put forth in this chapter.

Every good priest ambitious of entering on the ways of true mystical life and of teaching them to others should make an analysis and a synthesis of the Gospels, breaking them into their component parts and industriously reconstructing their whole scheme for himself upon some kind of a plan. The following would be as good as any: First, all that Jesus is; secondly, all that Jesus did; thirdly, the sayings and discourses of Jesus; fourthly, all that Jesus suffered in order to enter into His glory—bringing all the texts of the separate Gospels under one or other of these headings. Or, again, one could marshall all the texts under the two headings which form the double characteristic of mystical life—first, its uncompromising austerity; secondly, its unutterable sweetness; for our Lord has said: "Narrow is the gate and strait is the way that leadeth into life;" but He has said also: "My yoke is sweet and My burden is light." In these two sayings of our Lord we have the whole Gospel in a nutshell, and it would be a labor of love to distribute all His other sayings and all His acts under one or other of these two fundamental principles of spirituality. It may prove still more interesting to the priest if he uses a plan of his own devising.

Now I feel quite sure that a person will not go far in this kind of work without being struck with the beauty and loveliness of the Gospel in a way previously unknown. He will be led naturally to the loving contemplation of Christ. He will spontaneously set himself with a will to make the Gospel the rule of his every thought and word and desire and act. He will sweetly and irresistibly be drawn into imitating the apostolic of his Divine Master. Jesus will thus become to His priest a living reality and a personal presence and an inspiration beyond words to express. Oh! what fruits

of sanctity may be expected from such a one, and what good work he will do in his Master's vineyard!

A mystic? Yea, and much more than a mystic; for he will be also a father and a teacher and a guide of mystics. All this, thanks to his earnest, unremitting study of the first manual of mysticism, the Holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, to Whom be glory for evermore!

S. LOUISMET, O. S. B.

Devon, England.

THE CHURCH IN WESTERN CANADA.

THE PIONEER MISSIONERS.

IN NO country in the world have they been making history so fast as in Canada, and they are certain to add many more well-filled pages to it as time goes on, so vast are the regions and resources to be developed in that wide-stretching Dominion which reaches from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Lake Superior to the Arctic Ocean. The history of Catholicism in this great new country of Catholicism has kept pace with its civil history. Ever ancient and ever new, the Catholic Church has adapted itself to its environment in this most modern portion of the British Empire; for it is always modern in the best sense of the word. It does not retrograde or stagnate; it is progressive; and, while it stands with firm foothold on the ancient ways, it does not disregard the new ways and new methods which advancing civilization puts within its reach. Its goal, its objective, is always the same; but, as all roads lead to Rome, it is ever ready to break new ground and strike out new paths to arrive at its destination.

Father Morice, an Oblate missionary, has related in three bulky volumes the history of the Catholic Church in Western Canada with an amplitude of details which leaves nothing to be desired.¹ It is a succession of acts of heroism, of fidelity to duty under the most painful circumstances, of sufferings patiently endured and moving adventures almost without a parallel in modern times. To ameliorate the moral and material condition of the lowly of this world and gather them into the True Fold, Catholic missionaries have bade an eternal farewell to home in order to labor in the snowy regions of the North, in the sombre forests of the extreme East and in the valleys and broad prairies of the centre. The history of the Church in those boundless regions is practically that of the country itself; for Catholic missionaries can legitimately claim to rank among the makers of Canada. They were the first in the field of explorations and discoveries; Catholics were long the sole representatives of civilization; and people of other creeds, who came after them, were only followers and not pioneers. The first governor of the colony, which was the genesis of what is now known as Manitoba, was a Catholic, as were the missionaries within its circumference. It was Catholics who wrung freedom of commerce from the monopoly, under the yoke of which the country long groaned, and it was they who later played a leading part in

¹ "Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique dans l'Ouest Canadien du Lac Supérieur au Pacifique" (1659-1905), par le R. P. A.—G. Morice, O. M. I.

the direction of the young nation which slowly grew up on the banks of the Red River. It is to professors of the same faith the Manitobans of to-day owe the constitutional guarantees they enjoy and to which they have a legal right.

Catholics were the pioneers even in distant British Columbia. The exploration of the northern part of that country and of its great waterway, the Fraser River, was the work of a Catholic, seconded by a Catholic who was accompanied by Catholic oarsmen. The first whites who settled in Vancouver Island and the portion of the Continent facing it, as well as the missionaries who first preached the Gospel in both, were Catholics. Even coming down to our own days, the first infant born in the commercial metropolis of the Canadian Pacific, Vancouver, was the offspring of Catholic parents and received baptism at the hands of a Catholic priest.

Three hundred years ago the immense region between Lake Superior and the Canadian Rockies was a silent, solitary country, without a trace of civilization. Its only human inhabitants were hordes of primitive Indians who worshipped the *Kitchi-Manitou*, or Great Spirit, whom they regarded as the Master of life, who created the world and all that is good in it, and lived in dread of the *Matchi-Manitou*, or Bad Spirit, the author of all the evils and miseries to which mankind is subject, and whom they sought to appease by incantations and sacrifices. They were divided into four tribes and led a nomadic life, contending with the bison for the free possession of the soil to the south of the Churchill River and the north branch of the Saskatchewan; alternately at peace and at war with one another. Came a day when it gradually dawned on them that, far away to the south, pale-visaged bearded people, who had at their disposal marvelous products and terrible weapons, had made their appearance in the midst of the Indians. Among these were two adventurous Frenchmen, Pierre-Esprit Radisson and Médard Chouart Sieur Desgroseillers, both Catholics. The latter spent his early youth with the Ursulines of Quebec, and the Ven. Mother of the Incarnation speaks of him in the most flattering terms. Later, he became a kind of lay brother, devoting his time and his money to the Jesuit missions. Radisson begins his journal with the formula, "For the greater glory of God," which is reminiscent of the Jesuits who had helped him on his way with their money and their advice. Referring to them in his memoirs, he says: "Their sole desire is the extension of the Kingdom of God. They give proof of a charity truly admirable towards all who work and who by their honest conduct show themselves worthy of being helped. This is the pure truth. It is the reply I make to all those who should ever assert the contrary. I speak here with knowledge of the sub-

ject." It has been claimed by Dr. George Bryce and other writers that they were Protestants, but Father Morice conclusively proves that they were Catholics. They were the first Frenchmen who penetrated into the country of the Crees, one of the aboriginal tribes of Indians. This was in 1659-60.

Radisson, dissatisfied with the way in which he had been treated by the French authorities, turned towards the English in the hope of receiving assistance from them, telling them of the fabulous quantities of valuable furs they could procure if they put themselves in communication with the tribes on the great Canadian plains. This led to the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company, which played such an important part in the early development of Canada. The French fur-traders, who regarded the English as intruders in a domain which they claimed by priority of discovery, redoubled their activity in the West. After many fruitless efforts to discover a passage to Asia through Hudson's Bay and some waterway which they believed intersected the American Continent from east to west, they came to the conclusion that it was to be sought by land. Geographers at that time knew very little of the Pacific coast. They knew that beyond the continent was a sea which extended northward to what one called then the Strait of Avian; with this they imagined was linked a gulf, followed by an isthmus that led to the steppes of Tartary. In 1718 a Vincentian priest named Bobé wrote a learned dissertation on all that one knew or conjectured then touching the geography and ethnology of that part of the world; not forgetting to mention that it was by this isthmus the Tartars and some Israelites had penetrated into America. This document concluded by declaring that the discovery of the "western ocean," as they originally called the Pacific, would be a subject of glory to the King, useful to France and meritorious in the eyes of God. To attain this object it was necessary to pacify and civilize the terrible Sioux, through whose territory they would have to pass, and for that purpose a mission was established among the aborigines on Lake Pepin (1727).

The man who conducted the perilous enterprise of the discovery of the extreme west was a French Canadian, Pierre Gaultier, son of the Chevalier de Varennes, who assumed the surname of De la Vérendrye, or Lavérendrye, under which name he is known in history. He set out from Montreal on June 8, 1731, taking with him as chaplain, Pere Charles-Michel Mésaiger, a French Jesuit, the first priest who ever saw the Lake of the Woods.

A great deal of the early history of Western Canada revolves around the keen commercial competition between the Hudson's Bay Company and their rivals, the French fur-traders, until the amal-

gamation of both companies in 1821. The chief obstacle to the conversion and civilization of the Indians was the drink abuse, which degraded and demoralized them. Whisky, with which unscrupulous traders plied them when they wanted to drive a good bargain with the natives, was very aptly called by the Indians "fire-water," for it inflamed their passions to white heat. "The English and French, by their accursed avarice," wrote one of the missionaries, Father Aulneau, "have given them an appetite for whisky;" adding, "I must say, however, in justice to the French with whom I have traveled, that they have nothing to do with this infamous traffic, and that, despite the reiterated requests of the Indians, they have preferred to reject every deal with the different tribes rather than give them whisky in exchange." A contemporary English writer (1746-47) explicitly declares that the Indians got their strong drinks "from the English, contrary to the wise maxims of the French, who do not sell them."² The zealous Jesuit missionary, above named, and Jean Baptiste Lavérendrye, the eldest son of the enterprising discoverer, were massacred by the Sioux. The priest was found kneeling upon one knee, his left hand resting on the ground and his right raised as if in the act of giving absolution. Towards the close of his life he had a presentiment of the fate that awaited him, for about a fortnight before his premature death, he wrote to Father Degonnor: "Continue to pray to God for me, dear father, and recommend me to the Blessed Virgin. I hope soon to end my career, but fear to end it badly."

When not hunting herds of buffaloes on the plains or warring with one another, the Indians raided the trading forts. An uninterrupted series of hostilities on the part of the Sioux led to the abandonment of Fort Beauharnois and the mission. Lavérendrye, then, resumed his explorations and discoveries along with his son, Pierre Gauthier, who was the first white man to see those important geographical points, Lakes Manitoba, Dauphin, Winnipeg and Bourbon, as well as Lower Saskatchewan, while Father Coquart, a Jesuit, was the first missionary who gazed upon the site of Winnipeg. The chief explorer devoted the last thirteen years of his strenuous life³ to the work of exploration and colonization. He established at his own expense six forts, and not only explored but described on several maps the region situate between Lake Superior and the Rocky Mountains and from Missouri in the south to Saskatchewan in the north. "Posterity, whose horizon is less limited because it is more distant from the hero," observes Father

² Henry Ellis, "A Voyage to Hudson's Bay," p. 187. London: 1748.

³ He died on December 6, 1749, at the age of sixty-four, and was buried in the crypt of the Church of Notre Dame, Montreal.

Morice, "and which can appreciate at its just worth the solid qualities of this truly great man, this good Christian and true patriot, will doubtless decide that full justice will not have been done to his memory as long as one shall not have raised a statue to him in the territory which was the scene of his glorious deeds."⁴

But the time of French expansion and new foundations on the great Canadian plains was drawing to a close. Canada was about to pass into the possession of England. It was a case *ad fuit Ilium*; or, as Father Morice pithily puts it, "*Le Canada français avait vécu.*" It marked the close of the first epoch of the Church's history in Western Canada.

At the time of the cession of Canada to Great Britain (1763), a large number of French priests returned to France rather than serve under the new masters of the country. The result was a great difficulty in providing for the spiritual needs even of regularly constituted parishes. Moreover, by the suppression of the Jesuits in 1773, the Church lost the only missionaries it then possessed in the Northwest. Of the 181 priests who served the immense Diocese of Quebec during the last years of the Seven Years War, only 136 remained in 1760. Even before the official suppression of the Jesuits, the new Canadian authorities condemned them to a slow but certain death by forbidding them, as well as the Recollects, to receive novices. It was no longer a question of the extreme West, abandoned by the civil government. It is more than probable, Father Morice conjectures, that some of the Canadians and French, enamoured of the free, wandering life of the prairies, or who had already contracted marriage ties with native women, preferred to remain in the country than to return to a life which had lost its attractions for them. From them sprang the half-breeds. He thinks the origin of the Metis or half-breeds has been fixed at a date too near to our times. A Metis family named Beaulieu was found in 1778 at the Slave River, when the fur traders reached it for the first time. It cannot then be reasonably doubted that several servants of the French explorers contracted with the natives matrimonial unions which perhaps received the blessing of the Church, and that, burthened with Metis families, they would be in no greater hurry to leave their adopted country than people of their sort were in the sequel. They had the gift of faith and strove to communicate it to their children, and subsequent events proved that they completely succeeded. It is even very probable that to them and their masters redound the merit of certain conversions, commonly placed to the credit of the missionaries. Daniel W. Harmon, a trader in the extreme West, wrote in 1800 that a French priest had his

⁴ Op. cit., Vol. I., p. 55.

residence at the mouth of the River Dauphin and that "there are still Indians who remember the prayers the missionary taught them." Now there never was a priest at the Dauphin River or Lake of that name under the French regime; but in 1741 the Chevalier de Lavérendyre established a post at the latter. The prayers Harmon speaks of would have been taught by that officer or his people, some of whom might have married into the tribe served by the Fort. Prudhomme gives the year 1775 as the possible, if not probable date of the first unions of French with the wild Indians. John McDonnell, one of the most important men in the Northwestern Company, the rival of the Hudson's Bay Company, married a Metis named Poitras several years before 1800. Apart from these pioneers, there were the French-Canadians who migrated towards the "*Pays d'en haut*," as for a long time they called Manitoba and the other provinces of the Canadian plains. Among those *coureurs de bois* several went thither between the cession of Canada and the organization of the Company of the Northwest. A certain Louis Nolin settled in the Red River valley in 1776. Another Catholic of the same race, Augustin Cadot, was there in 1780.

Before the cession all the Western traders were French, and for more than fifty years French was the language universally spoken in Western Canada. Knowing the preference of the Indians for the French, the Company made it a rule to be represented on the plains by as many of that nationality as possible. Though they could not all be called exemplary Catholics, cut off as they were from the wholesome restraints of a settled civilization, they were not irreligious and were as observant of the laws of God and of the Church as circumstances permitted. Daily prayer was not rare among them; they remembered and kept, as well as they could, the principal feasts of the liturgical year, baptized the children, attended the dying and always recited public prayers at every interment. Thus the Catholics at this period insensibly filled the gap which the absence of the missionaries left. John McDonnell, the Scotsman—an unique figure, strict and conscientious in the midst of a crowd of officials whose lives were a continual defiance of all the laws of justice and decency—was an excellent Catholic, called by his employés "the Priest," on account of his scrupulous observance of the Church's feasts and the Friday abstinence, as well as his zeal to make them be kept by those under him. The historian of the Company of the Northwest, Beckles Wilson,⁵ declares that McDonnell drew out of it because he would not "brave every principle of law and justice;" the most honorable testimony, says Father Morice, to a man in his position. He remained in the West from 1796 to 1815. Ross Cox,

⁵ "The Great Company," Vol. II., p. 118.

who visited him at his hospitable house at Long Sault on the St. Lawrence in 1817, says: "This gentleman was a strict Roman Catholic, and during his residence in the wilds, the Canadians distinguished him from other individuals of the same name by calling him 'the Priest,' on account of the rigid manner with which he made his people follow the different fasts of the Catholic Church. This circumstance, joined to what travelers said of him, led me to expect to find a second St. Francis in Mr. McDonnell. But, in place of the austere monk, we saw in the former trader a satisfied, good-humored hale old man, which proves that true piety is not incompatible with social gaiety."* The influence of religion was most necessary to keep within just bounds people emancipated from every human law and devoured with an ardent greed of gold; and this sterling lay Catholic of strong faith and manly, resolute will well represented the influence of Catholicism as the greatest of all civilizing agencies.

The first organized and continuous missionary work was coincident with the establishment of the Red River colony by Lord Selkirk (1811-1815), a broad-minded, large-hearted and philanthropic Scotsman, much interested in ameliorating the lot of the humbler classes of his fellow-countrymen as well as of Catholic Ireland. Having acquired a large number of shares in the Hudson's Bay Company and purchased 110,000 square miles of excellent land in the Red River and Assiniboine valleys, he entrusted the direction of its colonization to a former officer of the Royal Regiment of New York, promoted in 1796 to the rank of captain in the Canadian militia. This was Miles McDonnell, brother of John McDonnell, who had gone to America with his father in 1773, and at the epoch of the war of independence migrated to Canada with the breadth of view which was his characteristic. Lord Selkirk selected his colonists among Catholics as well as Protestants, appointing as chaplain to the former the Rev. Charles Bourke, of the Diocese of Killala, in the north of Ireland. Among the first batch of emigrants who set out from Stornoway on July 26, 1811, and arrived on September 24 at the York Factory on Hudson's Bay, were several Irish Catholics. Lord Selkirk was of opinion that personal intercourse between Roman Catholics and Presbyterian Highlanders, who had forcibly resisted eviction from their farms, would convince the latter "that a Catholic might be an excellent citizen." The result of this mingling of races and creeds did not altogether correspond with the optimistic views of the Scotch peer, whose ideas were in advance of his time. The total number of colonists he brought out was 280. There were already more than 700 Catholics, French-Canadians

* "Adventures on the Columbia River," pp. 302-303.

or Metis, inhabiting the central plains, who were incited to give them a warm reception, but not in a hospitable sense. The Company of the Northwest, who saw in the colony in process of formation, a danger to their supremacy in the West, disguised a number of their Metis employés as wild Indians, who terrorized the poor Scotch and Irish, not one of whom had ever fired a shot in his life. The hot rivalry between the two commercial corporations led to an armed struggle, culminating in what is chronicled as the battle of the marsh or fen in French-Canadian annals and referred to as the skirmish of the seven oaks by the English. It made it evident to Lord Selkirk that, without the powerful help of religion, the best plans for the success of an enterprise like his were condemned to failure. For six years he had been compelled to do without any minister of worship among his colonists, with disastrous results. The Catholic population had been increased by the arrival of new French-Canadian families and the accession of his *Meurons*,⁷ mostly of German stock. It, therefore, needed the presence of a priest, if the work to which he had put his hand was to have any stability. In default of one, Miles McDonnell had to fulfill such of the functions of a chaplain as were not incompatible with a lay state. "Last winter," he records, "I married two of our servants to daughters of colonists and, baptized four children born among us" (1814). Then he adds: "I hope the arrival of some minister of worship will relieve me of such a terrible task." Father Morice regards this as evident proof that the first baptisms and marriages in Manitoba were according to the Catholic rite.

Although as yet destitute of any ecclesiastical organization, these immense regions appertained by rights to the Bishop of Quebec, then Mgr. Joseph Octave Plessis. He had already turned his attention to the West and, since 1815, had made overtures to the Company of the Northwest with the object of obtaining facilities for the passage of a missionary from Montreal to Rainy Lake. It was at first his intention to undertake the journey himself, but circumstances compelled him to relegate it to one of his priests. It was to be made in the summer of 1816, but before the prelate could execute his project, Miles McDonnell addressed to him in the beginning of Spring a letter which caused him to change his plans. After thanking God for the preservation of the young Red River colony, McDonnell proceeded: "You know, my Lord, there can be no stability in the government of States or kingdoms if religion does not form the corner-stone. My chief object in accepting the

⁷ A troop of soldiers, whom he had raised and to whom he had assigned holdings. They took their name from one of their officers, Lieutenant Colonel Count de Meuron, a French Swiss from Neufchatel.

direction of this arduous though laudable enterprise was to act in a manner that the Catholic faith should be the dominant religion in our establishment, if Providence deemed me an instrument worthy of carrying out this project. With the liberal spirit which distinguishes him, Lord Selkirk willingly consented to let me bring an Irish priest the first year. Our spiritual needs are increasing with our numbers. We have many Catholics from Scotland and Ireland, and, moreover, the Canadians are always with us, and we are going to have a vast accession to our ranks in the people of that very country. There are hundreds of free Canadians who are wandering around our colony. They have families by Indian wives and are all in a deplorable condition through the want of spiritual succor. A large religious harvest might also be gathered in among the natives who surround us; their language is that of the Algonquins; they are easy to lead and well-disposed, allowing for the corruption of morals introduced among them by rival traders and other demoralizing habits. I have learned with great pleasure that this year you sent two missionaries as far as Rainy Lake. I shall be glad to give passage in my sloop to one of these gentlemen from here^a to the Red River, which is only six days' march from there. If he were to remain permanently with us, the company would once a year provide him with means to go and see his brethren in the Lord's vineyard at Rainy Lake." The noble founder of the colony himself, though not a Catholic, did not think it derogatory from his dignity to openly support McDonnell's request in an accompanying communication, in which he said: "I am absolutely persuaded that a zealous and intelligent ecclesiastic could do an immense good to these people (the Canadians), among whom every sentiment of religion seems almost extinct. It would be a great satisfaction to me to coöperate to the full extent of my power in such a good work; and if your lordship is pleased to select a person fit to undertake it, I can have no difficulty in assuring him that I shall supply him with every convenience and give him all the support your lordship may deem necessary." The Abbé Pierre Antoine Tabeau was the priest chosen. His Bishop gave him his credential in these words: "Robust health, solidity of character, remarkable intelligence, zeal and good will, everything is united in this ecclesiastic in favor of the projected work. Estranged from every temporal view, he thinks only of the salvation of souls and great pleasure of seconding the laudable intentions of your lordship towards the poor creatures whose vices must increase in proportion to their ignorance of God and His religion." This priest, after accompanying Mr. McDonnell in an exploration as far as the Rtd River, reported

^a Montreal.

adverse to a permanent mission and recommended instead periodical visits. Lord Selkirk, however, persisted and got up a petition in its favor signed by twenty French-Canadians and three Scotchmen, in which they declared that almost all the Christian population, colonists or free Canadians, were Catholics, and begged the Bishop of Quebec "in the name of their hopes of a future life to graciously grant them the succors of a priest of their holy religion, succors which their conduct would have deserved if irreproachable, and which were only the more necessary if it is regarded as faulty." Mgr. Plessis decided in favor of a permanent mission and sent two priests and a seminarist, who were to be the founders of the Church of Saint Boniface; besides establishing temporary missions at Sault Sainte Marie and Fort William. Father Morice thinks it is very probable that the Catholic mission at the Red River contributed largely to the fusion of the two rival companies, which took place three years later.

The man who was the immediate Providential instrument in the establishment of the Church in Central Canada was the Abbé Joseph Norbert Provencher. A grand priest of the old French school, a remarkably handsome man of majestic presence, six feet four inches in height, his personality stands out in bold relief among the group of ecclesiastics who did pioneer work in the now far off days when the only diocese in Canada was that of Quebec. His co-worker was the Abbé Dumoulin. Up to this all authors have been unanimous in admitting that these two priests were the first clergymen to penetrate and reside in what is now Manitoba, since the beginning of the English domination. Father Morice has had no difficulty in disposing of the pretension of Dr. G. Bryce that one Jane Sutherland, a Protestant catechist, was the first person "in orders" who went to Selkirk's colony. John McLeod, in his *Journal*, published in 1908—a year before Dr. Bryce's book appeared—says that he set out from Montreal with forty French-Canadians, "led by my two good friends, the priests, who were the first missionaries in the North since the French régime."

It is worthy of note that the fund raised in 1818 in support of the Red River mission was, as the Bishop's circular states, "powerfully encouraged by a number of Protestants." Lord Selkirk gave the missionaries, before their departure on May 19, 1818, unequivocal marks of his esteem; while Lady Selkirk made herself as serviceable to them as she could, providing them with a beautiful chapel. "I have never seen a lady so well informed, intelligent and obliging as Lady Selkirk," wrote Father Dumoulin to the Bishop. "She has done everything imaginable to procure us all that we might want, and always so graciously that it increases the value of all her

attentions. It seems that his lordship does nothing without consulting her." The future apostles were instructed by Mgr. Plessis to learn the dialects of their neophytes and prepare grammars and dictionaries of them; to regularize union between French-Canadians and their native wives; and to establish schools wherever possible. The prudent prelate struck a distinct note of loyalty to the new rulers: the missionaries were to make known to the natives and others the advantages they enjoyed under British government, and to teach them by word and example the respect and fidelity they owed to the English sovereign. This was returning good for evil. Since the cession of Canada to Great Britain the Catholic Bishops of Quebec had never succeeded in getting their tribes recognized by the English authorities; they were even forbidden to officially use them. Mgr. Plessis, after being nominated coadjutor, preached a famous sermon on the victory over the French forces at sea by Nelson, which was destined to conciliate the English element in Canada. For the first time since the extinction of French rule, he gave his ecclesiastical title to the Bishop of Quebec in a pamphlet which contained that prelate's *mandement* and the text of his own sermon; and, in consideration of the latter, the authorities shut their eyes at this innovation. The missionaries in the West carried out with scrupulous fidelity Mgr. Plessis' loyal instructions. This attitude and action had their after effects when England wisely conceded religious liberty to Canada, a measure which, along the subsequent concession of autonomy, has done much to attach the great Dominion to the mother country.

The two missionaries were joyfully greeted on their arrival at Fort Douglas, Red River, on July 16, 1818. A hastily constructed hut, formed of the trunks of aspens, served the double purpose of a mission house and chapel. **The moral condition of the mixed population they ministered to was deplorable.** The French-Canadians dispersed over the plains had no more religion than the savages who surrounded them; and it was chiefly by the aid of the sacrament of penance or confession—that great regenerative agency which the Catholic Church possesses—that the missionaries were at length enabled to effect a gradual reformation. The portion of Father Provencher's house which was to serve as a temporary chapel having been finished on November, 1818, the first Mass at the Red River was celebrated on that date. This chapel was placed under the patronage of St. Boniface in order through the intercession of their national patron to bring down the blessings of heaven upon their German Meurons, Catholics not over remarkable for their fervor.

They had a hard time of it indoors and out-of-doors. Father

Provencher for long months had not a bit of bread on his table, hardly possessed flour enough to make altar breads, and his provision of altar wine was nearly exhausted. Without taking into account miseries of the material order to which the missionaries had to submit, he had also to endure great moral trials arising from the religious apathy of the Indians, corrupted by contact with unprincipled whites, and the callousness of some Canadians and Germans long habituated to the most unbridled license. It was no easy task to secure the reign of peace and morality in a region where chaos and passion had held sway. "The Protestants here," wrote Father Dumoulin to Mgr. Plessis, "are extremely pleased with the Catholic mission; they appear to take the liveliest interest in it, particularly Colonel Dickson. He says he is enchanted with our work and often writes of it to England. On Christmas Day I gave his first Communion to his daughter and to Miss Powell, born of a Protestant father." This salutary influence of the priest in favor of order in localities which, a short time before, had been rent by the most frightful discord, is the more striking if we compare the new order of things introduced by his ministry with the ceaselessly renewed strifes and affrays, ending too often in bloodshed, which at this very epoch disturbed the distant district of Ahabaska, which the beneficent hand of religion could not yet reach.

Another step in advance was made when, in October, 1820, despite the protests which his humility inspired, Father Provencher was nominated titular Bishop of Juliopolis and coadjutor of the Bishop of Quebec for the Northwest. With increased dignity and responsibility, however, came increased difficulties. The words which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Henry IV., "uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," might be paraphrased by many prelates into "uneasy lies the head that wears a mitre." Seeing that the civil authorities still refused to allow the creation of a Catholic hierarchy in Canada, with metropolitans and suffragans, he was simply a vicar general in episcopal orders. By a treaty concluded on October 20, 1818, between the government of London and Washington, all the territory to the south of the 49th degree of latitude was left to the United States, with the result that Pembina was just outside the British possessions in North America. Lord Selkirk having died at Pau, in France, on April 8, 1820, his powers devolved to his executor and brother-in-law, John Halkett, who was not at all so favorable to Catholics and who, in rather stiff terms, summoned Mgr. Provencher to transfer his people from the American territory to the vicinity of Fort Douglas, a proceeding which the prelate declared to be absolutely impossible. Halkett was inexorable and the exodus took place. Father Dumoulin was recalled,

and the flock were urged to transfer themselves to Saint Boniface or its neighborhood. Some acted on this advice; others reascended the Assiniboine and founded on White Horse plain what later became the mission of St. Francis Xavier; and others again went to Lake Manitoba, despite the Scotchman's edict, while thirty-five Canadians petitioned Washington for the protection of the American Government. On July 16, 1823, Father Dumoulin left, after five years spent at the Red River, leaving Mgr. Provencher nominal Bishop of a territory almost as large as Europe, with only one priest to help him to administer, and that priest already revolving the idea of returning to the East.

In the fall of 1821 the Catholics in the Red River colony numbered 800; Saint Boniface, containing 350 with 46 catechumens and Pembina, 450, plus 50 catechumens. These were dispersed over a rather large extent of country, since up to a relatively recent epoch, there was no centre of population, or at least no agglomeration resembling even a village, in what is now Manitoba. In the beginning of 1822 Swiss emigrants, including seven Catholics, arrived. Then, in consequence of the fusion of the two companies in 1821, numerous posts, no longer needed, were abandoned, and the employés with their families, turning their eye towards the Red River, considerably increased the Catholic population in that region where Lord Selkirk had ceded 10,392 acres to the mission. Abjurations of Protestantism though not frequent were a source of comfort to the missionary-Bishop, who, in 1822, chronicled the conversion of a Scotch lady, and, two years later, that of several Swiss wives of Catholic husbands. Father Dumoulin, although he had left the Red River mission, was not unmindful of it, and did all he could to promote its extension. In 1824 he published a little *memoire* destined to justify the creation of a bishopric in that distant country, remarking that on his departure from the West they had already administered 800 baptisms, celebrated or regularized 120 marriages and given first Communion to 150 persons; adding that the country already then contained more Catholics than the Boston district when it was erected into a diocese.

While keeping always steadily in view the spiritual interests of his flock as of paramount importance, Mgr. Provencher did not lose sight of their intellectual and material needs. Though he strove to prepare for the ministry Canadian or Metis youths, neither during his lifetime nor during the greater portion of the episcopate of his immediate successor was any Metis raised to the priesthood in Western Canada. But the great institution now universally known in the West as the College of Saint Boniface, founded in 1821, attests his zeal for education. In 1818 he opened the first

elementary school and in 1822 the first college in Manitoba; while his solitary priest for a good spell, Father Destroismaisons, was the first who exercised the ministry at Lake Manitoba. The good Bishop not only daily catechised the children, but, wishful of changing the wandering habits of the Canadians, Metis and Indians and attaching them to the soil and promoting the prosperity of the colony, he taught them agriculture in a practical way by putting his own hand to the plough. His solicitude for their material well being was recognized, and when the Council of Assiniboia became the legislative body of the country, it placed the Bishop at the head of a committee appointed to encourage by prizes and otherwise manufactures and branches of agriculture connected therewith. The chief governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, Mr. George Simpson, kept the headquarters in London informed of "the important services which the mission is rendering to the country," and the annual meeting of the same corporation held at the York Factory officially recognized "the great services rendered by the benevolent and untiring efforts of the Catholic mission on the Red River for the prosperity and moral and religious education of its numerous adherents," and noted with much satisfaction that "the influence of the establishment directed by the Very Reverend Bishop of Juliopolis has always been in favor of the true interests of the colony in particular and of the country in general." As a testimony of its gratitude it accorded the mission an annual subsidy of £50 and a supply of provisions which the poor prelate received with the liveliest satisfaction. Governor Simpson, who greatly esteemed the Bishop, voluntarily subscribed £100 towards the erection of a stone cathedral at Saint Boniface, to replace the wooden edifice put up in 1820. When finished it was the pride of the colony and has been immortalized by the poet Whittier as the edifice with its "turrets twain."

The Red River mission was a very hazardous as well as a very arduous one. Surprises and massacres were the order of the day. American Red Indians, particularly the Sioux, frequently made raids on the Canadian Indians, not sparing either the French-Canadians or the Metis. Father Dumoulin had been twice fired upon, at one time when he was reading his Breviary on the banks of the Pembina River, the redskin wanting to test if the priest was vulnerable or not; and Father Belcourt had a narrow escape from the murderous savages. The latter, whom Alexander Ross⁹ describes as "an active, intelligent and enterprising man "who knew the language of the savages better than themselves," formed an Indian village on the banks of the Assiniboine, to which Governor Simp-

⁹"The Red River Settlement."

son assigned a piece of land five miles long. There he erected a church and maisonnettes surrounded by small fields, sparing neither fatigue, manual labor nor expense. Harassed by visits from the bellicose tribes, he had to transfer it to a site on the left bank of the river. It is now known as Saint Eustache, although Belcourt called it Saint Paul's, having placed it under the patronage of the Apostle of the Gentiles. He was a man of ideas and projects, but they did not always accord with those of his immediate superior, who put the spiritual before the temporal, conversion before material civilization. "Grace," comments Father Morice, "may transform a depraved pagan into a model Christian, but it has nothing to do with racial characteristics. It makes little in going to heaven whether you are a farmer, fisherman or hunter. To ask an inveterate nomad to become rooted to the soil before becoming a Christian is to go too far and to overturn the normal order of things." Mgr. Provencher would have preferred more of the catechism and less of the plough; and there was occasional friction between prelate and priest. "If I do not shed my blood for the salvation of the infidels," wrote Belcourt, "I shall have shed many tears." He was popular with all classes of society and turned the influence thereby acquired to good account. A Protestant author, Alexander Simpson, testifies to his "indefatigable zeal;" while of the other Catholic missionaries he says. "These men, whose lives are a continual sacrifice, are of exemplary conduct and animated by a zeal which makes no account of fatigue in their efforts for the good of others." He notes the conversion of a large number of Indians due to their persevering efforts. The Bishop's clerical staff was soon afterwards increased by the arrival of Father Jean Baptiste Thibault, a good preacher, in whom he discerned "a valuable subject for missions;" Fathers Blanchet and Demers, who were both to be elevated to the episcopate on the Pacific coast; and Father Mayrand, who was to spend seven years on this mission.

In 1838 Father Belcourt, at the price of what are described as superhuman efforts, founded a mission at Wabassimong, at the confluence of the English river with Winnipeg. It was another attempt to civilize before Christianizing, and only lasted twelve years. Its church was under the invocation of Our Lady of Mercy. In the same year he prepared a dictionary and grammar of the Sautaux dialect and in the year following published in Sautaux a reader, catechism and prayer book combined as well as a pamphlet on the "Principles of the Sautaux Idioms." in French; deferring till later the publication of his dictionary.¹⁰

After a brief absence he returned to Canada in June, 1839, at the

¹⁰ It still exists in manuscript at Archbishop's house, St. Boniface.

request of Monsignor Provencher, who wished him to finish his dictionary, "which might be useful to those who would come after him." His heart and soul were in the work, notwithstanding their divergence of views. To him redounds the credit of having been the first priest to baptize one of the aborigines of the Arctic regions.

During twenty years the Red River colony had developed under the government of a single man. In 1832, when its name was changed to Assiniboia, it was placed under a quasi-legislative council. In the beginning the religious authorities were not officially recognized in the formation of this assembly. It was only on February 12, 1835, that the Catholic clergy were permitted a share in its deliberations in the person of Mgr. Provencher, and then in pursuance of a special invitation and not in the exercise of a right to representation. On June 16, 1837, five years after the inauguration of the new form of local government, he was formally sworn a member. His public services had already been recognized. A further testimony to his worth and work was an increased allocation of £100 to the mission, voted by the committee of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The advent in 1840 of some Methodist ministers and the traffic in souls which they introduced, purchasing so-called "conversions" by gifts and bribes; restrictions imposed upon the missionaries by the Hudson's Bay Company, and the greed, drinking habits and superstition of the natives raised serious obstacles to the spread of Catholicism. But although the sectaries employed all the artifices of the professional proselytizer, they did not make headway. One of the Wesleyans stationed at Rainy Lake said: "We have labored there for the last eleven years and have followed the ordinary system without having been able to establish a single school or work a single conversion." This clashing of creeds had only the effect of confusing the natives and confirming many of them in their own crude beliefs. The Protestants were well supplied with money; the Catholics had little or none. Alexander Ross says of the latter: "It must be confessed that this poverty redounds much to their honor. When it is proposed to establish a mission and its incumbent is nominated, the Bishop gives him £10 to outfit himself; then he adds his blessing, and the affair is settled." Ross is not the only Protestant author who noted the disadvantage which impeded the action of the Catholic missionary. "The Catholic priests," wrote Alexander Begg, "had to surmount numerous difficulties and, on account of their poverty, could not extend the sphere of their labors so rapidly as the Protestant missionaries. But what they lacked in material resources was compensated by a perseverance full of devotedness, and

they gradually cleared a way for themselves through obstacles and disappointments."¹¹

The epoch from 1841 to 1843 was marked by an extension of Catholicism in the West. The Indian missions were about to enter on a new phase, a gradual development to more distant regions. The important trading base, Fort Edmonton, where the employés with their families numbered not less than 130—the nucleus of the present archiepiscopal city of Edmonton—had then at its head as Chief Factor, John Rowand, whose name is writ large in the early history of Canada and who was known in the West as "the Governor." He had received the direction of the districts of Saskatchewan and Athabaska, and his territory extended as far as Fort Cumberland. A tower of strength to Catholicism in Western Canada, he informed the authorities that the Protestant minister made no progress in the conversion of the natives, the majority of whom were Crees, who appeared disposed to lend a willing ear to the "true praying men," that is, the Catholic priests, and thus was the means of introducing Monsignor Provencher's missionaries. Rowand was a Dublin man, a typical fur-trader; "an emperor in miniature," Father Morice says. He was also a typical Celt, Catholic and Irish to the backbone, a strong, militant Catholic, who manfully stood to his guns and would not lower the flag to please anybody. One incident shows the manner of man he was. He was present one day at a grand dinner, where most of the guests were anti-Catholic. As a toast was being given, one of them was so ill-advised as to sing a song, the words of which were an insulting reference to the Pope. It was more than Rowand could stand. "I am a Catholic," he exclaimed impetuously, "and I shall never let any one in my presence insult the head of my religion;" and in the twinkling of an eye he flung the contents of his glass at the speaker. Father Morice notes that he has left the reputation of a man¹² who shone more by his indomitable energy than by Christian meekness. But it was such sturdy and strenuous Irish Catholics who won for their co-religionists in Ireland the civil and religious liberties they now enjoy, and have made themselves abroad a power and an influence to be counted with.

Father Thibault, who knew the Crees' language, was sent to Fort Edmonton in the spring of 1842, making a journey of some 2,200 miles across the great prairies of Western Canada. With the conveniences which civilization has put within the reach of the modern traveler, it is difficult to form an exact idea of the fatigues and per-

¹¹ "History of the Northwest," Vol. I., pp. 281-282.

¹² Born between 1775 and 1780, he died suddenly at Fort Pitt in 1854. His grave is in the Catholic cemetery at Montreal.

its inherent to such a journey. Without mentioning the dangers due to savage hordes of Indians in the state of nature—ever ready to rob, pillage and massacre—the missionary had many times to ford rivers with the water almost up to his neck or cling to the mane of his swimming horse. And then, how is one to realize the inexpressible weariness of a ride of six months, under the rays of a burning sun, with no shadow to temper it but that of his horse, monotonous and often insufficient nourishment and numberless accidents and difficulties of all sorts? As regards the march, the missionary was scarcely more than the humble servant of those whose guidance he had to follow, willingly or unwillingly. And the journey was hardly less painful when the saddle gave place to the excessively primitive Red River cart in a country almost destitute of roads, with vehicles in the construction of which not a scrap of iron was used.

When Thibault, through the intermediary of an interpreter, announced the good news to a band of Blackfeet, "the wickedest savages in those countries," he was listened to with the greatest respect. Then the Indians bade him a solemn farewell after their manner—that is, by passing their hands over his head, shoulders, breast and arms. Affectionately clasping his hand, they left him one by one, expressing the good resolutions they had formed for the future. "Thy words are engraven in my heart; I wish to follow thy way," said one. "I have not been a very wicked man; I wish, however, to become better," said another, adding that he had bore the missionary in his heart because he had had compassion on him and taught him the way of life. A third was oppressed at the thought of his past wild life, or was perhaps more scrupulous. "I have had a bad heart," he confessed. "I have been a wicked man. I am shamed in thy presence; but have pity on me; I promise thee to live otherwise, now that I have seen and heard thee." The missionary gave them a paper on which were marked the days of the week, so that they might know when Sunday came round and sanctify it.

"All the Metis and most of the savages have abandoned the Methodist ministers to listen to the Catholic priests," wrote exultingly Monsignor Provencher to the Bishop of Quebec. "Despite the falsehoods and calumnies which fanaticism and hatred have circulated against him and the doctrine he came to teach, he has succeeded in causing the truth to triumph." This, we are told, did not assuredly mean that all the savages were thenceforth Catholics, and that nothing remained to be done but to keep them up to it. The Indian is by nature impressionable. In presence of the new and the unheard of, he is easily persuaded, particularly when the habit, the kind of life, the spirit of prayer and, above all, the celi-

bate, are there to show him that he is in contact with the representative of the Divinity. But these first impressions are too often fleeting, although they may sometimes have enduring and more salutary effects.¹³

A tragic event, which marked the climax of Protestant opposition to the Catholic mission, took place in 1844—the murder of Father Darveau, a zealous priest, who had undergone great physical suffering in the course of his ministry. To render the Catholic missionary odious in the eyes of the Indians, they likened him to “the windigo,” which, to Indians of the Algonquin race, is a person possessed of an evil spirit, a demoniac, a cannibal, or both combined, who might be killed at sight. To give this name to a priest, and they knew it, was like passing sentence of death upon him; the execution or slaughter of the doomed man might be left to the native fanatics, and was a foregone conclusion. “Hell,” wrote the missionary, “has here employed every wile at first to drive me away and then to render all my efforts useless. They have come to warn me, no doubt to intimidate me, that they were going to hunt me out if I didn’t go. When they saw me determined to remain until they should drag me out of the mission, bound hand and foot, presents were lavished on the savages and their wives and still more promised.” The Indians were led to believe that the priest was the cause of the epidemic that a short time previously had decimated the tribe; his exhortations were disregarded and his fate was decided. During a journey he was making in company with a Metis and a little boy of the Muskegon tribe, the former was first shot for fear the contemplated crime should be reported to the whites, the latter being spared because he was one of their own. Three miscreants lay in wait for him and the fatal shot was fired by a savage named Vizena. The body was afterwards found in a decomposed state, a bear having partly devoured one of the limbs. The murderer afterwards, at his execution, confessed to the crime. The two other wretches ended their lives miserably, one being burned alive. “The death of M. Darveau,” says Father Morise, “was due to the malice of man, and not the result of an accident, as has been said up to this. It is also very probable, if not certain, that his premature end was occasioned by hatred of the Catholic name and a superstitious fear of the priest inspired by the representative of a Protestant sect.”¹⁴ His remains were conveyed to St. Boniface, where later they were deposited alongside those of his own Bishop.

Up to this time the titular Bishop of Juliopolis had only been an auxiliary, or, as has been pointed out, practically vicar general of

¹³ Morice, Vol. I., pp. 287-288.

¹⁴ Morice, op. cit., Vol. I., p. 266.

the Bishop of Quebec. On April 16, 1844, his vast district was, by a Papal bull, detached from that ancient diocese—ancient as things count in the New World—and constituted into a distinct Vicariate Apostolic of the Northwest. By this measure Monsignor Provencher became independent of Quebec, which had been erected into an archbishopric. Material ameliorations, the arrival of the Grey Nuns or Sisters of Charity,¹⁸ along with Fathers Lafèche and Bourassa, and the creation of the vicariate were to the Church of St. Boniface the dawn of a new era in its history.

R. F. O'CONNOR.

Dublin, Ireland.

¹⁸ Founded in 1738 by Madame d'Youville, sister of Jemmeraye, nephew of Lavérendrye and his lieutenant in his explorations. The foundress used to send to the Indians in the West clothes made with her own hands. Her daughters had a presentiment that one day they would follow their "uncle" to the country where he died.

THE ROSARY TRADITION DEFINED AND DEFENDED.

"Justitia et pax osculatae sunt
Veritas de terra orta est."

Po. lxxxiv. 11-12.

"**W**HAT, the Rosary again!" the reader may possibly feel inclined to exclaim; "really, what difference does it make to whom we owe this devotion?" But that is just the point; it makes a very great deal of difference indeed. Not only is the name of St. Dominic in question, not only is the wisdom of seventeen Sovereign Pontiffs at stake—nay, even the very common sense of at least five of them—but the fair name and fame of our Blessed Lady herself are also, as must be admitted, most deeply involved. For if the Rosary does indeed come to us from her, if it really is a gift from her virginal hands, surely the very least we can do is gratefully to acknowledge it. Nay, on the supposition that our Lady did deign to reveal this devotion to St. Dominic, it would be all but an insult on our part deliberately to ignore it. For this reason, therefore, in the first place, and also on account of the unfounded statements on the subject which occasionally appear in the Catholic press, I propose to examine in the following pages the truth of this old Tradition.

"But it cannot be proved historically that St. Dominic instituted the Rosary," the reader may again object. Well, what of that? Let us suppose that it cannot be. Why, for that matter, it cannot be proved historically that our Blessed Lady was assumed into heaven. Indeed, the only differences between the tradition that our Lady was assumed into heaven and the tradition that she revealed the Rosary to St. Dominic, are, first, that the former rests on the authority of Greek and Latin Fathers, the latter to a great extent on that of the Sovereign Pontiffs; secondly, that whereas we have no historical evidence whatever in favor of our Lady's Assumption for over five hundred years—no words, no pictures, no monuments of any kind,¹—the two hundred and fifty years between the death of St. Dominic and the date (1471) when the Rosary Tradition is admitted on all hands to have existed, supply us with a considerable amount of evidence—words, pictures, monuments, etc.; thirdly, that whereas the tradition of the Assumption belongs to Christian Doctrine, so that no Catholic may openly refuse to believe it, without at least the sin of pride, the tradition of the Rosary,

¹ There are certain obscure apocryphal writings a century earlier, but although certain theologians take them to be at least signs of the true tradition, the remainder deem it safer and more becoming to ignore them altogether. Cf., Vacant-Maugenot, "Dictionnaire de théologie catholique;" Paris, 1903;

on the other hand, concerns merely the origin of a devotion, so that everybody is at perfect liberty to accept or reject it.

"But the Assumption has always been unanimously accepted," the reader might, reasonably enough, interpose, "whereas the truth of the Rosary Tradition is even now called in question." Turn, then, for comparison to the Immaculate Conception.

Before that dogma was defined, there were not a few discordant voices, as there had been for centuries, including those of men illustrious for their learning and holiness, and only the infallible decree was able to hush them. The Rosary Tradition, on the other hand, not being matter of Christian Doctrine, can never be defined as "of faith," and we shall always, as I have said, be at perfect liberty with regard to it, and always, no doubt in consequence, find people who will choose to reject it. Nevertheless, we must be careful to remember that Rome has not been altogether silent, and it will not perhaps be out of place to recall here the circumstances of the decision to which I refer.

When, in 1715, Clement XI. made the feast of the Rosary obligatory for the whole Church, the lessons of the second nocturn at Matins were simply taken from some work of St. Augustine's, and did not (as did those in the Dominican breviary) relate the Rosary Tradition, the churches in Tuscany alone receiving permission to recite the Office of the Friars Preachers. A few years later, however, (1725), a petition was presented to the Sovereign Pontiff, Benedict XIII., himself a Dominican, that this privilege of Tuscany might be extended to the universal Church. We need not pause to speculate what the Holy Father would have done had he allowed himself to be guided by his personal convictions; he was Christ's Vicar on earth and had to act in that capacity and to proceed with the prudence which is characteristic of the Holy See. Moreover, the antiquity of the Rosary and the circumstances of its institution had already, it seems, been called in question, so that some sort of enquiry was obviously necessary. Benedict XIII., therefore, put the matter into the hands of the Sacred Congregation of Rites. The members of that Congregation studied the whole question, I may say probed it to its very roots, and the result was that in 1726 the lessons which are now recited in the Office for Rosary Sunday (or one day following) and which record the Rosary Tradition, *were made of obligation and remain of obligation for the whole Church*. This, I take it, was the utmost the Holy See could do. We have no need of further decrees or declarations, though as a matter of fact five succeeding Pontiffs have vouchsafed them; and we may now proceed to examine the tradition itself.

In what, then, precisely does the Rosary Tradition consist? Sim-

ply in this: that our Blessed Lady revealed to St. Dominic, and bade him preach, the devotion as we know it to-day, excepting that the three sets of Mysteries were probably not more precisely defined than as concerning the Incarnation, Passion and Glorification respectively, excepting as well, of course, the second part of the "Hail Mary," which was not then in vogue, and possibly also the "Glory be to the Father," which certainly does not belong to the essence of the devotion. When and where² this revelation took place, whether it was made by means of an exterior vision or whether by means of an interior manifestation, whether St. Dominic preached the devotion holding in his hands the fifteen decades, or only one decade, or no part of the rosary at all, whether finally, he instituted the Rosary Confraternity with formal rules, or merely bade the people, or certain people, arrange to recite the mysteries together (which, however, constitutes a true confraternity³)—none of these things matter in the very least, for they do not in any way whatever affect the essence of the Tradition. The case is exactly the same with regard to the Assumption. When and where it took place—whether at the very moment of our Lady's death (whenever that may have taken place) or only after several days, or even after some still longer space of time, whether at Jerusalem or elsewhere, whether the voices of angels were really audible to those on earth, whether the Apostles were present at our Lady's death and whether the arrival of St. Thomas three days later was the occasion of their opening the tomb and finding it empty—all these details are quite secondary to the great fact of the Assumption itself, which alone we are asked to believe.

So much then for what the Rosary Tradition is; it remains for us to investigate something of its history. Now all admit that the Tradition was in existence in 1141, and since that date it has been treasured and handed down in a manner quite without parallel in the Catholic Church. Sixteen Sovereign Pontiffs have explicitly declared St. Dominic to be the Founder of the Rosary—Leo X., St. Pius V., Gregory XIII., Sixtus V., Clement VIII., Alexander VII., Clement IX., Clement X., Innocent XI., Clement XI., Benedict XIII., Benedict XV., Clement XIV., Pius VII., Pius IX. and

² Clement VIII., in his Apostolic Letter, *Ordo Fratrum Prædicatorum*, 1603, says that "St. Dominic first instituted and promulgated the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary" in the Church of St. Xistus, in Rome; and the editor of the *Bullar. Ord. Præd.*, but not the Pope, adds the date 1216. The opinion of the learned editor may be respectfully acknowledged; the words of the Holy Father still leave us fairly free as to the when and where of the vision.

³ Alexander VI. and Leo X. are, I think, the only Popes who explicitly state that St. Dominic founded the *Confraternity*, but Sixtus X. and Benedict XIV. as well obviously imply it.

Leo XIII., the last five being particularly noteworthy because their declarations were made in the full knowledge that certain eminent priests and scholars rejected the Tradition as spurious. In exhorting the faithful to the practice of this devotion, in enlarging upon its immense advantages, in lavishing upon it the most extensive indulgences, they need have made no reference whatever to the question of its origin; but as a matter of fact, it would seem that they have deliberately gone out of their way to render testimony to St. Dominic. Modern research, moreover, far from tending to discountenance the Tradition, produces periodically further evidence in its support. For notice well, it is not proof that is wanted, but justification. If we had proof positive that St. Dominic founded the Rosary, the Tradition to that effect would at once cease to exist and we should have history pure and simple. As it is, we have the tradition, and all that we want is some justification of our thesis that this same Tradition was not invented in the middle of the fifteenth century, but is traceable to the very times of St. Dominic himself. We have no material justification, remember, for the Assumption, since for the first five hundred years it rests entirely upon oral tradition; but as a question of doctrine it has been accepted by the whole Church, and that is enough. The Rosary Tradition, on the other hand, does not affect the doctrine of the Church. Moreover, it belongs to more modern times, and one would naturally expect to find at least some traces of it. These traces we have in abundance, since for the first two hundred and fifty years St. Dominic's connection with the Rosary rests upon both oral and written tradition.

But, first of all, let us see something of what the critics say. And here let me remark that a great many questions have been hotly discussed in the past which, to my mind, cannot affect, much less upset, the Rosary Tradition in any way whatever, such questions, for example, as whether St. Aybert (+1140) was in the habit of reciting 100 *Aves* with genuflections and another 50 with prostrations, or, whether a holy Carthusian named Henry Egbert had a vision in 1390 of 150 *Aves* divided like our Rosary into tens by *Pater noster*s, or whether in 1458 another Carthusian, Dominic of Prussia, invented a species of Rosary; for, whatever one thinks about them, they cannot be said to constitute objections to our Rosary Tradition. What then are the objections? If the reader makes any study of the controversy, he will find that there is really only one objection, which is that the Tradition is a tradition and not a fact historically demonstrable. This is the whole *crux*, and this is why the critics are so powerless, for no amount of purely negative evidence, with whatever scholarship it be arranged, can

destroy a tradition that has anything at all to say for itself; clear positive proof to the contrary is necessary, and this the critics have failed, and failed absolutely, to produce. What they can do, and what in fact they have done, in the interests as they say of science and truth, is to deny the authenticity of the documents, pictures or monuments quoted by the Popes and advocates of the Tradition, or if their authenticity be unassailable, to deny the interpretation placed upon them. To-day, happily, not only are we in possession of further evidence, but the question of interpretation also has received additional light.

There is, however, one negative argument urged in objection, which, under the pen of a skillful writer, can be made to assume gigantic proportions. It is that of the silence of the first biographers of St. Dominic. "The revolutions which at different times swept over Europe," write the critics, "the Black Death which carried away one-third of the human race, the Reformation and consequent destruction of 1,150 converts of the Dominican Order, everything, in fact, which could contribute to the loss or destruction of manuscripts and monuments—all this may account for a great deal, but it does *not* account for the silence of the writers whose works we possess. If the great St. Dominic really instituted the wonderful devotion of the Holy Rosary, Jordan of Saxony, the saint's successor as general, would surely have mentioned it, but in point of fact, he says not one word about the Rosary in his life of St. Dominic, nor anything like it, and the later biographers are on this point equally dumb." But, in answer, it must be pointed out, first, that to make this argument of any value it would be necessary to prove that Blessed Jordan's silence is inexplicable, and this proof will never be made out; secondly, that the objection in this case is open to the accusation of being an attempt to play upon the ignorance or credulity of the reader, for the explanation and answer are to be found by referring to Jordan's "Life of St. Dominic" itself. Go in search then of this work and you will find not the bulky tome you expected, but a tiny little pamphlet, in which, I might almost say, a multitude of other incidents, and very remarkable incidents and miracles, in the life of St. Dominic are also altogether omitted. Having made this first discovery, continue the enquiry and you will find that Jordan of Saxony, far from being intimate with St. Dominic, only saw him twice in his life, once at Paris in 1219 (that is before he was even a member of the Order), when he went to confession to him and heard him preach (we are not told what St. Dominic preached about⁴, and once again at

⁴ We have not a single one of St. Dominic's sermons, and the tradition is precisely that he preached this devotion to the people.

the General Chapter of 1221! This being the case, it is even conceivable that B. Jordan did not know anything at all about the devotion now called the Rosary, had perhaps never heard of it, for St. Dominic no sooner gathered followers around him than he scattered them to the four winds; or, if he had heard of it, had forgotten about it when he wrote his "Life" some ten years after St. Dominic's death. Supposing then that he was ignorant on this point, how can we expect those who came later to have been better informed who knew perhaps less of the holy Patriarch than he did? And if the silence of the whole fifteen biographers (so to call them) be urged and insisted upon in objection, we may answer that even the whole fifteen have omitted several other facts in connection with St. Dominic which we learn from altogether other sources.⁵ But what to the present writer seems by far the most reasonable view to take with regard to B. Jordan in particular is that he knew indeed that St. Dominic had preached this devotion, but that along with many other important things he did not think of mentioning it. At the same time this raises the interesting question, which we come to now, as to what proportions the Rosary assumed in the eyes of St. Dominic's immediate followers.

He who would prove too much proves nothing, and I am of opinion that on this point zealous advocates of the Tradition—but *not* the Sovereign Pontiffs—have often asserted and striven to in-

⁵ e. g. (1) The Dominican Congregations of Our Lady; i. e., Confraternities, the origin of which is unknown and the existence of which thirty years after St. Dominic's death is only revealed to us by briefs of the Holy See and letters of the masters general. (2) The foundation by St. Dominic of the Militia of Jesus Christ, i. e., the Third Order, which is generally accepted on the authority of the celebrated Raymund of Capua (†1399), who refers to what he had himself read and heard. (3) The writings of St. Dominic, which are accepted as having probably existed even by the Bollandists, on the authority of St. Antoninus (†1459), who refers to these writings as having been seen by men worthy of belief. These examples are given by Père Mézard, to whose work full reference is given below, p. 18. With regard to the Rosary, it is not so much a question of loss of manuscripts as what has been called the "negligence" of the early Dominicans about the history of their holy founder and their apparent desire rather to hide his fame than to publish it, to "hush up" the miracles rather than to make a parade of them. The facts are well known. It may be added that the General Chapter of Cologne (1245), recognizing that the lives of St. Dominic were sadly incomplete, ordered the brethren to search for more miracles (St. Dominic had already been canonized) and to send them up the next Chapter, but the ordination does not seem to have had altogether successful results; at all events, it was repeated ten years later. Compare also Father Cuthbert's interesting account ("Life of St. Francis," Longmans, 1914, pp. 477-485) of the silence of the early Franciscan writers with regard to the Porziuncola Indulgence. Perhaps I may be permitted to adapt the author's conclusion and say that the rejection of the Rosary tradition raises questions as difficult to answer as does its acceptance.

sist upon far too much. We must not forget the indubitable historical fact, also testified to by Pope Leo X., that the devotion of the Rosary had almost died out by the middle of the fifteenth century. This decline is easy to explain if we allow that although St. Dominic himself preached the Rosary to the immense good of souls, the devotion itself was not taken up universally in the Order. And why should it have been? If St. Dominic chose to keep all but absolutely secret the fact that he had received both the devotion and the instruction to preach it from the Virgin Mother of God—and we know that he could keep a secret⁶—if he considered, moreover, that this injunction had been addressed primarily and principally to himself, why should he speak about it or insist upon his followers preaching as he did? That some of them did so we may well believe⁷, but that it became the universal practice is, in the opinion of the present writer, an untenable proposition; for not only, in that case, should we naturally expect more evidence than exists, but it would also render the decline of the devotion much more difficult, if not indeed impossible, to explain. After all, if you conceal the fact that the Rosary *was revealed*, the devotion itself (I do not say its effects) is not so very remarkable, and would not have been considered very wonderful at the time of St. Dominic. The *Pater noster* was the common prayer, the first part of the *Ave* was also at least known, and the three sets of Mysteries contain simply the chief truths of our religion. It was the union of these three ingredients in their special sequence which was divinely inspired and which made it, and still makes it, such an incomparable prayer. The union itself, however, offered nothing very particular to strike the imagination, and the very string of beads seems to have been nothing new. The fact again, as attested by the Sovereign Pontiffs, that the preaching of the Rosary by St. Dominic was the

⁶ I refer, of course, to the well-known fact that he concealed the history of the origin of the White Scapular until after the death of B. Reginald of Orleans.

⁷ Father Thurston, in the fourth point of his definition of the Rosary tradition, says that "St. Dominic and his followers prized the Rosary as one of their greatest privileges and treasures, and preached it throughout the world, establishing also Confraternities of the Rosary," and then adds in a footnote: "This last fact is distinctly affirmed in the Bull *Ordo Prædicatorum* of 1601." (Cf., the *Month*, January, 1901, p. 69). First of all, however, the document in question should be referred to *Ordo Fratrum Prædicatorum*; secondly, its date is not 1601, nor 1603, as Father Thurston writes later (*Ibid.*, March, 1901, p. 288), but January 19, 1602; thirdly, it distinctly affirms nothing of the kind, but merely, as I have already quoted, that St. Dominic first instituted and promulgated the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Church of St. Xistus, in Rome. However, taken in a general way, and as relating to the history of at least the first four centuries of the Order of St. Dominic, Father Thurston's words, whatever their source, may well stand for the truth.

occasion of miracles—miracles of nature and miracles of grace—was not enough to make it an altogether unforgettable thing. St. Dominic attracted crowds by his preaching and worked miracles wherever he went; a multitude of his miracles went unrecorded, and apart from what the Tradition tells us we know nothing of what he preached about.

Again, look at the effect the preaching of the Rosary will have had upon the people—nothing outwardly very striking.⁸ If they followed St. Dominic's advice, they would have recited the mysteries privately or in common, at home or in church, counting the *Aves* on their fingers, if they had not a chaplet; for, it must be remembered, there was no question of indulgences in the beginning, and it was not necessary to possess beads blessed by a Dominican Father or any beads at all for that matter.⁹ Even nowadays, be it noted, when the Rosary is recited in common, it is only required for all present to gain the indulgences that the leader of the devotion should have a blessed rosary, the remainder need not (I do not say should not) have or hold any rosary at all. Finally, a chaplet of one decade or of three was almost as good as one of the whole fifteen, for, as I say, there was then no question, as there is now—

⁸ A kindly critic after reading these pages in manuscript suggested that the objection urged against the tradition on the ground of the alleged silence of the witnesses of St. Dominic's canonization should not be altogether ignored. Let us deal with it here, then, and examine the true facts of the case which are given us by Père Mézard. There were thirty-five witnesses of the canonization—nine bore testimony at Bologna, twenty-six at Toulouse, and the testimony of the latter was accompanied by more than 300 signatures. The depositions of the witnesses, although distinct, are exceedingly brief, and appear to have been made in answer to questions asked by those who were holding the inquiry. Besides many interesting details, there are a very great number of gaps or omissions which are decidedly difficult to account for. Not one of the witnesses, for example, speaks of St. Dominic's devotion to the Mother of God. Are we to conclude that he had none, that he did not recite Our Lady's Office with the rest of the brethren, or that he did not pray to her specially at all? Fortunately, we know otherwise. Again, not one of the witnesses speaks of St. Dominic's miracles. Can these people have been unaware that the Saint wrought the most striking wonders? Not one speaks of the purpose of his preaching, nor of the conversions which he made, nor of the extraordinary graces which he received; e. g., the gift of prophecy and discernment of hearts—nay, the very Albigenses are not mentioned, and St. Dominic's labors among them are summed up in the two words *persecutor hæreticorum*. The reader will realize that the thirteenth century is not the twentieth, and that this *prima facie* sound objection must on examination fall to pieces.

⁹ Even when indulgences were first granted they were granted, it would seem, to the recitation pure and simple, not as nowadays to the recitation on blessed beads. Take, for example, the certainly authentic indulgence granted by Innocent VIII. to members of the Rosary Confraternity in 1488. Cf., Procter, *The Rosary Confraternity*, C. T. S., 1915; App. II.

adays, of blessings and indulgences restricted to chaplets of five, ten or fifteen decades.

With these general *data* before him, then, the reader will perhaps be able to see how very easy it must have been in course of time first, for changes to creep in, in the matter of forgetting the mysteries altogether and simply reciting the *Aves*, or of varying the titles of the mysteries to a very considerable degree; secondly, partly due to this circumstance and partly (as I take it) to the fact that the Rosary was not taken up universally in the Order for the devotion to fall into disuse.

A few facts justifying the Tradition.¹⁰

I. OUR LADY'S PSALTER AS SAID BY THE BEGUINES.

St. Dominic died at Bologna in 1221. In 1227 we have the first mention of the *Psalterium Beatae Mariae Virginis* to be recited by the Beguines at Ghent. A Dominican influence is apparent in that the document, an act of foundation, is signed by the Prior of Ghent and two other Dominicans.¹¹

Indeed, the Beguines at Ghent seem to have been placed under the direction of the Dominicans from the very first, and they remain so to-day.

In their rule, which goes back to 1236, there is an article which runs: "*Quaelibet porro Beghina ad eum modum recepta debet quotidie tria sarta orando persolvere, quae Psalterium B. Virginis dicuntur, neque hunc ritum, nisi justa gravique causa, praetermittat.*" (i. e., each Beguine has to recite daily three chaplets which are called the Psalter of the Blessed Virgin.)

Doubts, of course, have been raised as to the authenticity of this text, the manuscript being no longer extant. But these doubts must be laid to rest by Alan de Rupe, who in 1475 bears witness to the fact that at Ghent and elsewhere the Beguines had said the Psalter of our Lady in place of the Canonical Office for nearly two hundred years.¹²

¹⁰ Cf., Mézard, *Etude sur les Origines du Rosaire* (a reply to Father Thurston's articles in the *Month*, 1900, 1901, one volume in 120., VIII.-492 pp.), to be obtained for 3 fr. 80c., from the author, Couvent de la Visitation, Caluire (Rhône), France, and Etcheverry, *Le Saint Rosaire et la Nouvelle Critique*, 240 pp., Dupeyrac et Cie., Boul. Notre Dame 81, Marseilles, France.

¹¹ Mézard, pp. 97, 98.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 98.

¹³ Alan's words are: "*Est sacrarum Virginum monasterium Gandavi in quo ab annis fere ducentis istud habent psalterium quotidie, in canonicarum horarum vicem, persolvendum, inde usque a majoribus sic traditum et acceptum. Pervetusti codices evidentissime testantur ipso facto me vera memorare, sicut in Gaudensi Ordinis nostri conventu aliisque multis terrarum in locis probari potest.*" *Apolog.* Cap. VIII., *apud* Mézard, p. 98.

Now was this Psalter of our Lady the same thing as our Rosary? We have the explicit testimony of, for example, St. Pius V., Gregory XIII., Sixtus V. and Clement VIII.¹⁴ The Rosary was called our Lady's Psalter in Alan de Rupe's time, and the name has been preserved in the lessons for the feast of Rosary Sunday. We have, moreover, all but absolute proof that the two things were identical. What was the Psalter and how was it to be recited? Even the critics admit that the Psalter consisted of 150 *Aves*, divided into three groups of 50,¹⁵ and, as will be seen below, it sometimes included also a number of *Paters* and the meditation on certain mysteries. For how were the Beguines to recite it? Their Rule itself did not say; but there was an appendix to the rule, the *Psalterium*, which explained precisely how the Psalter was to be recited. It said: "At each Our Father and at each Hail Mary let the head of the Beguines read and recall some mystery of the Life of Christ or of the Blessed Virgin."¹⁶

Now this is a very clear piece of evidence, so clear indeed that the critics, naturally enough, are at pains to prove that the *Psalterium*, which contains it was added at a later date to the old rule of 1236. They point to the fact that the rule of the Beguines was *augmented* and approved in 1354, that it was examined and approved also in 1531, and finally in 1623. But the words in question, if allowed to remain, were certainly not added in 1531 or 1623, long after the time of Alan de Rupe and when there were few who did not know that one of fifteen mysteries had to be called to mind before each *decade*. Therefore we may well suppose that they were added¹⁷ in 1354. But 1354 is quite an early date for what we want,

This evidence must, I think, be deemed uncontrovertible, whether the reader chooses to regard Alan as a saint, a rogue or a hoodwinked simpleton. Nor can the estimated date of the Flemish of the rule as now preserved to us affect the question in the least. Antiquated words and expressions may well have been modified and altered when any fresh copy of the rule was made in later days.

¹⁴ Cf., Mézard, pp. 410-411.

¹⁵ Cf., Etcheverry, p. 27.

¹⁶ "Beguina praeses ad singula Pater Noster et ad singula Ave Maria, mysterium aliquod vitae Christi aut Beatae Virginis legat et praemittat." Cf., Echard, *Scriptores Ord. Praed.*, in Supp., Vol. II., p. 6. Some authors read *legebat et praemittebat*, which if it shows that the passage was added, shows equally well how the Psalter was recited of old.

¹⁷ It is astonishing that Father Thurston (cf., the *Month*, November, 1900, p. 514) can urge against the antiquity of the *Psalterium* that the use of the term *mysteria* is posterior to the fourteenth century. Father Mézard refers him to St. Thomas, *Contra Gentes*, IV., 54, *Summa* 2a 2ae. Q. 82, art. III., obj. 2a, and in *Psalm VIII.*, to the Preface for Christmas in the Missal, and to Hugh de St. Cher in *Psalm L.*, and in *Ezech I.*, where the word *mysterium* or *mysteria* is used, and used in the ordinary sense. Nor is the practice of the Beguines by any means a solitary instance (as Father Thurston would seem to believe, *Ibid.*) of meditation accompanying the recitation of *Aves*. Cf., Father Mézard's instructive chapter VI.

and indeed this constitutes so strong an argument that the critics will have next to set themselves to prove that the description of the Rosary (a mystery at each Our Father *and* Hail Mary!) is not nearly accurate enough to be of any value. But there again they will find themselves mistaken. Some people, indeed, in view of what has been said above (page 136) may see in this manner of reciting the Psalter a corruption of the true Rosary which the Beguines had practised in the beginning. It is possible that they had got into the way of hurrying through their Psalter and neglecting the mysteries when some good superior came into power, who, seeing the abuse, went to the opposite extreme and ordered the separation of even each Hail Mary by the mention of a mystery. The fact, however, on the other hand, that those who examined and approved the rule in 1531 and 1623 allowed these words to remain is a conclusive proof, it seems to me, that they considered them a sufficiently accurate description of the rosary, which it was the duty of the Beguines to recite. Nay, more, not only have we ourselves known of at least one priest in England who advocated this method of reciting the Rosary, but it is actually in vogue to-day in the Diocese of Le Puy, in France. There the women lace-makers recite the Rosary in common while at work, and they say before each Hail Mary some words, learnt in their childhood, which remind them of the individual mystery. These formulas, very brief, are printed *in extenso* in their catechisms.

If the reader reflects upon these indisputable facts, as I take them to be, he will find it difficult to believe, in view of the old Tradition, that the Psalter of our Lady as recited by the Beguines was not what we now call the Rosary of our Lady. The Beguines, moreover, go back almost to the very time of St. Dominic, and the fact that they have always been under Dominican direction is strong presumptive evidence in support of the Tradition that St. Dominic instituted the Rosary.

II. THE CONFRATERNITIES.

1. In 1254 the Rosary Confraternity at Placentia was indulged by Pope Alexander IV. This fact is attested by Pope Benedict XIV.,¹⁸ but it is rejected by the critics because in Alexander's brief neither rosary nor chaplet was mentioned. But, first, the name rosary did not exist; secondly, we do not know that the Rosary itself had any fixed name—indeed everything points to the contrary; and, thirdly, as an example of the same sort of thing, St. Pius V. after the battle of Lepanto *purposely avoided*, for his own reasons, instituting the feast of the Rosary under the *title* of the

¹⁸ ('f., Etcheverry, pp. 183-184.

Rosary; the title he chose, "Our Lady of Victories," was changed by his successor.

2. In 1255 there was a Congregation of the Glorious Virgin Mary at Bologna, to the members of which Humbert, the fifth Dominican master general, addressed himself, conferring on them all the privileges of the Order.¹⁹ Why? For the same reason that Father Excuria, provincial of Holland, granted to members of the *Rosary* Confraternity participation in the good works of the province in 1470?²⁰ Nor is it accurate to say in objection that Humbert in his plans of sermons for confraternities (there are only two such plans) describes *seriatim* all their pious practices, yet makes no mention of anything resembling the Rosary.²¹ He simply mentions in a general way such practices as might well be common to almost all kinds of confraternities, e. g., Mass on days of meeting, conferences or sermons, offerings and almsgiving, suffrages for the dead and prayers to be said, which last point, of course, would cover Rosary and all.²²

3. Between 1261 and 1264 the Rosary Confraternity was indulgenced by Urban IV. This fact is attested by Pope Sixtus V.,²³ but is rejected by the critics for the reasons given in No. 1, or rather because Urban's documents no longer exist.

Later we find Confraternities of our Lady under more restricted titles, e. g., those of Blessed Mary of the Annuntiation, B. Mary of Consolation, B. Mary of Pity and B. Mary of the Redemption of Captives.²⁴ Of course, these confraternities may have had nothing to do with the Rosary; but on the theory that a chaplet of one decade was nearly as good for practical purposes as a chaplet of the entire fifteen decades, would it not have been natural enough, seeing that the Rosary had no fixed name, to call the confraternities after various mysteries? And if some of the titles just mentioned seem right out of the circle of our fifteen, may not this also be explained by what has been said above, viz., that nothing could have been easier than for individuals wittingly or unwittingly to vary the titles of the mysteries to a very considerable degree?

4. In 1272 there was a Congregation of our Lady at Lucca, to the members of which Blessed John of Vercelli, the sixth general, extended all the privileges of the Order.²⁵

¹⁹ Cf., Mézard, pp. 232-233. In 1252 John the Teuton, the fourth general, had acted in much the same manner with regard to another confraternity of the same kind at Bologna. *Ibid.*, p. 233.

²⁰ Cf., *The Month*, December, 1900, p. 622, n.

²¹ *Ibid.*, January, 1901, p. 72, n.

²² Cf., Mézard, p. 253.

²³ Cf., Etcheverry, p. 182.

²⁴ Cf., Etcheverry, p. 189; Mézard, p. 235.

²⁵ Cf., Etcheverry, p. 191.

5. In 1288 a similar favor was granted to Congregations at Viterbo and Orvieto by Munio de Zamora, the seventh general. Munio described the congregation at Viterbo as that of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Dominic. Now this circumstance is of particular interest, for when in 1470 Alan de Rupe established the Rosary Confraternity at Douai and asked for the participation of privileges, etc., the vicar general, in granting them, called the confraternity not the Rosary Confraternity, nor even the Confraternity of the Psalter of our Lady, but the Confraternity of the Virgin Mary and St. Dominic.²⁶

6. In 1316 there was a Rosary Confraternity indulged by John XXII., attested to by Pope Sixtus V.,²⁷ but rejected by the critics for the same reasons as Nos. 1 and 3.

7. In 1403 Father Thomas de Firnio, the twenty-fourth master general, granted the participation of privileges to a confraternity of the Blessed Virgin erected in the Dominican church at Utrecht.²⁸

8. In 1439 Eugenius IV. in his Constitution *Advesperascente* so speaks of the Society of the Blessed Virgin that Leo XIII. quotes it as referring to the Rosary.²⁹

9. (a) In 1475 Father James Sprenger composed rules for the ancient and very holy Confraternity of the Rosary at Cologne.³⁰

(b) Alan de Rupe speaks of restoring an old confraternity: "*Confraternitatem dudum collapsam, rursus ad observantiam pristinam instaurare.*"³¹

(c) In 1476 Alexander, Bishop of Forli and Legate of Pope Sixtus IV. in Germany, is even more explicit: "*Ut igitur ejusdem beatissimae Virginis laudabilis Fraternitas de Rosario nuncupata . . . salubriter instituta, imo potius renovata, quia per beatissimum Dominicum legitur praedicata.*"³²

(d) In 1478 Luke, Bishop of Sebenico, said similarly that the Friars Preachers of Lille had founded a confraternity (viz., as all admit, the Rosary Confraternity) in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary; or, rather that they had restored one, founded, as it was said, by St. Dominic.³³ And a year later Father Michael Francis, of Lille, speaks of the same confraternity as having existed of old.³⁴

²⁶ Cf., Etcheverry, pp. 191, 195, 202-3.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

²⁸ Cf., Mézard, p. 234.

²⁹ Cf., Bullar. Ord. Praed. and Lescher. *St. Dominic and the Rosary*. Washbourne, 1902, p. 13.

³⁰ Cf., Etcheverry, p. 180.

³¹ Cf., Mézard, p. 238-9.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

(e) In 1495 Alexander VI. expressly attributed the Rosary Confraternity to St. Dominic.²⁵

(f) In 1500 Father Stephen, of Milan, dedicated his edition of a book on the Psalter of our Lady, i. e., the Rosary, in the following terms: *Universis fratribus atque sororibus fraternitatis beatissimæ Matris Mariæ per totam pene Italiam sparsis, salutem supernique roris solatium.*"²⁶ This again should go to prove that even where there were large or numerous Rosary Confraternities, the title of Rosary or Psalter was by no means necessarily employed.

(g) In 1520 Pope Leo X. wrote: "*Prout in historiis legitur a S. Dominico quaedam Confraternitas . . . instituta et in diversis mundi partibus prædicata fuit,*" etc.²⁷

10. Finally, we have one case in which the recitation of our Lady's Psalter is specifically mentioned, for we read that certain members of the Confraternity of our Lady of La Treille, founded in 1237, used regularly to recite the two Psalters, the Davidic Psalter and our Lady's,²⁸ though how far back that custom prevailed it is impossible to ascertain.

These, then again, are the facts. One or more of them may need further sifting, and I by no means claim that all the confraternities named were necessarily Rosary Confraternities. Two points, however, do seem to stand out indisputably. First, there was something existing right back to the thirteenth century, connected with the Dominican Order, which might well correspond to our Rosary Confraternity and which the Sovereign Pontiffs down to Leo XIII. have taken for that confraternity. Secondly, there is abundant fifteenth century testimony that the Rosary Confraternity was very ancient, St. Dominic himself, in many cases, being claimed as its founder.

III. THE PATERNOSTER.

Before 1261 Dominican lay brothers used to wear *Paternosters*, for in that year the General Chapter of the Order forbade them to wear valuable ones. Was there any difference between these *Paternosters* and those that we read were used by priests and people in the world?²⁹ Very likely there was, though by no means neces-

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 405.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Mézard, p. 240.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 246-7.

²⁹ *e. g.* In 1270 Father Nicholas of Dacia, O. P., gave the *Paternoster* which he had worn (*portaverat*) for four years to Blessed Christina of Stommeln. In the thirteenth century, the nuns O. P., of Toesz, used *Paternosters*. St. Agnes of Montepulciano, O. P. (†1317), did the same. In 1314 Blessed Ventura of Bergamo led a throng of pilgrims to Rome bearing each a *Paternoster* in their left hand. In 1354 Humbert, a Dauphin

sarily so. The evidence at hand seems to show that *Paternoster* was a generic term and was applied to chaplets of very different length. It is true that the lay brothers had and have to recite a fixed number of *Paters* and *Aves*, but if of old they counted them on a *Paternoster*, to-day they use an ordinary rosary, so that it is not unreasonable to suppose that a chaplet of one decade or of three or more decades, was found equally convenient in the thirteenth century. Blessed John Dominici records as a remarkable fact that a fellow Dominican Blessed Marcolino of Forli (+1397) had a *Paternoster* of 100 beads, and albeit a priest, used to recite the *Paters* and *Aves* like a lay brother.⁴⁰ I do not think, however, that any one will want to maintain that lay brothers always used *Paternosters* of 100 beads. The very nature of their Office would suggest objections; for, apart from the 150 *Paters* and *Aves* (*divided up as they chose*) which they had to say privately when a member of their convent died, they were never obliged to say more than 40 or 43 at a time, often indeed only 28 or 31, viz., for Matins, Lauds and *Prestiosa*; for Vespers they had to say 14 and 7 apiece for each of the remaining five Hours. The whole Office together, then, gave a total of not more than 92 *Paters* and *Aves*, often indeed only 80.⁴¹ The question then may remain open.

The point at issue, however, is this: if the *Paternoster* included pretty well every kind of chaplet, have we anything to show that it ever meant what we should now call a rosary of one, or five, or more decades?

Firstly, then, in 1332, we have the instance of the devout woman who touched the dead body of Blessed Francis Fabriano, O. F. M., with her *Paternoster*. *Accipiens signa Paternoster, id est Coronam Beatae Virginis, posuit in manu Sancti, . . . putans suam coronam, sive signa Dominicae orationis et coronae Virginis, ex tactu Sancti facere sancta.*⁴² ("Taking her *Paternoster*, that is, the chaplet

of France, entered the Order of Preachers. He used a *Paternoster*, and on his tomb two diminutive figures of Dominicans are represented with beads in their hands. St. Catherine of Siena (+1380) had a *Paternoster*. In 1407 a *Paternoster* of gold was presented to the Prior of Poissy. In 1417 Blessed John Dominici gave some nuns, O. P., *Paternosters*. St. Antoninus (+1459) finally speaks of *Paternosters*. (*Of.*, Mézard, pp. 257 to 265.)

⁴⁰ Cf., Mézard, p. 258.

⁴¹ Cf., *Constitutiones Ord. Praed.*, D. II., num. 1159 and 1167. Another instance of a one-hundred bead *Paternoster* is much clearer, for St. Catherine of Siena instructed the recipient to recite on it daily one hundred *Paters* and *Aves*. (*Cf.*, Mézard, p. 262.)

⁴² Cf., Etcheverry, p. 60, quoting the *Acta SS.*, April; Vol. III., *ad diem* 22, p. 996. (In the edition 1738, which I consulted, p. 988.) Father Mézard's account is as follows: "Accessit pia femina sanctum corpus veneratura, et rosario, ut solet tactura, haerentis cingulo rosarii extremam elevavit et super sancti viri manum collocavit. (*Act. SS.*, t. III., April, p. 92.)

(or crown) of the Blessed Virgin, she placed it in the saint's hand, thinking by the touch of the saint to sanctify her chaplet, namely, the signs of the Lord's Prayer and of the chaplet of the Virgin.") This certainly seems to be a clear piece of evidence.

Secondly, the Rosary is still called *Paternoster* in certain parts of the world. "Besides the names derived from the Latin," writes Father Zanicovic from Ragusa, "*rosarium* and *corona*, in vogue in some places in Croatia and Dalmatia (in the neighborhood of Spalato, for example, and on the island of Curzola) our people also use the word *Ocenasi*, i. e., the plural of *Oce nas* or *Paternoster*. In some places, again, they say *brojenice*, i. e., literally, counters or reckoners, from the verb *brojiti*, to count; also *cislo*, a name mentioned in old documents signifying a large number to be counted, and finally *patrice*, derived, as is obvious, from the Latin *Pater*. In Croatian vocabularies, as well, all these words are to be found."⁴³

This evidence, then, would seem to show that in early days as in modern times, the Rosary, sometimes at least, fell under the generic term *Paternoster*.

IV. THE ROSARY IN EFFIGY, REALITY AND BY NAME.

1. In the Church of Saint Maria at Florence there is a tombstone of the Dominican tertiary Monna Tessa (+1327), showing the chaplet or rosary with proper decade.⁴⁴

2. (a) There is an illustration in Mamachi of a monument (1354) in which a Dominican is represented holding a three decade rosary.

(b) There is another illustration in Mamachi of the monumental brass (1355) of Humbert, formerly Dauphin of France. Two diminutive figures of Dominicans are seen to be holding beads.

(c) A third illustration in Mamachi shows a perfect⁴⁵ fifteen decade rosary, the cross hanging not from the end of a decade, as customary nowadays, but from the middle of a decade. The date of the tomb illustrated is 1353.⁴⁶

"The author of this life is Father Dominic Sccevolini, who lived about the same time. This would be the first time that the name of Rosary appears as applied to the instrument of the Psalter and also to the devotion itself." Mézard, p. 301.

⁴³ Cf. The letter published in the *Annaes Dominicaine*, January, 1914.

⁴⁴ Cf., Mézard, p. 260.

⁴⁵ It is slightly imperfect as reproduced in the *Month* (April, 1901, p. 401) — a curious fact, for in the volume of Mamachi which I consulted it is quite accurate. However, considering that even down to modern times accuracy of such detail is often not aimed at in art, whether it be sculpture, painting, glasemaking or metal work; e. g., in the illustration of Alan and the Rosary in the *Month*, March, 1901, p. 290, the illustration, even as reproduced in the *Month*, is quite near enough the mark.

⁴⁶ Cf., Etcheverry, pp. 53-55, and Mamachi, pp. 227, 229, 326.

3. We have the five decade rosary of St. Vincent Ferrer (+1419) preserved at the Providence Convent, Nantes.⁴⁷

4. Blessed Clara Gambacorta (+1419) used to recite *the Rosary* on her knees, when only a child.⁴⁸ The critics finding themselves obliged to accept this fact as vouched for by contemporary evidence seek to belittle its value as having nothing to do with Clara's life as a Dominican. Surely the truth is that, whereas it would be a fact not worth recording that a nun used to say her rosary, the fact that a little girl took to the devotion while still quite young is something which might well be mentioned in the life of a saint.

5. (a) Father Conrad Gross, O. P., (+1426) preached the *Rosary* in Germany, according to a manuscript of the convent of Colmar preserved in the archives of the master general.

(b) Father Bernard Maia, O. P., (+1438) preached *the Rosary* in Sicily, at least by his pen—a fact quoted by Echard (t. i. p. 791) on the authority of Mongitorius.

(c) Father John Augustine, O. P., (+1476) preached *the Rosary* in Spain, according to the "History of the Province of Aragon" published in 1599.⁴⁹

6. Alan de Rupe (+1475) the Restorer of the Rosary, bases his testimony that St. Dominic was its founder on both *Writings* and *Tradition*.⁵⁰ (N. B.) The Archives at Ghent, where Alan lived for many years and where is situated the great Beguinage, were burned and destroyed by the Protestants in 1566.⁵¹

Alan relates that "in the Order of Preachers, especially in England, when any one is either clothed or professed, along with the habit and belt the Psalter (i. e., the rosary beads⁵² of the mother and queen of the preachers is also put on, according to the old custom continuing down to the present day."⁵³

"It is certainly true," writes Father Thurston, "that at the close of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, we hear more of the Rosary in England than almost anywhere else, and it is particularly true that that form of our Lady's Psalter in which the *Aves* are divided into decades by *Paters* seems first of all to have become general in England."⁵⁴ A passage illustrating this has already been quoted from Sir John Maundeville (c. 1400), and

⁴⁷ Cf., Mézard, p. 284.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 201-202, and *Acta SS.*, t. II., April, p. 506.

⁴⁹ Cf., Etcheverry, p. 120-121, or the *Acta S. Sedis Pro. Soc. SS. Rosarii*, Vol. II., p. 1259-60.

⁵⁰ Cf., Mézard, p. 296, quoting Alan's *Apolog.*, vap. xv.

⁵¹ Cf., Etcheverry, pp. 117-118.

⁵² Cf., the *Month*, November, 1900, p. 256, n.

⁵³ Cf., Mézard, p. 265.

⁵⁴ Would it not have been more accurate to have said that we first have historical evidence of its becoming general in England?

amongst the materials so diligently accumulated by Father Bridgett and Mr. Edmund Waterton, I would appeal especially to the statutes of Eton College dating from about 1440, which require the scholars to say daily 'the complete Psalter of the Blessed Virgin, consisting of a *Credo*, 15 *Paters* and 150 *Ave Marias*.'"⁵⁵

7. Finally, Sixtus IV. issued two bulls in favor of the Rosary, declaring Our Lady Psalter to be a very ancient devotion, in use of old among the faithful in different parts of the world. It is interesting to note that in describing the Psalter with its 150 *Aves* divided into decades by 15 *Paters*, the Pope makes no mention of the mysteries, his point being rather to emphasize the resemblance of this Psalter to the Psalter of David. I think that even the most hostile critics will allow that the Rosary, or Psalter, the use of which Sixtus was encouraging, most certainly included meditation on the mysteries, for the Pope wrote three years after the death of Alan de Rupe.⁵⁶

CONCLUSION.

As to the sincerity and trustworthiness of Alan de Rupe, both these things are well proved by Mezard and Etcheverry. Quite apart from this point, however, the historical facts which have been mentioned in the foregoing pages are, I take it, more than sufficient to *justify* the Tradition attributing the institution of the Rosary to St. Dominic. We have, firstly, what reads exactly like a genuinely old-fashioned description of the Rosary, I mean our Lady's Psalter as recited by the Beguines almost from the very time of St. Dominic's death. Secondly, we find traces of what, on the testimony of many fifteenth century ecclesiastics of repute, were old Rosary confraternities. Thirdly, there are the significant facts which seem to show that the *Paternoster* was the name sometimes given to what we now call the Rosary, and the monuments, as well, connected with the Dominican Order, with rosaries engraved upon them or placed in the hands of figures representing Dominicans. Finally, we have the facts that members of the Order preached the Rosary, and that we find the Rosary existed, and existed under that name, long before the time of Alan de Rupe. Whereas, then, we have no historical evidence to justify the Tradition of the Assumption, we have abundant evidence to justify the Rosary Tradition. The very fact that the Rosary Tradition spread so swiftly and so swiftly and so successfully throughout the entire world seems in itself to be a repudiation of the idea that it had its origin in the false words of an author or of a preacher unworthy of credence.

⁵⁵ Cf., the *Month*, November, 1900, p. 522.

⁵⁶ Cf., Mézard, pp. 403-404.

If the Tradition be rejected, this fact of its rapid spread, as well as all the evidence adduced in its favor, must be satisfactorily explained away, and I confess that I do not see how that is possible.

We began these pages by supposing that the Rosary Tradition was true. Now that we have seen that the Tradition really rests upon solid foundations, let us for a moment suppose it to be false. If, then, the whole thing was a myth, if it was after all but the invention of an untruthful or demented or hoodwinked friar, surely it would be highly displeasing and repugnant to the Blessed Virgin, who is the Mother of Truth. And when the great shrine was being built at Lourdes in honor of her who, rosary in hand, had there appeared to Bernadette, do you not think that she would have breathed a word into the ear of her Son and God to prevent the false fable from being perpetuated just there, of all places, whither men would flock to pray to her from every quarter of the globe? Do you not think that it would have hardly been allowed to enter into the heart of man to erect just there, besides the Lourdes statue, a second image precisely to represent this fable, and thus to illustrate at once the victory of a lie and the ignorant folly of so many Pontiffs? Yet the contrary is the case. There at Lourdes, in a most conspicuous place, is a grand image of Our Lady bestowing the Rosary on St. Dominic, thus teaching the whole world the truth of the Tradition. The faithful, certainly, are not bound in any way to believe in it, but at least there is now no fear that the Tradition will ever be destroyed. If it was destructible, it would have perished long ago when the first great attacks were made upon it by its adversaries; and I say this deliberately, for, with all respect to both them and their motives, recent critics have really adduced no more evidence against the Tradition than did their predecessors two hundred years ago.

Nor can the argument *ad hominem* be turned against the defenders of the Tradition, or it be asked: Why, if the Tradition be true, did not our Lady secure that the evidence in its favor should be plainly incontestable? Because that would be paramount to a demand that no tradition should be tolerated, and that history pure and simple should always be given us, whereas, in point of fact we have the contrary case of the Assumption under our very eyes. But see, on the other hand, with what care the Tradition of the Rosary is guarded. An image representing the rosary being bestowed by our Lady upon St. Francis and St. Clare was condemned by the Holy See in 1663. A similar image, a few years later, representing this time two Jesuit saints (I am sure the good Fathers of the society were not responsible for this image) was

also condemned in 1683. It is the Dominican image alone, illustrating as it does the true Tradition, which is sanctioned and blessed and which alone is found throughout the world.

R. P. DEVAS, O. P.

Woodchester, England.

ABBOT SAMPSON.

(FROM AN OLD CHRONICLE, BY JOCELYN, OF BRAKELOND.)

THE Chronicles of Jocelyn of Brakelond, a monk, at the celebrated monastery of Bury St. Edmond's in the twelfth century, were translated from the original Latin by the Camden Society in 1844 and then published in England. They contain an account of one Abbot Sampson and his monastery and incidentally throw most interesting and curious sidelights on monastic and social, but particularly monastic manners and customs in that most interesting of the Middle Ages, the twelfth century. The writer, one of the Abbot's subjects and for eight years his chaplain and therefore in a position to know him intimately, describes himself as "an insignificant person of no repute" but judging from his Chronicle he hardly does himself justice. He had certainly a sense of humor and he had one great qualification for a biographer—he admired his subject very much if he did not love him, although he does not scruple to mention some of his faults, and he had not a few. Jocelyn was something of a scholar, for his Chronicle is profuse in Latin quotations generally from the Bible, but frequently from the classics also. He is particularly fond of Horace, but he also quotes from Ovid several times, Cicero once or twice, Lucan, Virgil and Terence. It is true his quotations are for the most part familiar, as for example, "So many men, so many opinions,"¹ from Terence's; "Nothing is altogether blessed,"²—from Horace, but they are mostly very aptly introduced, sometimes rather at the expense of his Abbot, as when speaking of Sampson having sent a present of some dogs to propitiate King Richard I., he quotes Ovid's line, "Jupiter himself is appeased by gifts given."³ Another time he quotes ironically from Isaias, "Hear, O heaven,⁴ the thing that I speak, 'listen, O earth,' to what Abbot Sampson did."⁵

¹ Terence, "Phormio," Act II., Scene 3, 14.

² Nihil omni parte beatum. *Carm. lib. II., 16.*

³ Placatur donis Jupiter ipse datis. *Ovid. Art. Am. v. 653.*

⁴ Isaias, I., 2.

⁵ *Ib'id.*

The Chronicle begins with an account of the famous monastery of Bury St. Edmund's from the year 1173, and describes briefly the unsatisfactory state under the rule of the predecessor of Abbot Sampson, particularly with regard to secular and financial affairs, for Jocelyn is careful to insist that the religious observances were always strictly fulfilled under Abbot Hugh's governance. From the Abbot's election, which is described at some length, in 1182, Jocelyn becomes more diffuse, but his biographical sketch of Abbot Sampson terminates abruptly in 1202 with the departure of the Abbot on a highly important mission. This sudden ending is most tantalizing, and the reason for it is not apparent, for the Abbot lived nine years longer and Jocelyn survived him.

The subject of this sketch was evidently a born ruler and a most capable manager of the estates of the abbey, a great stickler for the rights of the monastery, not afraid of opposing the Bishops or even the King himself, if these were in jeopardy, and occasionally showing himself guilty of sharp practice, if not actual deception, but, as Jocelyn might have said, but did not, "other times, other manners."

Abbot Hugh, the predecessor of Sampson, was an old man, and, says Jocelyn, "his eyes were dim," like Jacob's; he was "a pious and kind man, a good and religious monk, yet not wise or heedful in worldly affairs. To be sure, good governance and religion waxed warm in the cloister, but outdoors affairs were badly managed; in fact, every one serving under a simple and aged lord did that which was right in his own eyes, not that which ought to have been done."

When the riches and power of a great monastery in those days are remembered, it is not surprising that under these circumstances the affairs of the Abbey were in confusion. The cellarer whose office was so important that he ranked next to the Abbot, got into debt to the Jews, who charged usurious interest, and he was deposed from his office. The monk Sampson was then appointed sub-sacristan, but although he was often unjustly accused by his enemies, he was chosen to fill one office after another—now he was sub-sacristan, then guest-master, then pittance-master, then third prior and then sub-sacristan again. He would never condescend to flatter the Abbot as the other monks did and already showed himself a man of strong character.

In the month of September, 1180, the old Abbot Hugh went on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas, who had been martyred just ten years previously, but during the journey he fell from his horse and sustained a somewhat remarkable injury according to Jocelyn, who says that his "knee-pan was put out and lodged in the ham of his leg. The physicians tortured him, but they healed him

not." On the contrary, the poor old man was brought home to his Abbey, where his thigh mortified and he died on November 15. His servants robbed him of almost everything he possessed, leaving him with only two ragged quilts and a coverlet, and not a penny was found in his house. The Abbot did not live in the monastery in those days, but in one of his manor-houses, with a large staff of servants, horses and hounds; the house Abbot Hugh died in appears to have been close to the monastery, but Abbot Sampson frequently went and stayed at distant manors.

After the burial of the late Abbot, Sampson and another monk, named Rufus, were sent by the prior to France to announce the death of the Abbot to King Richard I. On their return the other monks, especially William the sacristan, showed great jealousy of Sampson and thwarted him in his project of building the choir and the tower of the church, an enterprise very near to his heart. He overlooked the builders and saw that neither "breach, chink, crack or flaw" occurred in their work. The section of monks who opposed him, headed by William the sacristan, plotted against him and succeeded in getting the building stopped so long as the seat of the Abbot was vacant.

Great discussions went on in the monastery at the spring blood-letting among the monks as to who the new Abbot would be, objections being raised by some one to every monk proposed. Jocelyn reports that he watched Sampson while the others were talking and saw him "sitting with the other quietly chuckling and noting the words of each." At length the prior and twelve of the monks were summoned to appear before the King to elect a new Abbot.

On the day after they received the letters from the King commanding their presence, the monks met in chapter and solemnly charged the prior to name **twelve of their number** to accompany him to court. He named six monks from one side of the choir and six from the other side and among them were Sampson the sub-sacristan, William the sacristan and Roger the cellarer. This being settled, some one asked what was to be done in case the prior and these twelve monks could not agree as to the Abbot's successor. Sampson the sub-sacristan then suggested that they should elect three monks who were most eligible as Abbot before they left and write their names secretly on a piece of parchment and seal it up and take it with them to Waltham and let it be opened in the presence of the King. And in case the King refused to allow one of the Edmondsbury monks to be elected, this packet was to be brought back and the contents kept secret on the peril of their souls. All agreeing to this proposal, it was carried out, the electors being chosen from among the older monks, and the next

day the thirteen started for Waltham. Jocelyn thus describes the departure. "Last of all was Sampson, the purveyor of their charges, because he was sub-sacristan, carrying about his neck a little box, in which was concealed the letters of the convent—as if he alone was the servant of them all—and without an esquire, bearing his frock looped under his elbows, who going out of the court-lodge, followed his fellows afar off."

In their absence one of the monks named William, of Hastings had a dream, in which he saw Sampson standing before the high altar, between two other monks, than whom he was head and shoulders taller, and St. Edmond the Martyr appeared and pointing with his finger to Sampson, said, "He shall veil my feet." This was interpreted by Jocelyn as being fulfilled by Sampson, after he was Abbot, completing the building of the tower of the church begun a century earlier. Several other monks also had dreams about the election which were published in the cloister and outside the monastery, and various prophecies as to the new Abbot were afloat both in the monastery and in the town.

On February 21, 1182, the prior and the twelve monks stood before the King and when the sealed packet was opened, the three names in it, in the following order, were Sampson the sub-sacristan, Roger the cellarer, and Hugh the third prior. Now Hugh had been one of the electors, so Jocelyn says, "the other monks flushed and marveled that he was also one of the three selected as one of the most eligible candidates," but they thought it wiser to keep their own counsel on the matter and say nothing before the King.

A long discussion followed, in which King Richard took part and in the end Sampson the sub-sacristan was chosen as Abbot, and his reception of the news is thus described by the chronicler: "Sampson being thus chosen, and falling down at the King's feet and kissing him, hastily arose and forthwith went towards the altar, singing, 'Miserere mei Domine,' together with his brethren, erect in gait, and with unmoved countenance. The King observing this, said to the bystanders; "By the eyes of God, this one that is chosen seems to himself worthy of keeping the abbacy.' We gather from this that Sampson was a man of fine presence and dignified in his bearing and possibly not disposed to underrate his own qualifications for the honor conferred upon him.

The news of the election was received at the monastery with joy by "all or nearly all of the monks and some of the officers also, but only a few." He was received on his return to the monastery with great solemnity by all the monks, who went to meet him at the gate of the cemetery, the bells ringing loudly both inside and outside the choir. The new Abbot as soon as he arrived in sight

of the Abbey dismounted from his horse and at the threshold of the gate took off his shoes and was received barefoot and conducted by the prior and the sacristan into the church, where he prostrated before the high altar, while part of the office was sung by the choir. He was then led to the Abbot's throne by the precentor, who then began the "Te Deum," which was sung by the choir, while the Abbot received from and gave the kiss of peace to all the community.

After these ceremonies were concluded in the church, the Abbot entertained more than a thousand guests at dinner.

Jocelyn was now made prior's chaplain, and four months later chaplain to the Abbot, which was promotion.

The day after his installation the new Abbot, who did not let the grass grow under his feet, called the prior and two or three other monks together, ostensibly to consult them about making a new seal for himself with a mitre engraved on it, a thing none of his predecessors had ever had, but Jocelyn considered the consultation superfluous, for, said he, "he himself knew what he would do." Then Sampson set his house and his stables, which contained twenty-six horses and his servants and his commisariat in order, commanding that there should be no lack of food or drink for his guests, and requiring no help from any one in all this, which displeased his knights, who condemned him as arrogant. Disregarding all criticism, he began at once a series of reforms in the management of the convent and its estates, collecting rents which were overdue, building new chapels where needed, repairing old halls and tumble-down houses, enclosing numerous parks, replenishing them with game and engaging a huntsman and setting up a back of hounds. He frequently sat with some of the monks watching the hunting and coursing, but Jocelyn never saw him taste of the game.

Finding that William the sacristan had been pledging, unknown to the rest of the convent, the ornaments and vestments of the church, and had also been tampering with the rents of the monastery, he deposed and inhibited him, and put Hugh the sub-sacristan in his place as sacristan. He tempered his severity with mercy towards William, who seems to have richly deserved punishment, for he concealed from the other monks the real reason of his deposition. Furthermore, he ordered the houses of William, which had been the scene of winebibbings and other revels to be pulled down level with the ground.

At Easter he went over all his manors and also over all the farms belonging to them and to the Abbey, and wherever he went, says his chronicler, "there came about him Jews as well as Christians, demanding debts and worrying and importuning him, so that he could

not sleep, and thereupon he became pale and thin and was constantly repeating, 'My heart will never rest until I know myself to be out of debt.'

At Michaelmas he took the management of all the estates of the monastery into his own hands, and soon showed himself a most capable manager, though his enemies slandered him on that account.

Seven months after his election the Pope sent letters making him a judge to determine causes, for which office Jocelyn says he "was incompetent and inexperienced, although he was endowed with liberal learning and divine knowledge," but apparently knowing his own weakness, he appointed two clerks learned in the law of the land to assist him, at the same time studying the law and the decretals till in a short time he became celebrated as a most discreet judge. And because, says Jocelyn, "his aspect was acute and penetrating, with a Cato-like countenance, rarely smiling, it was said that he inclined to severity rather than to kindness, and when it came to receiving money, he seldom remitted what by law he was entitled to take."

Sampson's next important step was to order that all the seals in the convent, and there turned out to be no less than thirty-three, should be given up to him. This was to prevent the monks from incurring any debt above the sum of twenty shillings without the consent of the convent; he returned the prior and the sacristan their seals, but he kept the rest. Then he ordered all the keys to be given up and forbade any one to have any locked chest or box or to possess anything which the rule did not permit, but he generally allowed each monk to have as much as two shillings in his possession.

Jocelyn thus describes him: "The Abbot Sampson was of middle stature, nearly bald, having a face neither round nor yet long, a prominent nose, thick lips, clear and very piercing eyes, ears of the nicest sense of hearing, lofty eyebrows and often shaved; and he soon became hoarse from a short exposure to cold. On the day of his election he was forty-and-seven years old and had been a monk seventeen years, having a few gray hairs in a reddish beard, with a few gray in a black head of hair, which somewhat curled, but within fourteen years after his election it all became white as snow."

He was always very temperate, and after the news of the fall of Jerusalem reach the monastery, he wore haircloth and abstained from meat, though, that it might be given to the poor, he always had it placed on the table before him. He was very eloquent, both in French and Latin, and at the same time a silent man, hating talkative people. He seemed to Jocelyn to prefer an active life to one of contemplation, and when he heard of any one resigning his pastoral office to become an anchorite, he never approved of it.

One thing that strikes us particularly in reading this chronicle is the devotion of the monks to their patron, St. Edmund, and their faith in his protection, not to mention their fear of offending him. This peeps out again and again in the course of the narrative. Once when Sampson was only a monk, he was sent on a mission to Rome, which failed owing to the Papal schism which was then disturbing Christendom and to no fault of his. Nevertheless, when he returned, his Abbot was so angry with him that Sampson had to hide in the shrine of St. Edmund as the safest place he could find, and no choirman or layman dare bring him food or drink except by stealth. He was then exiled to Acre and imprisoned in chains.

On one occasion William of Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, slighted St. Edmund by refusing to help Abbot Sampson to protect the privileges of his church and abbey, to which the monks all clung most pertinaciously, whereupon Sampson appealed to St. Edmund, assuring the Bishop that the saint would get justice done to him. Jocelyn records that within a year of this threat the Bishop, who was also lord chancellor, was driven from the kingdom. Once the Bishop on his return to Germany sent word to the Abbot that he was coming to hear Mass in the abbey, but the Bishop of Norwich sent word to the Abbot that William Longchamp was excommunicated, and that on no account were they to allow any of the offices of the Church to be performed in his presence. Accordingly, on his arrival in the church, all the priests who were saying Mass, including the one at the high altar, all stopped when he entered and remained standing until he had left the church.

In the year 1196 a fire broke out in the church, which is attributed by Jocelyn to St. Edmund, who, he says, "was pleased to strike terror into our convent and to instruct us that his body should be kept more reverently and observantly than it had hitherto been"—a lesson that seems to have been sadly needed from the description of the state of the shrine. The fire broke out on some flooring between the shrine of St. Edmund and the high altar and was caused by two tapers which were always kept burning, having been stuck on to the remnants of the old burnt-out ones, insecurely, so that they fell to the ground and set light to the floor and to a lot of rubbish which had been allowed to accumulate under the boards. The keepers of the shrine fell asleep on the night before the feast of St. Ethelreda and were awakened by the flames. It fortunately happened that the rood-screen and the beam on which it stood had been removed to be repaired or that and the figures would have been destroyed. The monks were all roused and succeeded in putting out the fire before any very serious damage was done.

The shrine was evidently very richly decorated with gold and

silver, as Jocelyn mentions that the nails fell out of the silver plates which decorated it, and they were left hanging loosely, but as for the gold of the holy of holies, that was brighter than before, being pure gold. Abbot Sampson was absent when the fire occurred, and on his return was very much grieved, but improved the occasion by lecturing all the monks in chapter, declaring that a greater danger would befall them if they did not repent of their sins, and especially refrain from complaining of their food—a fault for which he had no sympathy, being himself indifferent as to what was set before him. In fact, says Jocelyn, he blamed the whole convent rather than the keepers of the shrine. He then gave all the gold in his possession to repair the damage done.

Dreams were considered of much and grave import in those days, and a rather amusing account is given of the different interpretations of a dream of a certain person of quality, who told the Abbot he had seen a vision in which the holy martyr St. Edmund was lying outside his shrine despoiled of his clothes and his body wasted away by hunger and thirst. This dream the Abbot related to the monks, interpreting it to mean that St. Edmund complained that he was naked because they defrauded the poor of their old clothes and that he was hungry because they reluctantly gave them what they were bound by their rule to give in meat and drink. The convent, says Jocelyn, looked very grave on hearing this and, meeting together, proceeded to put their own interpretation upon the vision, which was that they and the convent were the naked members of his body, and that this was because the Abbot had everything, the sacristy, the cellary, the chamberlainy, all under his control. The Abbot was away when this interpretation was reported to him, and he was very much annoyed and said: "They will wrest that dream against me, will they? By the Face of God, when I get home I shall restore to them the customs that they say are theirs, and I shall withdraw my clerk from the cellary, and I shall leave them to themselves, and I shall see how wise they will be at the end of the year." Nevertheless, although he kept his word, he humbled himself before them because, says Jocelyn, he had the intention of translating the body of St. Edmund.

A longer account follows of this translation, which, as we have said, is ushered in by Jocelyn in the words of Isaias ('we are not sure that he does not employ them ironically'): "'Hear, O heaven,' the things that I speak: 'Listen, O earth,' to what Abbot Sampson did."

Three days before the feast of St. Edmund a solemn fast of three days was proclaimed to the people of St. Edmundsbury, as a preparation for the elevation of the shrine of the holy martyr to the high

altar, where a new marble pediment had been made to receive it. Now the Abbot, who had a great devotion to his patron, had always desired to see him, so he decided to have the coffin opened, and chose two of the monks to view the body with him and twelve others to carry the coffin to its new resting place. All this was done secretly at night without the knowledge of the rest of the convent. The twelve monks and the Abbot and his two chosen companions were all vested in white albs for the occasion, and Jocelyn describes minutely the wrappings of the body when the coffin was opened, which was done with great reverence and devotion. A document in parchment signed by the twelve monks and the Abbot was enclosed in the coffin before it was closed up again, testifying to what had been done. It was then raised to the new resting-place. News of what was going on had oozed out, and one monk, John of Dissy, witnessed the proceedings from the roof of the church, together with the servants of the sacristan.

But when the monks all came to matins and saw what had been done, they were all very sorrowful, saying, reports Jocelyn, among themselves, 'We have all been deceived.' The Abbot after matins made a speech to them, telling them it was not fit that all should have been present, and then, with tears, they sang a solemn "Te Deum." This took place on the 20th of November, 1198, St. Edmund's feast.

The devotion to St. Edmund at this time was very great in England; King Richard I. had had a great devotion to him and was most generous in gifts of money, and Sampson had taken care to do everything in his power to curry favor with him, so that he might support the convent in all its undertakings, and "now," says Jocelyn, "all his labor and pains were lost," for the King was killed in battle the following year.

King John, immediately after his coronation, came down to St. Edmund's to fulfill a vow and pay his devotion to the saint. The monks expected him to make an offering of regal magnificence, but all he gave was a silken altar-cloth, which he borrowed of the sacristan and had not paid for when Jocelyn wrote this chronicle.

Some years previously, when in 1193 King Richard was captive and his brother, then Prince John, had raised a rebellion against him, Abbot Sampson opposed him and excommunicated the knights who were associated with him. Shortly after Sampson went into Germany to visit King Richard, as a truce had been proclaimed, and he took him many presents. Later, when King Richard was a prisoner there, the Abbot refused to allow the church or shrine of St. Edmund to be despoiled to help pay for his ransom, says Jocelyn, "there was no treasure in England but was either to be given up

or redeemed." Abbot Sampson was very firm on this point, and standing up before all the Justices who came to claim some of the gold and silver, threatened any of them to dare to approach the shrine, and so great was their fear of St. Edmund, that all of them swore they dared not touch the shrine.

An amusing incident is recorded of a certain windmill which Herbert the Dean dared to erect on one of the convent's manors, which, when the Abbot heard of it, he was so angry that for a day or two he would hardly eat or drink or speak. Then he ordered the sacristan to send and have the mill taken down, and the wood carefully taken and put aside. The dean, hearing of this, he went to remonstrate with the Abbot, saying that the wind, at any rate, was free to all, and that he only wanted to grind his own corn, not to do any damage to neighboring mills. The Abbot, however, was inexorable and swore he would not touch food till the mill was taken down, and ordered his carpenters to go and remove it. The dean, however, was before him, for he himself sent his own men to remove the offending structure, and when the Abbot's men arrived there was no mill to remove.

On another occasion the Abbot outwitted the Bishop of Ely in regard to some timber the Bishop wanted for building at Clemesford. His messenger made a mistake in the name of the wood from which this timber was to be cut, and called it Elmswell instead of Elmseethe. The Abbot wondered, but with a bad grace he granted the request, as he dared not refuse. Then Richard, the forester, informed him that the Bishop before sending his messenger had marked all the best trees in the wood at Elmseethe with his mark to be cut down for him. The Abbot thereupon went into the wood with his carpenters and had all these trees and a hundred more marked with his mark, and before the Bishop had had time to send his messenger back to correct his mistake, all the timber in Elmseethe wood was felled and taken by the Abbot for the building of his church towers.

In all things pertaining to the rights of the convent, Abbot Sampson was obdurate. When the Pope's legate, who was also Archbishop of Canterbury, desired to make a visitation of the abbey, which was exempt from Papal visitation, Sampson not only outwitted him, but, meeting him between St. Edmundsbury and London, withstood him to the face, and in a long and bitter altercation, in the course of which the legate told the Abbot he knew he was a keen wrangler and a better clerk than he himself, to which Sampson replied that he was a man who would never suffer the privileges of his Church to be shaken, if it cost him his life or involved his banishment.

Finally the Abbot lowered his tone and induced the legate to abandon his intention, and they parted on good terms.

The cellarers were always a trouble to Sampson, as they were always getting into debt, and although he deposed them one after another, ten years after his election it was the same story. At length in 1192 he appointed a clerk to act with them, which displeased the convent, the monks grumbling and saying: "He distrusts his monks, he trusts clerks, he consults clerks, he loves them and we are made a byword to our neighbors."

The appointment of a clerk, however, did not mend matters, for at the end of a few years the cellarer was again in debt, and then the Abbot took charge of the cellary himself, to the annoyance and disgust of the monks, who considered themselves to have become a laughing stock to their neighbors and to be disparaged in the eyes of the townspeople.

The Abbot also at this time took upon himself the offices of guest master and the stewardship of everything, indoors and out of doors, and appointed a clerk to assist him in purveying food for his guests and for the convent. This action appears to have caused a great deal of gossip, both inside and outside of the convent, some saying the Abbot was the only one among the monks capable of managing their affairs without getting into debt, others complaining that he took too much upon himself. In fact, the Abbot's throne was by no means a bed of roses, and he might well have said with Pope Adrian IV., "that he was always between the hammer and the anvil."

The day after Christmas Day, 1197, the Abbot's servants and some of the Burgesses of the town were guilty of sacrilege, holding wrestling matches and a regular sort of orgy, which ended in fighting and bloodshed, in the churchyard. The Abbot, whose custom it was to invite the Burgesses to dine at his own table during the octave of Christmas, did not do so in consequence, and moreover he summoned all the rioters before him, and, having heard the evidence against them, told them he should publicly and by name excommunicate all those who had been guilty of this sacrilege. Accordingly, the same day the monks put on their robes and lighted the candles and the Abbot excommunicated the offenders, beginning with his own servants. Then they all went out of the church, and presently some one came and told the Abbot that more than a hundred men were lying prostrate and half naked outside the door of the church, whereupon he wept. The offenders were then whipped and absolved, and they swore to abide by the judgment of the church. The next day penance was assigned them and the Abbot restored them "to unity and concord" and threatened them with terrible punishment if they ever offended in this way again. He

also forbade any public shows or meetings to be held in the churchyard. Jocelyn concludes this episode thus: "The Burgesses feasted on the following days with their lord, the Abbot, with great satisfaction."

Not very long after King John's visit to St. Edmund's a terrible dispute between the convent and the Abbot arose in the monastery—a veritable storm in a tea cup, for the cause was a slight one. It seems Ralph, the porter, had been maintaining some causes, to the detriment of the Church of St. Edmund and the convent, and when this came to the knowledge of the chapter the prior, in the absence of the Abbot, decided to punish the porter by stopping some of his perquisites which the cellarers allowed him without the knowledge of the whole convent. On the Abbot's return, Ralph complained to him, misrepresenting his case, and Sampson believed him and, says Jocelyn, "in otherwise than became him, was excited, affirming that Ralph was innocent, and that what had been done was done to his prejudice and without his consent."

The prior then said that what had been done was done by him with the consent of the whole convent. Abbot Sampson was, says Jocelyn, confused at this, saying, "I have nourished and brought up children and they have rebelled against me." He then ordered the cellarer to restore all that had been taken from Ralph fully and wholly and forbade him to drink anything but water until he had done so. The cellarer for that day chose to drink only water rather than obey the Abbot, who on hearing of it forbade him meat or drink until he had restored all, and having given this order, he immediately went away and remained away eight days.

Directly he had gone, the cellarer gave up the keys of the cellars and said he would rather be deposed from his office than do anything in opposition to the convent. Then, says the chronicler, "there arose such a tumult in the convent as I had never before seen." This disturbance appears to have lasted for some days, the elder monks taking the part of the Abbot and counseling obedience to him, the younger ones being for opposing him, even going so far as to refuse to sing the psalm "Verba Mea" for the dead, as was the rule, at the close of the chapter. In the end the counsel of the elder monks prevailed, but not before the Abbot had sent several messages to them and refused to return home, as he said they were plotting against him and threatening to kill him with their knives. However, at the end of a week he did return, "and sitting in his inner chamber gave orders that one of the brethren whom he vehemently suspected should come to him, but he, fearing to be taken and bound, refused to come, and was therefore excommunicated." Three other monks were punished in a lesser degree, and then the following day

the whole convent submitted and said they were willing to humble themselves before him, and this being done, the Abbot, weeping, declared he had never grieved for anything so much as for this scandal before in his life, and that he had gone away on account of being so angry until his anger had cooled, and then he arose still weeping and embraced them all with the kiss of peace. He then absolved the monk whom he had excommunicated and "there was a great calm." But he had his own way, for he gave private orders that all that Roger had been deprived of should be restored to him.

Jocelyn thus comments on this finale: "But of this we took no further notice, being at last made to understand that there is no lord who will not bear rule, and that battle is perilous which is undertaken against the stronger and is begun against the more powerful party." Certainly Abbot Sampson, although apparently a tender-hearted man, was born to rule and would not stand any resistance to his authority, nor would he suffer the slightest derogation from his own dignity, although he appears to have been humble enough, even though he would oppose the highest in the land if they attempted to defraud either him as Abbot or the abbey of any of the rights and privileges belonging to them.

When the Abbot of Cluny came to St. Edmund's and was received by the monks with befitting honor, Abbot Sampson would not give place to him, either in chapter or in the procession on Sunday in the church, but took care always to sit or stand in the middle, with the Abbot of Cluny on one side of him and the Abbot of Chertsey on the other. In the year 1200 the prior died and there was another difference of opinion between the Abbot and the convent as to who should succeed to the priorship, the Abbot choosing the monk Herbert, who was young and not at all learned, and the convent preferring the sub-prior, Hermer, who was both eloquent and learned; but the Abbot had his way and chose Herbert, who is described as "a very amiable man, handsome and comely, always in good temper, of a smiling countenance, be it early or late; kind to all, calm in his bearing and grave in his demeanor, pleasant in speech, possessing a sweet voice in chanting, young, brave, of a healthy body and always in readiness to undergo travail for the need of the church, skillful in conforming himself to every place and time, liberal and social, not spiteful in correction, not suspicious, not covetous, not drawling, not slothful, expert and fluent of tongue in the French idioms, a man of moderate understanding, whom if too much learning should make mad, might be said to be a perfectly accomplished man."

Thus does Jocelyn sum up the qualifications of the new prior, and comes to the conclusion that although such a man might become

very popular, he had better "wait and see" what sort of men he chose for his counsellors and be sparing in his praises of the Abbot's choice.

In the year 1201 the monks of St. Edmundsbury had a contest with the monks of Ely about a market which the Ely monks wanted to set up at Lakenheath, and did set up to the prejudice of the market at St. Edmundsbury. After protesting in vain against this market, Abbot Sampson went to London and, after taking legal advice, commanded his bailiffs to abolish this market by force, so in the dead of the night six hundred men, well armed, proceeded to Lakenheath to do so. They succeeded in abolishing the market, but they had to restore the cattle and sheep which they seized, the Bishop of Ely, who was a very eloquent man, protesting loudly against the arrogance of the Abbot in doing this. On St. Agnes' day, in this same year, Abbot Sampson and the Bishop of Ely were both ordered to attend the King, to make inquiry about some knights who had taken the Cross in order to join the Crusade, and whom the King wanted to be discharged, as he needed them for the safety of his kingdom.

The poor Abbot was not allowed to depart in peace, for before he went his monks endeavored through the prior to get him to restore certain of their liberties, and especially they brought up the old grievance about the cellarer and the sacristan. At first Sampson was very angry, saying that as long as he lived he would be the master. But repenting, he talked more mildly to the prior, and the next day in the chapter he told them that he had paid all his servants and made his will just as if he was going to die, and when the monks pressed for a redress of their supposed grievances about the cellarer and other matters, he promised that on his return he would coöperate with the monks in everything and render to each what was justly his. Upon this there was calm, but, says the chronicler, "the calm was not very great." We greatly fear that on the Abbot's return the storm broke out again, for they most probably got into debt in his absence, but the chronicle⁶ ends here abruptly. It is considered to be one of the most entertaining of the mediæval chronicles, and it certainly gives us an excellent picture of the monastic customs of the time, as well as a striking portrait of Abbot Sampson.

DARLEY DALE.

⁶ "Chronicles of Jocelyn of Brakelond," translated by T. E. Tomlins from the original Latin as printed by the Camden Society, London, 1844.

GLENGARRY.

FOLLOWING on the account of the life and labors of Bishop Hugh Macdonald, first Vicar Apostolic of the Highlands of Scotland, which recently appeared in these pages, it is hoped that the following account of Glengarry will prove of interest. The episcopate of Bishop Hugh Macdonald was begun and was ended in Glengarry. It was a district which figured very largely in the Catholic life of the Highlands for fully two hundred years, and the name is an honored one wherever the traditions of those days still linger, as they linger in so many Highland families of the New as well as of the Old World.

The earliest account which we have of the mission of Glengarry, and also the most detailed, is contained in the very interesting report on the Highland mission made by Mr. Alexander Leslie in 1677. He had come to the mission about 1670 and was thus a very young man to be entrusted with so important a duty. Yet his report shows great determination and a charming gaiety of disposition which enabled him to overcome all difficulties. He later went to Rome, whence he returned in August, 1681. In 1689 he was thrown into prison and was not liberated till 1691. In the register of priests for 1673 he is entered as Alex. Leslie, "Hard-boots." He served in succession the missions of Enzie, Strathbogie, Banff, and dying in 1702, on the 14th of April, he was buried in the Enzie. He had been forty years on the Scotch mission.

After stating his surprise at being appointed visitor and giving details of certain preparatory arrangements, he continues: "I stayed in Banffshire until the middle of Lent, 1678, and then started for Inverness, through the country of Moray. From Inverness I wrote to Mr. Robert Munro, a Highland missionary, asking him to meet me at the bog of Gight, in the Enzie, sometime in April. This he did and I must confess that I could not have visited the Highlands without him.

"Whilst I was in Inverness I ministered to many Catholics, who had not seen a priest for a long time. This was especially the case with one gentleman and his wife, who had come a distance of forty Scotch miles, about eighty Italian miles, to see if perchance they might find a priest in Inverness, not having seen one for over two years. They came across me quite accidentally and were so filled with joy that they could not restrain their tears. It was indeed with difficulty that I could restrain my own emotion, all the more when I thought of the rest of these poor Catholics, so neglected that one might say they were entirely abandoned. This consideration forced me to remain in Inverness longer than I had

intended. My stay was, however, a great consolation to those most excellent and devout Catholics who flocked in from all the surrounding country, making their confessions, receiving Holy Communion, hearing Mass and giving themselves up entirely to devotions and prayers. Such was their fervor—indeed, such was the fervor of all the Catholics in the Highlands—that it was difficult to say Mass without distraction. Their sighs and their ejaculations interrupted the celebrant to such an extent that it was often necessary to speak sharply to them and to check them if one would finish the Holy Sacrifice.

“Leaving Inverness, I betook myself to the bog of Gight, the property of the Marquis of Huntly. This castle is on the banks of the River Spey, which is here the boundary of the County of Moray. On my arrival I found Mr. Munro, the Highland missionary, and for the space of eight days we rested, discussing the work before us. We then started direct through Moray to Inverness, where we had to lay hid for some days whilst we made provision for our journey into the Highlands. In particular we had to provide ourselves with clothes after the fashion of these people. They dress quite differently from the Lowlanders and more in the style of the ancient Romans, as far as one can judge from the statues of the latter. We all had to dress in this style, even our servants and guides.

“When our preparations were completed we set out along the bank of the River Ness until we came to the beginning of the lake from which that river flows and here we fell in with Mr. Francis White, with whom he had a long consultation, and arranged some further details regarding our journey through the Highlands and island.

“From here we sent on our horses by a longer road, whilst in order to shorten the journey, we ascended a mountain so steep that often we had to climb on hands and knees. We now entered the district called the Aird, fourteen long and weary miles from Inverness. We were received at the house of Sir Alexander Fraser, of Kinnaries, and treated with great kindness. Sir Alexander had once visited Rome and had there made the acquaintance of my brother, and on this account was highly pleased to meet me.*

*Mr. William Mackay kindly writes as follows: “Colonel Fraser, of Kinnaries—or Kinerras, as the name now appears on the valuation roll—was proprietor of that estate in 1678. Kinerras is in the parish of Kiltarlity and has for generations formed part of the Lovate estates. Fraser also owned Kinmylees, near Inverness, which he sold to David Polson in 1688. He was also proprietor of Abriachan, which he sold to the Laird of Grant. He was alive in 1695. I did not know that he was entitled to be called Sir Alexander Fraser. He does not appear as such in the valuation roll of the County of Inverness of the year 1691 or in any other references which I have come across.”

"Two days afterwards we passed through mountainous tracks into the district of Strathglass. The chief here is a most zealous Catholic and so are practically all his vassals, having been reconciled to the Church by the missionary, Munro. I stayed here eight or ten days to obtain full information, and what I learned was most satisfactory. At this stage of our journey we had to leave our horses behind, as our road for the future was over precipitous mountains and almost impenetrable forests. Further, we here put off our Lowland dress and donned the Highland costume.

"From Strathglass we continued our journey in the direction of Invergarry. The weather was very adverse, the wind blowing like a hurricane and the snow falling in blinding showers—this, too, when we were well on in May. We found that we could not reach Invergarry in one day, so we stopped at Pitmain, some miles short of our destination. Next day we arrived at Invergarry, and there I stayed five days in order to receive many reports from the chief, a most zealous Catholic of tried prudence, faith and constancy. Here I fell ill and remained very feeble with a continuous fever for fourteen days. Though I then began to feel better, yet I was still so weak that I could scarcely stand on my feet, much less travel in a country where it is all ascending or descending precipitous mountains.

"Lady Macdonel, a most pious Catholic, tried to persuade me to go back, saying that I should be a dead man before I reached the islands. Indeed, many of the Catholics had prophesied the same before I reached Inverness. But Lord Macdonel encouraged me and persuaded me not to give in, saying that in six days I should regain not only my health, but my strength as well. He then reprimanded those who were persuading me to the contrary, and especially her Ladyship, telling them that it was far better for me and for them if I did die on the way rather than turn back. If I went back, Rome would conclude that the country was the inaccessible haunt of rude savages and would send no priests to them at all. He had no difficulty in persuading me to follow his advice, as I had already made up my mind rather to risk a hundred lives than fail in my duty to the Holy See. Over and above the motive of obedience there was the compassion I felt for these poor people. Every day something new came to my knowledge—their great need of priests and how well they had deserved that Rome should send them some, their great piety and their insatiable thirst for the Holy Sacraments and for religious instruction. All this redoubled my courage and filled me with constancy in the prosecution of my mission. My weakness, however, was so great that for the first week our day's journey was but short: indeed, the first stage from In-

vergarry was only five miles. By the grace of God my health improved, as Lord Macdonel had foretold, and as it improved our stages also lengthened."

So much for the report of Mr. Alexander Leslie. Glengarry was the spot selected by Father White as his principal residence and he there established a Catholic school, with a teacher named Ewan McAlastair. This was only possible by reason of the protection afforded by Lord Macdonel, who at that period aspired to be the most powerful chief in the Highlands and whose property extended from the village of Aberchalder, five miles east of Invergarry, to the west coast of Scotland, a distance of over forty miles. It was in the very year after the meeting of Mr. Leslie and Father White that the latter died after twenty-three years of most devoted labor in the service of religion in the Highlands.

Regarding the school in Glengarry, some very interesting letters exist proving the strange fact that as early as 1650—only one hundred years after the Reformation and when its influence had scarcely begun to be felt in these outlying districts—no vocations to the priesthood were forthcoming even in so Catholic a district as Glengarry. One cannot but wonder, if this was due to the martial spirit which pervaded the clans, how did they obtain vocations previous to the Reformation, when that spirit was surely equally strong?

In 1668 the prefect of the mission, Mr. Alexander Winstler, writes to the agent in Rome: "I sent five youths this year to our college in Paris, of whom three have already received the tonsure and are studying philosophy. But in the Highlands matters are quite different, for during all these years of those educated in our school in Glengarry we could not persuade one single youth to go abroad to study. This is due to the opposition of the parents, for I have tried my best. Of the necessity of procuring some youths, I was fully persuaded myself, and I was further urged thereto by the superior of the said college at Paris and by Mr. William Leslie, our procurator in Rome. The parents, however, consider their children sufficiently educated when they have learned the first elements of grammar. They then take them away from school and have resisted all the attempts of Mr. Francis White and myself. Still I have great hopes of better success in the future, when they will have become a little more refined (*aliqua liter mitiores*) by education and religion." Elsewhere in the same report it is stated: In some parts of the Highlands schools with Catholic teachers are tolerated under the protection of the pious and influential Lord Macdonald. Still it will not be easy to find teachers in future, for with the exception of Ewan McAlastair—who has an allowance

from Lord Macdonald—who would be willing to stay in a district so wild and so uncultivated? He could expect nothing from his pupils and would therefore need some attraction in the shape of a handsome salary. Certainly, thirty scudi per annum would not be sufficient.

In 1677 the prefect of the mission reports: There are two schools in the Highlands the masters of which receive the same stipend as the missionaries; but so far are they from receiving anything from the parents, that these are hardly able to support their children when absent from their own homes. This arises from the fact that all their substance consists in flocks, which afford them meat and dairy produce for food and wool for clothing. One master, Ewen McAlaster, who is married, has been teaching for many years. Another has just left because he could not stand the hard life. The two schools are under Mr. Francis White.

In 1678, according to Mr. Thomson, who for many years was agent in Rome and left notes for a history of the Church in Scotland, the school was transferred from Glengarry to Barra. No doubt the increased vigilance of the military made the former district unsafe, for about this period government soldiers were actually quartered in Invergarry Castle.

Closely connected with the subject of vocations from amongst the Highland youths is that of the Irish priests who at the urgent request of the superiors of the mission and also of such lairds as Lord Macdonel, Clanranald and McNeil, of Barra, came over to give their services to the Catholics of the Highlands and western islands. Fathers White and Dugan have already been mentioned. Mr. Hugh Ryan came to Scotland in 1680; in 1688 he was in Strathglass; in 1696 he was taken prisoner and died in November of that year.

Father Francis Macdonell, Franciscan, came to the mission in 1668; in 1671 he sent a report on the Highland mission to the Archbishop of Armagh, who transmitted it to Rome. It is worthy of note that at that date Rome proposed placing the Hebrides under the jurisdiction of Armagh. In 1677 Father Macdonell was still in the Highlands. Father Peter Mulligan, an Augustinian, was brought from Rome by Bishop Gordon and they arrived together in Aberdeen in July, 1706. In 1722 Bishop Gordon writes to Rome: "Mr. Mulligan has left us after sixteen years in the Highlands. He wished to serve his own countrymen and during the many years he has been on the mission he has reaped most abundant fruit of his labors, having reconciled over seven hundred persons to the Church."

Father Peter Gordon, Recollect, also served sixteen years on the

Highland mission and left it in 1722, "at the command of his superiors, who advanced him to a post of dignity in the order." Many other Franciscans accepted the invitation of the superiors of the mission, but as they were largely under their own superiors, they do not appear in the annual lists of clergy. For Father Antony Kelly, Bishop Hugh Macdonald had a special regard. He had been recalled by his superiors, but Bishop Hugh made every endeavor to get him back. "If poor Antony Kelly should come, I would willingly dispense with all the rest," and in his letter to Propaganda he calls him "a most worthy and truly apostolic man, who was on this mission for many years and did an immense amount of good."

To return to the series of priests who attended the Glengarry district. Mr. Robert Munro, mentioned in the foregoing report as the indispensable companion of the visitor, was another of those wonderful men whom no adversity could conquer. He was three times imprisoned and sentenced to death if he again returned from his banishment; but on each occasion he at once came back to his field of labor. In 1704 whilst lying prostrate with fever in a miserable hut in Glengarry, he was discovered by some English soldiers, who carried him off to the Castle, where he was thrown into the dungeon and where, after receiving the vilest treatment, he was allowed to perish. He had been thirty-four years on the Highland mission and during the greater part of that time his principal residence was Glengarry and its neighborhood.

Father McGregor, a Benedictine, was priest in Glengarry in 1728. He had come to Scotland in 1724, but only remained till 1730. Father William Grant, also a Benedictine, was in Glengarry in 1734, whilst in 1735 Mr. Peter Grant had this mission, but he, too, was here only two years when he was sent as agent to Rome. Mr. James Leslie followed and he was still here in 1741. After him came Mr. Aeneas McGillis, who accompanied the expedition of Prince Charles Edward Stuart as chaplain to the Glengarry men. These numbered over six hundred, under the command of Lochgarry. The chaplains with the Stuart army all wore the Highland dress, with sword and pistols, and went under the name of captain.

It is a strange coincidence that Prince Charlie slept at Invergarry on the 26th of August, 1745, one of the first days of his campaign, and returned there two nights after the fatal battle of Culloden. On the devastation wrought in the district after that most unfortunate undertaking there is no need to dwell. Situated as it was midway between the hostile garrisons of Fort Augustus, Fort William and Bernera, it suffered even greater barbarities than any other district.

Mr. Aeneas McGillis returned again to Glengarry and was priest there from 1759 to 1767, when he reckoned that he had 1,500 Catholics under his care. He also at this period had the ministration of Loehaber, with its 3,000 Catholics, at first on account of the great age of Mr. John Macdonald, and later—on the death of this most holy priest—until a new appointment was made. In 1763 Abbate Grant, the agent in Rome, described Mr. McGillis in his report as a "learned, prudent and devout man, who had studied at the Scots College, Rome, and is now about forty years of age." In 1775 the Bishop's report to Rome: Alexander Macdonald and Roderick Macdonald had just arrived on the mission; one had been placed in Uist and the other (Mr. Roderick) in Glengarry, in place of Mr. Aeneas McGillis, who was entirely invalided by gravel. In the previous year the Bishops had greatly praised Mr. McGillis; "he had often served several missions at one time, and these most difficult ones by reason of their size and the number of their Catholics. He suffers so much from gravel that it is only with great pain that he can do any work. If he is called to attend the dying, as not rarely happens, he never refuses, but he is prostrate for several days afterwards." Mr. McGillis died in 1777, when the annual report states "for thirty-five years he had labored with great zeal, and had given great satisfaction."

About this period Bishop Hugh Macdonald resided at Abercalder, on the eastern boundary of Glengarry. He gave such assistance as he could, having chosen this district on purpose to be able still to do something in his old age. He died at Abercalder on the 12th of March, 1773, and was buried at Kilfinnan, in Glengarry. Bishop Macdonald seems at one time to have intended making Glengarry his principal residence throughout his episcopate, even as it had been that of Mr. White and Mr. Munro. His first letter to Rome far wrong in writing to Propaganda: "The priests in the Highland 1732."

The hope expressed by the prefect of the mission in 1663 that vocations to the priesthood would soon come from the Highlands was at this time amply fulfilled. Although the number of priests in the Highlands district never came up to the needs of the people, as the letters of the Bishops clearly show, still the supply was fairly adequate. Of these, the clan Macdonald supplied a remarkable majority, often to the great confusion of the authorities in Rome, since in 1777 there were no less than four Alexander Macdonalds out of the twelve priests. The lists for 1786 and 1794 are interesting in this connection and go to prove that Austin Macdonald was not far wrong in writing to Propaganda; "the priests in the Highland district will soon be all Macdonalds."

Priests in the West Highland in 1786: Samalaman, Bishop Alexander Macdonald; Lochaber, Angus McGillis; Glengarry, Ranald Macdonald; Moydart, Austin McDonald; Arisaig, Alexander Macdonald and Norman Macdonald; Samalaman, Allan Macdonald; Knoydart, Alexander Macdonald; Morar, Ranald Macdonald.

Priests in the West Highlands in 1794: Samalaman, Bishop John Chisholm; Lochaber, Angus McGillis; Glengarry, Ranald Macdonald; Kintail, Christopher McRae; Arisaig, John Macdonald; Moydart, Norman Macdonald; Morar, Ranald Macdonald; Knoydart, Austin Macdonald; Lesser Isles, Antony Macdonald; Barra, Allan Macdonald; Uist, Alexander Macdonald, Ranald Maceachan.

One other list may be inserted here. It shows how at this period the Scots College, Rome, was almost the sole source of priests for the Highland district.

Nomen	Ordinatus	Nomen	Ordinatus
Hugo MacDonald, Scalán ...	1726	Jacobus Leslie, Roma	1729
Aeneas MacLauchlin, Parisia .	1712	Alexander Forester, Roma ...	1732
Joannes Macdonald, Roma	1720	Jacobus Grant, Roma	1735
Alanus Macdonald, Roma	1723	Petrus Grant, Roma	1735
Nilus MacFie, Roma	1727	Gulielmus Harrison, } Roma..	1737
Aeneas McGillis, Roma	1741	Henderson }	
Alexander Macdonald, Roma ..	1746	Joannes Macdonald, Roma ...	1753
Aeneas Macdonald, Roma	1752	Alexander Macdonald, Roma..	1753

Mr. Roderick Macdonell remained in Glengarry until 1783 when he went to Canada. He had taken the mission oath with the express stipulation that he should be free to go to America, whither all his relations had already preceded him.

It will not be out of place to insert here some account of the new Glengarry in Canada, where many of the families of distinction found a new home and where Greenfield, Scotus, Abercalder, Leek and other names familiar in the history of Glengarry are perpetuated in that of the daughter colony. The first settlement was in Prince Edward's Island, then called St. John's Island, but this not proving very successful, many of the emigrants moved to the mainland of Nova Scotia, where the present county of Antigonish has many inhabitants whose forefathers came from Glengarry. By far the largest emigration, however, was that which followed Father Alexander MacDonell, after the disbandment of the Glengarry Fencible Regiment, about which a word must be said.

Father Alexander MacDonell, who proved so great a benefactor to his fellow-clansmen, was born in Glen Urquhart, Invernessshire, about the year 1760. He probably spent some years at the school of Bourblach near Loch Morar, then under the care of Bishop Macdonald. The greater part of his student life was passed at Scots College, Valladolid, which he entered in 1778 and where he

was ordained in 1787. His first parish was that of Badenoch and here he remained till 1792. He then went to Glasgow, in charge of the Highlanders who had been evicted from their holdings and had accepted the offer of the leading Glasgow merchants to settle in that city. To them Father MacDonell was everything—their priest, father, lawyer and protector.

But the trade of Glasgow declined rapidly at the outbreak of war between France and England, consequent on the French Revolution, and the Highlanders lost their employment and their means of livelihood. Father MacDonell then conceived the idea of utilizing them by forming a Catholic regiment. In 1794 a meeting for this purpose was held at Fort Augustus, at which Mr. Maxwell, of Terregles, presided. It was attended by Bishop John Chisholm, the chief of Glengarry; Mr. Fletcher, of Dunans; Father MacDonnell and many others. The meeting unanimously resolved that a Catholic regiment be formed, with a Catholic commander and Catholic chaplain. The uniform was a close-fitting scarlet jacket, kilt and plaid of Macdonell tartan—dark green, blue and red. The officers had each the broad-bladed, basket-hilted claymore, a dirk and Skene dhu in addition to the long Highland pistols.

The regiment numbered over eight hundred men, half of whom came from the neighborhood of Glengarry, and they were described at their first parade as “a most handsome body of men.” That undoubtedly they were. The following is the list of officers:

Colonel—Alexander Macdonell, of Glengarry.

Lieutenant colonel—Charles MacLean.

Major—Alexander MacDonell.

Captains—Archibald M'Lachlan, Donald MacDonald, Ronald Macdonell, James MacDonald, Archibald Macdonell, Roderick MacDonald, Hugh Beaton.

Captain lieutenant—Alexander Macdonell.

Lieutenants—John MacDonald, Ronald MacDonald, Archibald M'Lellan, James Macdonell, James M'Nab, D. M'Intyre, Donald Chisholm, Allan M'Nab.

Ensigns—Alexander Macdonell, John MacDonald, Charles MacDonald, Donald Macdonell, Donald MacLean, Archibald Macdonell, Alexander Macdonell, Andrew Macdonell, Francis Livingstone.

Adjutant—Donald Macdonell.

Surgeon—Alexander Macdonell.

Quartermaster—Alexander Macdonell.

Chaplain—Rev. Alexander Macdonell.

The regiment at once gained the good-will of the War Office by volunteering for service anywhere in Great Britain or the Channel Islands. They were accordingly sent to Guernsey in 1795, where

they remained till 1798. They were then removed to Ireland, and here they saw the rest of their period of service, being disbanded after the peace of Amiens in 1802, along with most of the other Fencible regiments. Father MacDonell had followed the regiment to Guernsey and to Ireland and was now sorely perplexed what to do with the good fellows. After many difficulties he in 1803 literally extracted from the Government "a grant of land under the sign manual of the King" for every officer and soldier of the late Glengarry regiment whom he might induce to settle in Upper Canada. Thus was formed the County of Glengarry, Ontario, which in 1848 numbered 15,00 inhabitants and in 1900 over 50,000.

Father MacDonell remained still with the emigrants, who on more than one occasion showed their loyalty to the British Government. In 1812 the Glengarry Light Infantry Regiment was raised mainly through his exertions. They took part in no fewer than fourteen engagements and on all occasions where fighting had to be done, "Maighster Alastair" was at hand to see that it was well done. In 1819 he became Vicar Apostolic of the newly created district of Upper Canada and in 1826 Bishop of Kingston. He died in 1840, at Dumfries, while on a visit to Britain in connection with his emigration projects.

At the time of the raising of the Glengarry Fencibles in 1784, Bishop Hay wrote: "I am much edified with Glengarry. He is an amiable young gentleman and I hope will one day be an honor and support to his country and to religion." He certainly maintained the character of the "last of the chiefs," appearing at Holyrood Palace with his "tail" of retainers which surprised George IV. by its extravagance. He was intimate with Sir Walter Scott, whose Fergus MacIvor, in "*Waverley*," is none other than the chief of Glengarry. He was drowned in the sinking of the *Sterling Castle* in 1828, when his son, a youth of twenty, succeeded. But the extravagances of the late chief and of his predecessors had so encumbered the estates that they had to be sold and for many years now the chiefs of Glengarry have owned no portion of the glen of their fathers.

To return again to the series of priests, Mr. Lamont was in Glengarry for some years between 1800 and 1815. Mr. Donald Forbes, the veteran of Lochaber, spent the first seven years of his life as a priest in Glengarry (1819-1826). Bishop Ranald MacDonald in his report for 1822 says that the Catholics of Glengarry then numbered eight hundred, under Mr. Donald Forbes, a young priest of great piety, but delicate health, an alumnus of Samalaman. He also had charge of two hundred Catholics in Glenmoriston and of eighty in Stratherrick. In view of the fact that Mr. Forbes was

priest in Lochaber for the almost unprecedented period of fifty-two years, the remark about his delicate health is certainly interesting.

The chapel at this time was at Newton, Abercalder, where the foundations may still be seen. There would often be five hundred people in church here. The altar was against the south wall, in the centre of it, and there was one entrance for the Kilcummin or Fort Augustus people at the east end of the building, and another for the Glengarry folk at the west end. Half a mile distant, just below the bridge over the Aberchalder Burn, is the site of the house where Bishop Macdonald died.

A hundred yards distant in the "chapel field"—the point between the canal and the river where these flow into Loch Ooich—is an ancient burial ground now measuring no more than thirty-six feet by twenty-seven feet. Each year more and more is taken into the field which surrounded it. The Frasers, of Foyers were buried here, and it is not very long since there was an interment. An ancient chapel existed twenty yards from the cemetery, but of this the last remains were removed when the canal was being made. There have always been two exclusively Catholic cemeteries in the district—the one at Munerigie, five miles up Glengarry; the other at Auchterawe, formerly a most central position for Fort Augustus, Aberchalder and the east end of Glengarry, but now separated from the two former by the Caledonian Canal.

The Ettrick Shepherd, James Hogg, visited Glengarry in 1803 and recorded his impressions. "On reaching Glengarry, the first place we came to was Greenfield, possessed by Mrs. Macdonald. The house was really a curiosity. It was built of earth and the walls were all covered with a fine verdure, but on calling we were conducted into a cleanly and neat looking room, having a chimney and the walls being plastered. The ladies, Mrs. Macdonald and her sister, were handsome and genteelly dressed, although unap-
prised of our arrival unless by second sight. They were very easy and agreeable in their manners and very unlike the outside of their habitation. The family are Roman Catholics and kept a young priest among them, but he had lately been obliged to abscond for some misdemeanor in marrying a couple secretly. He was much lamented by the whole family."

The Macdonalds, of Greenfield had been amongst the largest tackmen in Glengarry, but at the time the above letter was written they were holding prominent in Canada. The first large emigration was in 1773, for in the following year the Bishops reported that "the prosperous settlement of emigrants from South Uist under Glenaladale encouraged a large emigration from Canada, con-

sisting chiefly of Catholics to the number of three hundred, including most of the leading country gentlemen. They sailed from New York in the autumn of 1773, attended by Mr. McKenna, missionary priest in Braelochaber."

Thirty years later Dr. Macdonald, of Taunton, received an interesting account of the Glengarry emigrants from his friend, Mr. D. McPherson. I give it almost in full as it occurs in "Memoir of Macdonald, of Keppoch."

"Chambly, Canada, N. A., 26th December, 1814.

"My dear Sir: Having just returned from a visit of a month to the new county of Glengarry, I cannot help endeavoring to give you some account of it, as well as of the present condition of many of our countrymen who were driven from their native land and who directed their course to America in search of better fortune. The county is a square of twenty-four miles, all of which and the greater part of the next county (Stormont) are occupied by Highlanders, containing at this moment from 1,100 to 1,200 families, two-thirds of them Macdonalds. More able fellows of that name could be mustered there in twenty-four hours than Keppoch and Glengarry could have done at any time in the mother country.

"You might travel over the whole of the county and by far the greater part of Stormont without hearing a word spoken but the good Gaelic. Every family, even of the lowest order, has a landed property of two hundred acres, the average value of which, in its present state of cultivation, with the cattle, etc., upon it may be estimated at from £800 to £1,000. However poor the family (but indeed there are none can be called so), they kill a bullock for the winter consumption; the farm or estate supplies them with abundance of butter, cheese, etc.,)etc. Their houses are small but comfortable, having a ground floor and garret, with a regular chimney and glass windows.

"The appearance of the people is at all times respectable, but I was delighted at seeing them at church on a Sunday; the men clothed in good English cloth and many of the women wore the Highland plaid. . . .

"The chief object of my visit to Glengarry was to see an old acquaintance, Mr. Alexander Macdonald, a priest, who has been a resident in this country ten years. I believe you know him or at least you know who he is. A more worthy man is not in Canada. He is the mainstay of the Highlanders here; they apply to him for redress in all their grievances, and an able and willing advocate they find him. He is well known from the poorest man to the Governor and highly respected by all. Were he ambitious of enriching himself, he might ere now be possessed of immense property,

but this appears not to be his object; his whole attention is devoted to the good of the settlement and the great and numerous services which he has done, cannot well be calculated. . . .

Colonel John Macdonald, of Aberchaldar, died some years ago and left one son. The colonel's sister, Mrs. Wilkinson, died a few months since and left a son and three daughters. Mr. Macdonald, of Greenfield, who was married to the other sister, has a very considerable property here; he is lieutenant colonel of the Second Regiment of Glengarry militia. One of his sons, Donald, is also lieutenant colonel; his second son is a captain in the same corps. . . . Mr. Macdonald, of Lundi, died in this settlement some time since, but his brother, Allan, now upwards of ninety, is still alive and well. . . . George Macdonald, son of Captain John Macdonald, of Lulu, who died captain of invalids, at Berwick, recruited the Glengarry regiment of light infantry, and is now lieutenant colonel commanding in this district and inspecting field officer of militia. The good conduct of the Glengarry light infantry, as well as the militia regiment of the county, has been so frequently noticed and thanked in public orders that it is unnecessary for me to say anything in their praise. They have on every occasion, when placed before the enemy, supported the character of Highlanders.

"The emigrations of 1773 and of subsequent years left but few of the older families in Glengarry; and at the present time there is only too much truth in the lines of W. Allan." (*Celtic Magazine*; October, 1885):

"The glen of my fathers no longer is ours,
The castle is silent and roofless its towers,
The hamlets have vanished and grass growing green
Now covers the hillocks where once they had been;
The song of the stream rises sadly in vain,
No children are here to rejoice in the strain.
No voices are heard by Loch Oich's lone shore;
Glengarry is here, but Glengarry no more."

Moreover, it happened in Glengarry, as is so often stated with regret by the Bishops in their annual letters, that the families of substance emigrated and left behind few but those whose circumstances did not permit of their following. Time after time the Bishops complain of the poverty of the priests at this period, so that we cannot be surprised to find Mr. Donald Macdonald, who was priest in Glengarry from 1826 to 1835, inserting the following appeal in the "Directory" for 1832.

"At present the place of worship is a most miserable hovel, incapable of defending the people, when assembled, from the in-

clemency of the weather. It is in so ruinous a state that it can scarcely be used with safety. To this may be added that the clergyman has no house of his own and is under the necessity of living with such families as are willing and able to receive him."

Mr. Macdonald was succeeded by Mr. Donald Walker, who remained till 1840, when he was in turn succeeded by Mr. Alexander Gillis (1840-1842). Mr. Gillis built the church and presbytery, which were in use till 1883, and are now incorporated in the convent of Benedictine nuns. Though the chapel was thus moved three miles further from Glengarry, the good people still continued to attend it with striking regularity, whilst those living in the distant portions of Glenquoich were known to come the thirty miles to Fort Augustus, starting four o'clock in the morning. Indeed, it is noticeable that in the early directories, Glenquoich is mentioned as served occasionally from Fort Augustus, but no mention is made of Glengarry, as though the seven miles were no objection to its being considered as part of the one parish. In 1888, however, the Benedictine fathers at Fort Augustus began to say Mass in Glengarry itself and in 1891 a small chapel was built at Mandally, where Mass is said every second Sunday. On the greater festivals, however, and especially at Christmas, the people of Glengarry still attend the church at Fort Augustus.

Mr. Alexander Gillis was succeeded by Mr. Valentine Chisholm (1842 to 1852), Mr. Donald Mackenzie (1854-1860), Mr. John Macdonald (1860-1871), Father Coll Macdonald (1871-1883), when the venerable mission of Glengarry and Fort Augustus was taken over by the Benedictine Fathers.

The late Prior Vaughan was a man of great enthusiasms and also of great ideals, and the circular which he issued at the time of the building of the Monastery of Fort Augustus forms interesting reading now, after a period of nearly forty years. The Benedictine Order, he wrote, is about to return to Scotland after an exile of some three hundred years and the monks of the Benedictine congregation have accepted the large quadrangular buildings of Fort Augustus, Invernessshire, offered them by Lord Lovat.

The fort was built to accommodate a garrison of between two and three hundred soldiers and has fallen into disuse as a military station since the Crimean War. Dr. Johnston, who visited the fort in 1773, says of it that "the situation was well chosen for pleasure, if not for strength." It is indeed eminently beautiful, commanding towards the east the long picturesque stretch of Loch Ness and to the west the grand rugged range of the Glengarry mountains. The fort was erected in 1729 to overawe and subdue the Highlanders; and the Duke of Cumberland, who established his headquarters

there after the battle of Culloden, used to send forth parties to disarm and desolate the country, who did their work so ruthlessly as soon to cause the place to be held in general execration. * * * The fort was purchased from the Government by the late Lord Lovat as recently as 1867, with a devout hope of his being able some day to find a religious order who would venture to establish themselves therein.

The pious desire of the late Lord Lovat will now be fulfilled. Not only will this spot—once the scourage and terror of the Highlanders—become the source of many spiritual and even temporal blessings to be surrounding neighborhood, but here also the old English monastery of Lamspring and the Scotch College of Benedictines which formerly existed at Ratisbon will be restored and the old Scottish line of monks perpetuated. Of these there is still one venerable father surviving, destined to be the connecting link between the monks of the past and those of the future, and whose life appears to have been preserved thus far that he may at length see the day he has desired and prayed for so long. Dunfermline and Melrose, Coldingham and Arbroath, Paisley and Dundrennan, Kelso and Iona, with some twenty other abbeys observing the rule of St. Benedict, will live again, and the old chants which have been silent for so many years will be heard once more in the land. How great and wide an influence the new monastery is destined to exercise over the people of Scotland we cannot venture to predict.

Whether the Abbey of Fort Augustus has realized all these hopes it is not for me to say. I cannot but feel, however, that if the good Bishops and priests of old, who had such an uphill struggle in their day, were to be asked for their opinion, they would look with as great pleasure and pride on the work being accomplished to-day as we look with admiration on the work which they themselves accomplished. To the men of their day and to themselves, they seemed to be doing little; to us who look at it from a distance their achievements were great and lasting. May it be so, too, with the work of the present generation and of the abbey of which so much was hoped by its founders.

FRED ODO BLUNDELL, O. S. B.

Fort Augustus, Scotland.

Book Reviews

A STUDY IN SOCIALISM. By *Benedict Eldor*. 12mo., pp. 328. St. Louis: B. Herder.

As Socialism is an active movement, ever varying and presenting new claims for the attention and support of the multitude; as men have needs to be satisfied and grievances to be redressed for which Socialism claims to supply the only adequate remedy; and as the advocates of Socialism and its defenders never tire setting forth its claims and its merits in book, pamphlet and newspaper, on the platform and in the market place, so those who oppose its claims must be ready to answer its arguments through all their shifting changes, with the same means of propagation, in order to reach the same ears and the same minds.

This is probably the best explanation of a new book on Socialism from the negative side. It might be said, with much truth, that we have enough books of the more pretentious kind on this subject, and that we need more short, clear, fitting appeals to the masses. The excellent treatises of Cathrein, Goldstein, Ming and Ryan, not to mention others of equal excellence, seem to answer all the needs of the man in the library, but what about the man in the shop? The golden promises of the Socialist are thrust under his door in the morning, dinged into his ear during the day and placed in his hand at night, and the answer must come to him as frequently, as persistently and as clearly. It may be said in defense of the fuller treatise that it furnishes material for the briefer, and this is true; but the multiplication of the ready answer is a real need.

This is brought home to us if we consider the very first question that arises when we approach the subject, namely, what is Socialism? The writer of books will sometimes devote pages to this question and will give much more space to telling us what Socialism is not than to telling us what it is. The result is doubt, uncertainty and a scattering of forces. The Socialist, on the other hand, will present a brief, clear, attractive definition which catches the ear at once and tickles the fancy. The writer of this notice saw a striking illustration of this at a public debate on Socialism between the

most prominent defender of the system in this country and the professor of social sciences in one of our leading universities. The Socialist began with Schaefflé's definition that "Socialism is Collectivism," or the ownership of the means of production by the people, and the distribution of the fruits of production to the people. Now there was a clear, concise thesis from which its defender valiantly went forth, and to which he victoriously returned, according to the popular verdict, for it was clearly evident that, in spite of the philosophically correct though laborious efforts of the professor, the crowd was with the Socialist.

But we have wandered far afield. Mr Elder knows Socialism and his book is a valuable addition to the literature of the subject. He divides it into three parts: "The Principles of Socialism," "The History of Socialism" and "The Aims of Socialism."

He tells us that this book is the first of a contemplated series which will treat of modern social evils and their correction. The numbers of the series which are to follow will deal more directly with the principal social ills, pointing out the chief causes as well as the occasions for their existence, and suggesting possible means of getting rid of them. The list of authorities at the end of this volume is a valuable part of it, and the appearance of the other numbers of the series will be awaited with interest.

A MANUAL OF APOLOGETICS. By Rev. F. J. Kook. Translated from the revised German edition by A. M. Buchanan, M. A. Revised and edited by the Rev. Charles Bruehl, D. D. 12mo., cloth, net, 75 cents. New York: Joseph F. Wager.

A concise handbook of apologetics, for the use especially of the classroom, has been greatly needed. Eminent schoolmen are in these days pointing out the vital importance of equipping our young Catholics with at least an elementary knowledge of apologetics before sending them out into the world. This book will be found to meet in a most satisfactory way the requirements of such a handbook.

In this age of magazines, short stories and short cuts to everything, including the learned professions, it is difficult to get men to sit down and think seriously on the one thing necessary, or to

realize that it is still true and will always be divinely true that man must seek first the kingdom of heaven.

If they could be induced to read and study the subject of religion they might with prayer and the grace of God come to the knowledge of truth. But serious study of any subject is becoming rarer every day, and the question of religion receives hardly passing notice.

We are told in the most flippant manner that the age of dogma has passed and science has given the lie to the fundamental truths which we supposed were founded on an impregnable rocky foundation. A more audacious declaration of this kind, often made by impossible teachers in the halls of our secular universities, seems to be sufficient to upset the learning of the ages, and the weak intellects that are fed on this blasphemous pap give up in a moment, without so much as a word of protest or a call for credentials, the whole scheme of creation, for which their ancestors fought and bled and died throughout the centuries.

At such a time and under such circumstances a study of apologetics ought to work wonders. But it is hopeless to get the rank and file of busy Americans to devote themselves to a lengthy treatise on the subject, and hence the value of a manual like the one before us. It has already proved its worth in the original German, and it should be no less effective in the excellent English dress which the translator has given it.

Dr. Bruehl, who has revised and edited it, says:

"The present volume wishes to meet this want of our times. Its pages contain a systematic, yet withal sufficiently popular vindication of our faith. In a concise and lucid form it presents a summary of fundamental theology. Avoiding purely technical phraseology, it is addressed to the student and the average educated Catholic desirous of rounding out his religious knowledge. Though mainly adapted to the requirements of a seminary course, it can be perused with profit by any one who is willing to give serious thought to the most tremendous issues of human existence."

THE MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES OF CALIFORNIA. By *Fr. Zephrin Engelhardt, O. F. M.* Vol. IV., Upper California, Part III. General History. San Francisco: The James H. Barry Company, 1915; pp. xxvii.-317.

This volume closes the series on the general history of the Cali-

fornian missions by Father Zephyrin, which is undoubtedly the standard work on that subject. It contains a continuation from the preceding volume of the general history of the Franciscan missions in Upper California and is divided into three sections. The first of these (pp. 1-192) comprises ten chapters and deals with the administration of Father Narciso Durán, Comisario-Praefecto (1836-1840). The second section of the volume (pp. 193-537) covers twenty chapters and treats (1) of the administration of the Right Rev. Francisco Garcia Diego y Moreno, Bishop of California (1840-1846), and (2) of Father Narciso Durán, Comisario-Praefecto (1840-1846). The third section (pp. 538-771) embraces twelve chapters and has to do with the Very Rev. Father Gonzales Rúbio, O. F. M., administrator (1846-1851), with the Most Rev. José Sadoc Alemany, O. P., Bishop of Monterey (1851-1853) and Archbishop of San Francisco (1853-1884), and finally with the Right Rev. Thaddeus Amat, C. M., Bishop of Monterey (1854-1878). There is an ample Appendix, in which the author discusses various interesting questions raised in the course of the work. Among these latter special attention may be called to what is said under the title of "Mission Tales in Word and Picture" (pp. 804-815), with a view to correcting and refuting the misrepresentations of the mission enemies, past and present. Like the other volumes in the same series, the book is very handsomely produced and is illustrated by good reproductions of portraits, views and facsimiles. There is also a valuable list of "Additional Authorities." Taken as a whole, the present volume yields nothing in interest or importance to those which preceded it. Father Zephyrin is as much at home in the later as in the earlier period, in the byways as in the high-ways of the history of the California missions. Of all the works that have yet appeared on this subject there is none which can compete with that of Father Zephyrin for fullness, accuracy and clearness. The author has not only a complete grasp of his subject, owing to his deep and diligent personal researches, his extensive reading and his thorough familiarity with the country, but he has also a striking element of fairness in handling the succession of difficult and delicate questions which pass over his pages. Father Zephyrin deserves our best congratulations on having discharged with such conspicuous success the arduous task he was so admirably

and, indeed, exceptionally qualified to undertake. In making such a rich and permanent addition to our previous knowledge of the missions and missionaries of California he has rendered a service for which he will, we trust, receive the full credit and recognition which are his due.

P. R.

ON THE OLD CAMPING GROUND. By *Mary E. Mannix*. 12mo. 85 cents. With illustrated jacket and frontispiece. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The author has laid the scenes of her latest story among the Indians of Southern California. This is the ground with which she made us familiar in "The Children of Cupa" and "Cupa Revisited." Those who have had the pleasure of reading these delightful books will be glad to know that some of their old friends make their reappearance within the pages of "The Old Camping Ground."

To those whose desire it is to obtain literature for the young which inculcates virtue at the same time that it entertains, will not be disappointed with this new book, for the author's well-known ability guarantees both the entertainment and the instruction.

THE BLESSED PEACE OF DEATH. A little book of good cheer. Adapted from the German of the *Rev. Augustine Widdelt*. 16mo., cloth, net, 75 cents. Benziger Brothers, New York.

Of the original an eminent reviewer wrote: "We owe a special debt of gratitude to the author for treating of Death in such beautiful and poetical manner, clothing the dreaded skeleton with comforting light and peace, and drawing much joy of living from an intimate chat with Death. Even youth, with no thought of dying, will enjoy this rare book; and ripe age, setting its house in order for the approaching departure, will gain from its perusal serenity and heart's ease. To the priest on his sick-calls the comforting and pious thought of this book will prove of greatest assistance and value."

THOUGHTS OF SOEUR THERESE ("The Little Flower of Jesus"). Selected from the writings of "The Little Flower of Jesus" and translated by the Carmelites of Kilmacud, Dublin. 16mo., pp. 216. Net, 60 cents. New York: Kenedy & Sons.

Herein are gathered together in a very attractive volume the most impressive passages in the works of "The Little Flower of Jesus." The selections have been made with the utmost care, and may well be considered the essence of her writings.

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

"Contributors to the *QUARTERLY* will be allowed all proper freedom in the expression of their thoughts outside the domain of defined doctrines, the *REVIEW* not holding itself responsible for the individual opinions of its contributors."

(Excerpt from *Salutatory*, July, 1896.)

VOL. XLI.—APRIL, 1916—NO. 162

PIERS THE PLOWMAN.

"Men will call a universal satirist like Langland a 'morning star of the Reformation,' or some such rubbish; whereas the Reformation was not larger, but much smaller than Langland. It was simply the victory of one class of his foes, the greedy merchants, over another class of his foes, the lazy abbots."—G. K. Chesterton.

WERE we to compare modern times with the life of 650 years ago, there would immediately be evident some striking differences. Since literature is to a large extent the reflection of social and intellectual history, there are also some striking differences between our writings of to-day and those of so many centuries past. The fourteenth century was an age in advance of the Protestant Revolt; and so Catholicism loomed large across the literature.

Nor is it fantastic so to speak of the age of *Piers the Plowman*. Learning and letters were centred about the monasteries and the clerics. Chaucer speaks of "pleyes of miracles." The beginnings of English drama were in the Church. Malory's mediæval romances are distinctly Catholic in tone, symbolizing in the quest of the Grail the very Mass itself. Miss Mary Segar has recently published a charming "*Mediæval Anthology*"¹ containing verse to the Five Wounds of Christ, to God's Mother and to innumerable other vivid subjects which were illumined by the bright faith of those times. Mr. Patterson has collected in a scholarly volume some "Middle

¹ Longmans, Green & Co.

English Penitential Lyrics."² Dan Chaucer wrote devoutly into his Canterbury series "The Prioress' Tale," "The Tale of Melibeus," "The Persones Tale" and "The Second Nonnes Tale." The two poems by an author or authors unknown, "Cleanness" and "Patience," are as exquisite religious verse as perhaps the world shall ever see.

And one man wrote "The Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman." Scholars dispute if it was the work of one or of several hands. They suggest that perhaps it was a simple priest of London who produced this work, William Langland. But what are all these varieties of judgment? It is possible, as Carlyle has said, to agree very tolerably except in opinion. And one point on which they do agree is in the sort of society which is represented, the kind of life from which this old manuscript came.

It is possible again to imagine the sort of man who wrote it. He would not have been much unlike Dan Chaucer's Persoun:

"A good man ther was of religioun,
That was a povre persoun of a toun:
But riche he was of holy thoght and werk. ,
He was also a lerned man, a clerk,
That Cristes gospel trewely wolde preche;
His parissheis devoutly wolde he teche.
Benigne he was, and wonder diligent,
And in adversitee ful pacient:
And swich he was ypreved often sythes.
Ful looth were him to cursen for his tythes,
But rather wolde he yeven out of doute,
Un-to his povre parissheis aboute,
Of his offring, and eek of his substaunce.
He coude in litel thing han suffisaunce.
Wyd was his parisshe, and houses fer a-sonder,
For he ne lafte nat for rain ne thonder,
In siknes and in meschief to visyte
The ferrest in his parisshe, muche and lyt,
Up-on his feet, and in his hand a staf.
This noble ensample to his sheep he yaf,
That first he wroghte and afterward he taughte.
Out of gospel he tho wordes caughte:
And this figure he added eek there-to,
That if golde ruste, what shal iren do? . . .

And though he holy were, and vertuous,
He was to sinful men nat despitous,

² Columbia University Press.

Ne of his speche daungerous ne digne,
 But in his teching discreet and benigne
 To drawen folk to heven, by fairnesse,
 By good ensample, was his bisinesse:
 But it were any persone obstinat,
 What-so he were of heigh or lowe estat,
 Him wolde he snibben sharply for the nones.
 A bettre preet, I trowe that newher noon is.
 He wayted after no pompe and reverence,
 Ne maked him a spyced conscience,
 But Cristes lore, and his apostles twelve,
 He taught, but first he folwed it himselve.

This was the man who produced not only the Chaucerian treatise on penance or the songs to the Christ-Child, but the long poem in so many books on *Piers the Plowman*.

Granted that such a work should be studied textually so as to learn that one version dates from 1362, another from 1377 and a third possibly from 1392, granted that it should be scrutinized for something more than its mere art, we come to the poem itself.

One could go through the text and explain the political allusions. There is first the famous tale of the mice who would hang a bell about the dangerous cat (B. Prol., 146ff.), where the mice are the commons, the rats the lords and the cat the king, relating to the good Parliament of 1376, "And leten here laboure lost, and alle here lange studye." When reference is made to the catching of rabbits instead (B. Pro., 133), does it mean Frenchmen? Where the author says, "What this meteles bemeneth, ye men that be merye deuine ye" (B. Pro., 208-9), is he having a laugh at the passive mouse?^a Yet in the last analysis perhaps the gentle student, like the mice of old, considers his labor lost and all his long study in attempting such guesswork interpretations.

An attempt might be made to explain away some anachronisms. The passage

"For Daud in his dayes dubbed knyghtes,
 And did him swere on here swerde to serue trewthe euere,"

(B. I., 102-3)

might be checked with the knighting of King Horn with an accolade in another old tale. But it is guesswork again.

Professor Skeat has cleared up many local allusions. "To Wy and Winchestre I went to the faire" (B., v. 205) refers to old gatherings at Weyhill, near Andover, in Hampshire, and to Winchester

^a D'Iraell: "Amenities of Literature" (I., 216), tries his wits at this.

fair on St. Giles Hill. Little incidents in Anglo-French diplomacy and warfare account for a long passage (c. iv., 232-243) and a short phrase, "Caleys to selle" (B. iii., 195). Direct political manipulation of the old kings by bribery is reflected in the accusation against Mead, "Yowre fadre she felled, thorw fals biheste" (B. iii., 120). But, though this is less guesswork than the other, it is equally unprofitable.

Another passage leads us to the main issue. In the case of a political pamphlet like Spenser's "Shepherd's Calendar" political interpretation is both useful and allowable. But in a religious poem like "Piers Plowman" the religious element is the useful thing. After an exposition of the Gregorian Rule (c. vi., 147ff.) and a severe condemnation of those who have wandered down the primrose paths, our author says:

"And zut shal came a kyng, and confesse zow alle,
And bete you, as the bible telleth, for brekyng of zoure reule,
And amende zow monkes, monials, and chanons
And put zow to zoure penaunce, *ad pristinum statum ire.*"
(C. vi., 169-172.)

This has been called an amazing prophecy of the activity of Henry VIII. in the abolition of the monasteries, assuming that it would take a powerful man to make the punishment fit the crime. The absurdity is writ large across the face of such a footnote.

First we must laugh if we attempt to think of Henry VIII. having an "object all sublime." The matrimonial and financial advantages of the break with Rome far outweighed any lofty ideal of *ad pristinum statum ire*, and the inflated tone given that revolt has become to all historians except Anglican divines a source of innocent merriment. The passage could not have been a prophecy. The use of the word "confesse" clearly indicates that the "kyng" meant as the one supreme King of Kings to all religions. The tone of the whole poem is distinctly religious, tending toward reform and not revolt. *Omnia restaurare in Christum* is merely the modern echo of *ad pristinum statum ire*. An able scholar, Mr. Rupert Taylor, has said in a volume on "The Political Prophecy in England"⁴ that we are too willing to read prophecies into the past. In many a case the man whom glib moderns hail as the "forerunner" of this movement or of that would have run before, not exultingly, but wildly; not with a torch of illumination, but with a red lantern for a danger signal. It all results from looking back rather than throwing ourselves back. We see always through the glasses of our own

⁴ The: Columbia University Press.

time, and should not seize with avidity on chance passages, even on sly humor, as tremendously "indicative."

We could therefore disagree with Skeat's religious interpretations time and again and with the annotations of countless other loyal Anglican commentators. Often we need some one to explain the explanation. Too many have been Anglicans believing that an imaginary Renaissance caused an imaginary Reformation, assuming a grandeur unknown to the Protestant Revolt of petty princes, finding attacks where there were none. It is a matter of proper sympathy. For manly St. Paul, Gutzon Borglum is the proper American sculptor; for the Stations of the Cross, Mr. Barnard. The subject of *Piers Plowman* must be approached with care, with a knowledge of political and social history, a familiarity with the Church and with literature, and with the understanding that this is a difficult problem. Our writer has been studied almost exclusively by Anglican divines, and they have, naturally, misunderstood his simple priest's meaning. Against the background of Chaucer, the teller of tales, and Wiclif, the rampant reformer, they have made two great mistakes. With Wiclif they have mistaken anti-clericalism—exactly what it says, "against clericalism," not "against clerics"—for a Protestant movement, instead of realizing it as a Catholic mood. With Langland they have assumed that he was a critic of institutions when he was merely a critic of men, a plain parson telling sinners to mend their ways. Sometimes in detailed "notes," sometimes in general interpretation, these commentators have erred.

* * *

At the very beginning (B. Pro., 3) fault could be found with Skeat's note on "In habite as an heremite, vnholý of workes," taken "to express the author's opinion of hermits in general," for the "vnholý" is here used for the alliteration, and we know that Langland did not think thus "of hermits in general." The word means merely "lay" as opposed to cleric, and is used as is "lewede" in many other passages.⁵ Again, he has translated "All of the cardinales atte courte . . . inpugnen I nelle" in the King's Classics as "I dare not" when his own vocabulary says "*wish not*." It is once more a matter of sympathy. Also, speaking of the telling of *un-wise* tales by pilgrims and palmers, we get a clean bill for Langland as a Catholic author. If it were not clear from the rest of the poem it ought to be clear from his widely recognized irony in a passage where he says they "hadden leue to lye al here lyf after" (B. Pro., 49), that he did not believe—as he fears the pilgrims and

⁵ C. X. 149; B. Pro. 25-29; B. Pro. 72; B. III., 32; B. III., 148.

palmeres were all too eager to believe—that they could gain an indulgence, or leave to lie all their lifetime afterward. It is this nominal and unspiritual attitude against which he is continually inveighing.

Coming at the text thus to explain the religious allusions we find a large field for labor, some of the detail of which may be briefly indicated. Lechery (B. iii., 58) is roundly condemned because one of the Seven Deadly Sins. "Seynt James" (B. Pro., 47; B. v., 57) was the most prominent saint of pilgrims. The intercession of repentance for sorrowing penitents (B. v., 485-516) conforms to Church ritual *confessio* "in worde, thoughte, or dedes." The efficacy and the abuse of Sanctuary must be understood for a proper reading of another passage:

"Tyl pardoneres haued pite, and pulled hym in-to house."

(B. ii., 219).⁶

a phrase "that in churche wepeth" (B. i., 178) does not refer to an unruly child at service as some might suppose, but to deep and true contrition, as explained, for instance, in Chaucer's "Person's Tale." A knowledge of the activities of the Franciscan lay preachers and of the quarrel between the parish priest and the wandering ones explains very easily why we should find a "confessoure coped as a frere" (B. iii., 35).⁷

But all this detailed annotation, however valuable in this individual instance, gives one only a scattered and a fleeting impression of connection between a manuscript and its time. It is in a wider way that the most valuable interpretation can be done.

In a broader sense, then, he is persistent and insistent on the supernatural in the Catholic faith. It is bad when (C. i., 102) prelates suffer "lewde men in mysby lyve, leuen and deien" like a good Catholic he finds fault with actual worship of images" (C. i., 118-124); and complains that "Here messe and here matynes, and many of here oures arn don indeuoutlych" (B. Pro., 97-8).

Further he emphasizes specific reward and punishments and is ecclesiastical at every turn of a phrase. There is a regular sermon on the Ten Commandments and they are continually mentioned.⁸ Men who have "chastite with-oute charite, worth cheyned in helle" (B. i., 186), giving us the true sense of charity as love of oneself and one's neighbor in God. Hell is not a mild earthly sorrow or regret, as the French rationalist Holbach would later have us believe, but something real and actual.

⁶ Cf., G. M. Trevelyan, *op. cit.*, pp. 115, 138-140.

⁷ Cf. also, B. ii., 210; B. ii., 230. and G. M. Trevelyan: "England in the Age of Wiclif," pp. 89, 92.

⁸ C. viii., 204ff.; B. ii., 78-82; B. vii., 133.

"They shall have and hold, and their heirs ever after,
A dwelling with the devil, and be damned forever,
With th' appurtenances of purgatory, in the pain of hell;
Yielding for this thing, at one year's end,
Their souls unto Satan, to suffer like pains
With the wicked in woe, while God is in heaven."

(B. ii., 101-106.)

There we have it: supernatural punishment. Ordinary social reformers are too inclined to dwell on ordinary natural punishment, (as the French philosophers, Holbach and Helvetius,) as even our Catholic friend, Sir Thomas More. At times it seems that Langland is a trifle too inclined to adopt this point of view; but then he flashes through clear and sharp with an insistence on the necessity for true contrition, the loss of heaven and the pains of hell. That is usually his last shot, calculated perhaps to be the most effective.

To avoid this punishment Langland offers the alternative offered by Catholic doctrine. Ruled by Conscience, a man may avoid sin (B. iii., 119), but if he has sinned he may properly do penance on earth in place of feeling the pains of hell.⁹ But it must be done properly.¹⁰ The whole lesson of the end of Passus II. in the B-text is on the harm of improper contrition. What Chaucer wrote out formally in "The Persones Tale" is here delivered in allegorical form: the divine element in absolution and confession, the essence of true contrition, the resolution to sin no more, the intention to amend one's life by the aid of Divine grace and the help of God, and restitution and reparation.¹¹

Langland's preaching applies to all classes, "the lasse and the more" (B. ii., 45), and reminds one forcefully of a scene in a modern novel. In Benson's "The Dawn of All" a Pope is seen for one brief instant, at confession to his attendant priest; and the same theme is developed in two places in *Piers Plowman* (B. v., 607-9; B. vii., 176-8). Just so King Alla in Chaucer's "Man of Lawes Tale" goes to Rome

"to recognize his penance
And putte him in the popes ordinance
In heigh and low, and Jesu Crist
Foryeve his wikked werkes that he wroghte."

The forgiveness of sins and the value of the sacrament of penance as opposed to the Calvinistic theory of predestination is one of the most distinct points of difference between the rebels and the

⁹ C. iv., 101.

¹⁰ B. iii., 69-72; B. vii., 176; B. xiv., 384-9.

¹¹ B. iv., 104, 109, 142; B. v., 133, 309, 570, 626; B. vi., 276-9, 298-303.

regulars at the time of the Protestant Revolt. This clear statement of the definite claims of the Church came just at the right time—before the vagueness of reactionary Protestant mysticism:

"For it is an unresonable religion that hath rizte nouzte of certeyne."
(B. vi., 153.)

"For is no gult here so grete that hys goodnesse nys more."
(B. v., 455.)

"Beleve-so or thow beest nouzte y-saved."
(B. v., 598.)

And so he writes the book for religious purposes, for

"Hit by-cometh for clerkus Crist for to seruen." (C. vi., 62.)

And he tries to preach, not only in the fields in the day, but to the world when he writes in his study at night

"All tymes of my tyme to profit shal turne." (C. vi., 101.)

Thus we find the poem shot through and through not only with chance allusions, but with doctrinaire intent. It was, as we know, supposed to have been written by a secular priest. We are told that it is an allegory. It differs from the allegory of the "Roman de la Rose," which preceded it, and the allegory of the "Pilgrim's Progress," which followed it, by the fact that it is distinctly Catholic doctrine. It was an individual morality which the Roman put forth with nothing of the supernatural. It was a Protestant morality founded on a reading of the Bible alone which Bunyan produced. This is mediæval Christianity; not the glamour of idealized knighthood, as in the Arthurian tales, but the plain and sometimes disjointed preaching of a plain priest.

The most noteworthy resemblances of a superficial nature are that of a pilgrimage on the road meeting various significantly named characters (B. v., 568ff.) to "Pilgrim's Progress" and that of the first setting of the scene that May morning on Malvern hills (B. Pro., 11-19) to the actual stage setting for a contemporary play, "The Castel of Perseuerance."¹² This, it seems to me, is a very important point. Langland's writing is not very philosophical or argumentative—at least when he talks about actual conditions—his figures are visualizations, pictorial, dramatic—in much the same manner as Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress." The essentially dramatic instinct in the human race is seen in the Church services and in other methods of appeal that teach truths which are to be apprehended by persons not versed in the clarity of Aquinas and scholastic reasoning. The drama itself was at the first a method of

¹² Cf., V. Albright: "The Shakespearean Stage," pp. 13-14.

illustrating and teaching religious truths. All allegories are dramatizations of ideas: and so is *Piers Plowman*!

We might criticize the poem because it is sometimes too digressive, too much inclined to wander at the least suggestion; and the reason is that it is really a didactic piece of work, really a sermon. It is not a consecutive drama, though it uses pictorial representation. It is a sermon in which obvious facts are taken as texts, commented upon and illustrated, as so many of the "*Gesta Romanorum*" were used. "*Infans et Mundus*" was dramatic without being a drama. So was *Piers Plowman*!

But before we examine a little further the definite social teaching, apart from the religious emphasis, it must be distinctly understood that this is a book of reform and not of revolution. Where Wiclif took sides and criticized from the outside, Langland produced internal criticism. He thought that each man should do his own task and do it well. "The poor have a poet in Langland." He depicts greed, oppression, knavery and bad relations between the classes. He is not against reform; he is on fire for it; but it must be reform from the irregular, the false, the officious. He has a catholicity in his clear spirit. He would reform the revolutionary reformers as well as the corrupted conservatives.

"Kynde witt wolde that eche a wyght wrouzte
Or in dykyngne or in deluyngne, or trauailling in preyers,
Contemplatyf lyt or actyf lyf, Crist wolde men wrouzte."

(B. v., 249-51.)

And the experience of centuries is thus repeated in thousands of parochial sermons the world over.

* * *

First he preaches vigorously against indifference and ignorance, indifference about religious duties, ignorance of religious faith, ignorance about doctrine, ignorance about the welfare of other folk. Just as a tragedy in dramatic technique is the result of a broken law, lawlessness in life results in like tragic circumstances, and layman and cleric are criticized equally.¹³ For sometimes it is, as Carlyle said, "We demand arrestment of the knaves and dastards, and begin by arresting our own poor selves out of that poor fraternity."

He complains that the peace is violated and enumerates all the wrongs that wrong has done in the land, including the oppression of the lower classes and the yeomen (B. iv., 48ff.). He enumerates the various social wrongs in the land.¹⁴ Where the tales of

¹³ B. iii., 93, 148; B. v., 13, 15, 232-239, 314ff., 404-8, 422; B. vii., 136-7; B. xlii., 384-9; C. iv., 121; C. x., 102-4.

¹⁴ B. i., 19; B. Pro., 129-130; B. v., 314ff.; C. iii., 129; B. iv., 48ff.

Chaucer, the Falstaff legend, the "Tunnyng of Eleanor Runnyng," are class satire: this is satire on wrong without being class satire. It attacks social injustice.

"Some ploughed with the plough; their play was but seldom;
Some sewing, some earning, with sweat of their brows,
The gain which the great ones in gluttony waste."

(B. Pro., 20-22.)

He tells of the poor of London, the poor lunatics, sham beggars and true ones, false hermits and true ones, faithful and unfaithful pastors (c. x., 71-280).

The chiefest of the wrongs which he attacks is Meed—bribery—daughter of Fals, who is no friend to Holichurche. He finds bribery in the clergy and contemns it.¹⁵ He finds sheriffs, sizers and sumnors saddled with silver, justices guilty of bribery, lords even and the king, and Meed has misled law which is loath to make an end, and overmastered it.¹⁶ He condemns bribery here, too. He finds the diplomatic bickerings with France riddled and perverted with bribery and condemns it there.¹⁷ To be sure he pauses to say, "There aren two manere of medes" (B. iii., 230), and explains that the real Meed is Reward, and there may be deserved rewards, even heavenly rewards, but that this reward idea has become so perverted that, separated from truth, it does harm everywhere, especially "Holy church thorw hem, worth harmed for eure" (C. iii., 248).¹⁸

The reason clericals were engaged in so many other occupations is very simple (B. Pro., 87). Men with brains had to be secured for certain civil positions, and these men had usually been given the monastic or clerical training, as Sir Thomas More becoming chancellor later, if you please. There were no other schools. And this confusion of ecclesiastical and of secular interests caused two great evils—first, the claim on their time became so great that in many cases they neglected their church duties (c. i., 102), so that many men even lived and died without proper instruction; and, secondly, these men were exposed to the tremendous corruption of the lay professions of the time (B. ii., 57-61). The solution of the difficulty is of course fairly simple. Langland suggests that men should render unto Cæsar only the things that are Cæsar's (B. i., 52-3), says that an intensive reform is needed where each man shall

¹⁵ B. ii., 20-23, 29, 33, 75-6, 161ff., 125, 230; B. iii., 36ff.; B. v., 169.

¹⁶ B. ii., 131-2; B. iii., 19, 154ff.; B. iv., 152, 174.

¹⁷ B. iii., 195; C. iv., 232ff.

¹⁸ Other references: C. iii., 132ff.; C. viii., 202; B. ii., 34-5, 139, 147, 163-5, 187, 194; B. iii., 164-8, 225-6, 244, 245, 288; B. vii., 39; B. iv., 10, 48, 87-92, 113-6, 157, 190-5.

dig his own little garden plot and dig it well (B. Pro., 205-7), and gives a simple and individualistic solution by saying that each man should begin at home (C. xviii., 58-71), and that just as a king should defend his people, so a good pastor should lay down his very life for his flock (C. xviii., 289-294): and then in a spiritual sense perhaps he may save "sixty thousand lyves" (C. iv., 234).

The poem of *Piers the Plowman* is a very important social document. But it is more. Let us start by assuming that there is something really wrong with the world and that men are actually in some degree unhappy, that some are overworked and underpaid, and others, overpaid and underworked, remain in idleness, "the norice un-to vyces," as Chaucer says. On the one hand, then, we have a man who foments class hatred, stirs up class struggles, persuades men that happiness is to be gained by active bitterness towards his oppressors. On the other hand, we have the true reformer who thinks that material things of themselves do not bring happiness if one is bitter at heart. The first wants a revolution, the second a reform. And in a complex organism like human society changes must be very slow if we really are to gain the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people.

Langland is a real reformer. He deprecates the arrogance of the peasantry, the awful pride of a "conscious minority" (as radicals call themselves) who think themselves so much better than the rest of the world. The "letter of love" is despised (B. i., 69), and real sympathy should rule any movement, sympathy and mutual understanding (B. i., 159ff.). The proud revolt of Lucifer and his fall is but one example of the intolerant rebel (c. vi., 188-9). The peasants' uprising of 1381 is a case in point—to the conditions of which Langland probably referred directly.¹⁹ He took no sides, he made no distinction between high and low, but only between right and wrong (B. ii., 45). He wished to avoid class struggles, because he knew that neither side was wholly right and neither wholly wrong. He wished to abolish all unkindness (B. i., 190; B. v., 143ff.), to establish peace, the most precious of virtues (B. i., 150), and to establish love between the two parties (B. i., 157-8). Both "the lasse and the more" needed improvement, the lower classes needed more material things, the upper more of a spirit of charity and kindness in the ordinary doings of life. And there could be no reform till the world were cleared of bribery, till the king as well as the poor man gained a little idealism, a little of the philosophy of his own and other people's happiness.²⁰

¹⁹ (B. vii., 62-65.) See also "Vox Clamantis" of Gower is referred to in H. de Gibbons' "Industry in England," p. 161, n. I.

²⁰ B. i., 83-4; B. iv., 134; B. iv., 190-5.

So he preaches to kings and knights and tells them to mend their ways, to be mindful of the poor, to restrict the damage of their reckless hunting over peasant fields. Each man should do his duty and gain happiness not through the pursuit of an ambition, but through simple industry. It was no mere chance that when the many people asked *Piers the Plowman* how they would find truth that he began by simply putting them to work.²¹

All classes must work, without ill feeling or hatred or envy, work with a vigorous sincerity. No loafing would be permitted. No landlord should take advantage of his peasants and no peasants try to gain advantage of their landlord. And from their work well done would come the deserved reward.²² In this way the world would be bettered. There would be justice and peace in the world, and each man would take his duties and tasks in their proper spirit.²³

But man would require a guide (B. v., 520). And this guidance as to the true and proper life he could gain by fulfilling his church obligations, by repenting of his past negligence in word, thought and deed (B. iii., 384-9). So the people and the conditions of the times were, according to Langland, not to be improved by creating ill-feeling, but by direct preaching to the individuals concerned by making each one fully cognizant of what he owed to his fellows. With a tremendous power of vivid description and forceful exposition, our author drives home the points of his long sermon. He preaches the Trinity (B. x., 230-248), the perpetual incarnation of God in the Church (B. ii., 29), and explains how the breaking of the Ten Commandments and the falling into the Seven Deadly Sins makes for trouble in this world—trouble for the individual, for the society of which he forms a part, and back again in a circle to the individual. "I am the Truth" has been the proud boast of the Catholic Church. In the days of Langland, as to-day, it firmly held that it was not a mere vague philosophy apart from life, but an actual rule of conduct which would make the world better. And if the world is worse it is merely because "the ten hestes" are not properly obeyed.

This is the teaching of Langland. He is a preacher preaching a social sermon—emphasizing the Scripture and the Faith in daily life, showing how these can cure the ills of the world if only accepted and followed. His teaching might well be duplicated to-day in every parish church in the country. It has, in fact, been dupli-

²¹ B. i., 94; B. vi., 150, 196-9; C. vi., 147-168; B. i., 173; B. iii., 311-13; B. v., 43; B. v., 147.

²² B. Pro. 120; B. iii., 307-8; B. v., 24-36, 43; B. vi., 30-3, 67-8, 220; B. vii., 39; C. x., 102-4, 110ff.

²³ B. iii., 288, 297-302; B. v., 400ff.

cated to some extent in Leo XIII.'s famous *De rerum novarum*. Respecting the rights of all, oppressing none, each man doing his own task, we may work to happiness and content.

Langland taught how it might be done 600 years ago. And yet to-day the same sort of class agitator persists in the same sort of class agitation which assails not the evil itself, but the conditions resulting from the evil. If we got rid of the sin of Pride, if we got rid of the sin of Covetousness, if we got rid of the sin of Luxury, if we got rid of all the sins which Langland attacked, and spread abroad a little of the charity and justice and sincerity which Langland advocates, the world to-day would be a marvelous place. And there would at least be no agitators promulgating hatred. If, like Piers the Plowman, we put all the discontented folks to work, Truth would come to light without a frantic search.

FRANCIS PAUL.

THE VALIDITY OF ANGLICAN ORDINATIONS IN MODERN RUSSIAN THEOLOGY (1840-1866.)

OUTSIDE of the pale of the Catholic Church an old question of great historical value, viz., the question of the validity of Anglican Orders, is ceaselessly holding minds in suspense and calling forth the laborious investigations of ecclesiastical scholars. I say outside of the pale of the Catholic Church, inasmuch as the long debated question has been definitively settled by the bull "Apostolicae Sedis." The supreme authority in matters spiritual, he whom the Christian tradition names the chief pastor of the flock of Christ, pronounced and declared that "Ordinations carried out according to the Anglican rite have been and are absolutely null and utterly void." "*Roma locuta est, causa finita est.*" Of course, the negative pronouncement of Rome did not and never will meet the agreement or the submission of the Anglican Church and of her offspring, the American Episcopal Church. It has been, indeed, a blow inflicted upon the vital parts of the Anglican body, and not to seek to avert the stroke would be for the Anglican Church a sentence of death. No wonder then if Anglican controversialists are toiling and moiling to confute the verdict of the infallible *magisterium* of the Church. They make no account of the reasons, both historic and dogmatic, upon which the apostolic letter "Apostolicae curae" is based and they prefer to appeal to their own secret consciousness of being truly ordained ministers of Christian priesthood. Thus indeed one of them writes: "Whilst recognizing that there have been many faults on our part in the past and in the present, we are yet well aware that we have never departed from the unity of the Catholic Church. We therefore confidently believe that the grace of our Orders remains unimpaired, as we are persuaded that historically and canonically alike our succession is unassailable, and we look forward to the time when both these things will be recognized throughout the whole Church." (W. E. Collins). I could not say whether that time will ever come. In any case, it seems likely, rather it seems certain, that the claims of Anglicans as to the validity of their own orders and sacraments will never be recognized by the Catholic Church. Yet a ray of hope shines from the East: *Ex Oriente lux!* A great part of Christianity, the so-called Orthodox of the Eastern Churches, though separated from the centre of ecclesiastical unity, are possessed of a valid hierarchy, of a priesthood that preserves the unbroken apostolic succession and the most precious treasures of the Catholic faith. Now it is a recognized fact that the Eastern Churches as yet have not promulgated any official document deny-

ing the validity of Anglican Orders, and their silence is generally interpreted in an optimistic sense by optimistic Anglicans. For instance, the author of the best handbook of the history of the Greek Church, the Anglican clergyman, Alexander Hugh Hore, writes as follows: "The Greeks invite our clergy into the Sanctuary during the celebration of their Liturgy; they treat our Bishops as they do their own: *they admit the validity of our orders*, and hold that marriages performed by English priests are valid. They bury our dead, when no English clergyman is present: they frequently ask members of our Church to stand sponsors for their children; they themselves stand sponsors for English children, according to the English Prayer-Book, and promise that they shall be brought up in the faith of the English Church."¹

Do these statements conform to the reality of things? Do the bright hopes of Anglican divines rest on solid ground, on the explicit declarations of the Eastern Churches or on the authoritative teaching of Eastern theology? The answer to these questions ought to be given not by the Church of England, which has her own interests to forward both in Russia and in Greece, but by the Eastern Churches themselves, which more than once have been prompted to pass judgment upon the validity of Anglican orders. And we can ascertain that this judgment has already been uttered by competent authorities, and that it does not satisfy the secret hopes and long-caressed yearnings of Anglican Grecophiles.

The recent history of the question of the validity of Anglican ordinations in Greek and Russian theology starts with the first visit to Russia of Deacon William Palmer, Fellow of St. Mary Magdalene College in the University of Oxford (1840-1841.) According to Cardinal Newman, William Palmer was an earnest-minded and devout man, a scholar deeply convinced of the great truth that our Lord has instituted, and still acknowledges and protects a visible Church, one, individual and integral, and holy, as being the dispenser of His word and Sacraments.²

From a Catholic point of view, the conviction of the Anglican divine had nothing objectionable. The true Church of Christ is one, and holy, and, still more, is visible. But Palmer wrongly conceived the unity of the Church, that unity which is one of the main characteristics of the true Church of Christ. He professed that the one, visible Catholic Church on earth is divided into three local parts, all agreeing in the necessary faith, viz., the Orthodox Eastern Churches and the Western: the latter being subdivided into the

¹ "Eighteen Centuries of the Orthodox Greek Church," London, 1899, pp. 671-672.

² Palmer, "Notes of a Visit to the Russian Church in the Years 1840-1841," selected and arranged by Cardinal Newman, London, 1882, p. 12.

Continental and the British.* It was through misunderstandings that the true Catholic Church divided herself into three communions.⁴ As concerns their faith, liturgies and discipline, the Eastern Churches are nearer to the old undivided Church. On the contrary, the Roman Church was led astray by her novelty-loving spirit, and consequently withdrew from the communion of the Eastern Churches and became guilty of the great sin of schism. Finally, the Anglican Church preserves most of the treasures of the true faith bequeathed by the Roman Church and longs for an intimate reunion with the Eastern Orthodox Churches. Hence it follows, Palmer argued, that the Blood of Christ and sacramental grace still run in the veins of the three disjoined parties of the mystical Body of Christ. This being so, the Anglican Church is possessed of a legitimate priesthood; the sacraments conferred by her Bishops are valid to the full extent of the word; the ties binding her with the Eastern Churches are not entirely broken, and consequently an Anglican may participate in the sacraments of the Orthodox Church without being asked to abjure his religious beliefs. "As regards myself," he wrote to Count Protasov, the Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod, on August 27, 1840, "I do not come from any heresy or schism seeking to be reconciled to the Church of God which is in Russia: but being a Catholic Orthodox Christian, as I trust, and coming from a Catholic and Orthodox and Apostolic Church, I seek from the legitimate and canonical Bishops of the country, in whatever country I may be, and from each one of them in his own diocese, the common right of communion."⁵

Thus the mission of Palmer in Russia consisted in asking for and obtaining the recognition of the Anglican claims to inter-communion with the Orthodox Churches, as a preliminary step to the recognition by them of the validity of Anglican Orders. For, suppose the Anglicans were allowed to receive the orthodox sacraments without repudiating their own communion, they would have logically inferred that their hierarchy and sacraments were upon a par with those of Eastern Christianity.

In August, 1840, Palmer reached Petrograd with a hopeful heart and a strong desire to carry out his audacious plans. Before leaving England, he had provided himself with a commendatory letter from Dr. Martin Joseph Routh, president of St. Mary Magdalene College. By it the Holy Governing Synod was requested to allow Palmer to receive the Holy Communion in the Orthodox Churches.

In Russia, William Palmer was not slow to feel that the task

* *Ibid.*, p. 354.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

which he had set himself was most difficult. Russian prelates and prominent laymen received him with ceremonious politeness, invited him to aristocratic dinners, spoke of England in terms of deeply felt admiration, held with him very interesting talks, but, at the same time, they smiled and sneered at his ingenuous requests and once and again they ventured unpleasant remarks on the peculiar condition of the Church of England and the unreasonableness of her claims.

Metropolitan Philarete could not conceal his great astonishment at hearing from him that the Western Church was divided into two branches, the Continental and the British, the latter claiming to be a part of the whole Church of Christ, which is composed of three Branches grown on the one tree at different times. He declared that he was not able to understand such a theory, unheard of in the Orthodox Church throughout the long centuries of her life. Palmer, however, did not give up his opinions, and when driven to his last intrenchments by the logical objections of Russian divines, he frankly confessed that the strongest of his arguments was his consciousness of being a member of the true Church of Christ.

But he was not at the end of his rosy illusions. Russian Churchmen did not hesitate to blurt out unusual declarations in respect to the inconsistent position of the Anglican Church and the jurisdictional rights of the Roman See over her. Count Muraviev, who in 1840 took the helm of the Holy Governing Synod, harshly criticized the schism of the Church of England from the Roman obedience. "We know you," he said to Palmer, "only as heretics. You separated from the Latin Church three hundred years ago, as the Latins had before that fallen away from the Greeks. We think even the Latin Church heretical; but you are an apostasy from apostasy—a progression from bad to worse; you were part of the Pope's patriarchate, and you rebelled against him.⁶ We know you only through the Latin Church, through the Pope. If we had any communication with your Church, it must be through the Pope and the Church of Rome, nor can we recognize you otherwise. Reconcile yourself to your own patriarch first, and then come and talk to us, if you think you have anything to say to us.⁷ We do not say that the Latins are in all respects heretics—only in some points, as on the Procession and in giving only half the Sacrament of Holy Communion to the laity. And if we were to admit any others to be part of the true Church besides ourselves, it would certainly be rather the Roman Church than yours; for there is

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

comparatively but a slight difference between us and them.⁸ The Pope had acquired a right of jurisdiction over the Church of England. The Latin Church had taken the Gothic form and constitution, and your separation was made *by secular violence*. If I had been an Englishman then, I should have adhered to the Pope."⁹

The monks of the Lavra of St. Alexander Newsky said to him that Rome may recover its full rights and place in the universal Church, the primacy of the Roman See included, by merely correcting its faults and submitting itself again to the Ecumenical canons, against which it has rebelled (*sic*).¹⁰ Palmer could not get over his surprise. He had thought he would find in Russia **zealous orthodox, ill-affected towards Rome and her innovations** and ready to give their support to the opposers of her ambitious claims. On the contrary, Russian Churchmen pleaded before him the cause of Rome, exhorted him to return to her allegiance in order that his proposals of **reunion with the Eastern Churches** might be taken into consideration. He had no words to express his astonishment and his bitter disappointment.

The second visit to Russia of Palmer took place in 1841. This time he extended his ingenuity to the point of submitting to Metropolitan Philarete a copy of the *Thirty-nine Articles* of the Church of England, and of joining to them a quite orthodox commentary of their quite Protestant statements. Philarete was horrified at the reading of what he believed to be the standard of faith of the Anglican communion. In his eyes, Palmer became the **excellent defender of a bad cause**. He said to him that he could not understand at all the position of the Anglican Communion which boasts of being a part of the true Catholic Church, in spite of the Lutheranism and Calvinism of her teaching. Palmer answered him that the monster of Protestantism was dead in his own Church, for the Hierarchy or the so-called High-Church party was imbued with a spirit of extreme conservatism. His explanations, however, did not convince anybody. Count Muraviev declared to him that the union of the Russian Church with a National Church, which leaves such latitude for denying or **asserting all kinds of opinions**, was impossible: "One of you sees a thing in one light, another in another. No two of you agree. There are your *Thirty-nine Articles*, to which any one may subscribe and be a thorough-going Protestant."¹¹ After the reading of the *Thirty-nine Articles*, Arch-

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 380-381.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 365.

priest Fortunatov said to him: "As we think the Latin Church agrees almost entirely with us, we have never been disposed to recognize any other churches or societies in the West as competing with it, but we recognize only the Latin."¹²

These declarations of individual prelates or divines clearly foreboded the complete failure of the mission of Palmer in Russia. In fact, when he formally asked the Russian Church to recognize the validity of Anglican Orders, and to admit him to the communion of the orthodox church without any formal abjuration of his own communion, he was answered that his wishes could not be satisfied unless he acknowledged the Thirty-nine Articles to be in their plain literal sense and spirit a full and perfect expression of the faith of the Churches of England and Scotland and to contain forty-four heresies: unless he renounced and anathematized the said heresies, the Thirty-nine Articles as containing them and the Churches of England and Scotland as implicated in them; and further admitted the Greek Church to be the Oecumenical Church, and unless he were received into the same as a proselyte. Metropolitan Philarete made known to him that he who would receive the Communion from an orthodox Bishop, must submit absolutely and without restriction to all the doctrines, discipline and ritual of the Orthodox Eastern Church.¹³

The disappointment of the Anglican pioneer of Christian reunion could not have been greater. By denying the catholicity of the Anglican Church, by asserting the heretical foundations of her standards of faith, by imposing reordination upon Anglican priests desirous of embracing the Orthodox Faith, the Russian Church implicitly affirmed the invalidity of Anglican Orders.

But Palmer did not consider himself beaten. He left Russia accompanied by the blessings of Metropolitan Philarete, who told him that he was very glad to have seen him in Russia, and that good had sprung from the seed sown by him. After his return to England, he carried on a correspondence with Alexis Stepanovich Khomiakov (1804-1860), the leader of the Slavophile movement, and an original theologian, whom his admirers, as George Samarin, decorate with the gorgeous title of *Father of the Church*. Khomiakov was admirably equipped with theological erudition and versed as none other in the orthodox teaching of the Church. Therefore he had no difficulty in dismantling the theological view of Palmer that particular churches can fall into partial errors without ceasing to possess catholicity. "Such a theory," declared Khomiakov, "is inadmissible. The continual presence of the Holy

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 317.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 415, 396.

Ghost is a promise given to us by Truth Itself: and if this promise is believed, the light of pure doctrine must burn and shine brightly, through all ages, seeking our eyes, even when unsought for. If it is once bedimmed, it is obscured forever, and the Church must become a mere word without a meaning in it, or must be considered, as many German Protestants indeed do consider it, a society of good men differing in all their opinions, but earnestly seeking for Truth with a total certainty that it has not yet been found, and with no hope at all ever to find it."¹⁴

The Church, he truly stated to Palmer, cannot be a harmony of discords: it cannot be a numerical sum of Orthodox, Latins and Protestants. It is nothing if it is not a perfect inward harmony of creed and outward harmony of expression, notwithstanding local differences in the rite. The question is not whether Latins and Protestants have erred so fatally as to deprive individuals of salvation, which seems to be often the subject of debate—surely a narrow and unworthy one, inasmuch as it throws a suspicion upon the mercy of the Almighty. The question is whether they have the truth and whether they have retained the ecclesiastical tradition unimpaired. If they have not, where is the possibility of unity?¹⁵

According to Khomiakov all sacraments are effected only in the bosom of the true Church, and the ceremony of reconciliation which is performed for the admission of heretics into the orthodox church renovates them, or completes them, giving a full and orthodox meaning to an insufficient or heterodox rite.¹⁶ Khomiakov avoided pronouncing a sentence of nullity upon Anglican Orders, but the general trend of his theological thought militates against the validity of the Sacraments conferred by non-orthodox churches.

In despair not without cause, Palmer turned his eyes towards the Greek Church. In order to win over the sympathies of Greek divines he wrote a book: "A Harmony of Anglican Doctrine with the Doctrine of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East, which may serve as an appendix to the volume entitled the doctrine

¹⁴ W. J. Birkbeck, "Russia and the English Church During the Last Fifty Years," Vol. I., containing a correspondence between Mr. William Palmer, Fellow of Magdalene College, Oxford, and M. Khomiakov, in the years 1844-1854, London, 1895, pp. 39-40. In Russian, the correspondence between Palmer and Khomiakov has been inserted in the second volume of the complete works of Khomiakov, "Polnoe sobranie sochinenii Aleksiei Stepanovicha Khomiakova," ed. IV., t. II., Moscow, 1900, pp. 315-400. A thoroughly elaborated analysis of the same correspondence is contained in the monumental work of Basile Zavitnevich, "Aleksiei Stepanovich Khomiakov," 1902, t. I., 2, pp. 1052-1250. See also "Russkii Arkhiv," 1894, 3, pp. 78-98.

¹⁵ Birkbeck, p. 69.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 62.

of the Russian Church" (Aberdeen, 1846). His work was translated into modern Greek and published at Athens in 1851. The previous year, being in Constantinople, he sent a declaration to the Greek Patriarch, declaring he was ready to abjure all the acknowledged heresies of the Anglican Church for the sake of receiving the orthodox communion.¹⁷ But he met with a new and more painful awakening. Greek prelates stated that not only the priesthood of the Church of England was invalid, but that even the Sacrament of Baptism administered by Anglicans as well as by Latins was to be considered as null and void of sacramental effects. Therefore Palmer was asked to receive a second baptism for his admission into the Orthodox Church.¹⁸ He was incensed at the pretension of the Greek hierarchy, and gave vent to his indignation in two elaborate volumes, the titles of which proclaim the flagrant contradiction between the Russian Orthodox Church, which acknowledges the validity of the Latin baptism, and the Greek Orthodox Church, which anathematizes the unbaptized Latins.¹⁹

Meanwhile the ideas of Palmer had taken another direction. The one Catholic Church which exhibits the characters of the true Church of Christ and at the same time is constantly endeavoring to realize united Christianity on earth, this *one* Church manifested herself to him as embodied in the Roman Church. He went to Rome, had several conferences with Father Passaglia, the learned theologian of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, cleared his mind of all his doubts about Catholic doctrine, and on February 28, 1855, he embraced the Catholic faith by the simple act of abjuration, his baptism having been acknowledged as valid by the Roman Curia. His death took place in the Eternal City on April 5, 1879.²⁰

¹⁷ Athens, 1850. The English translation of the document is inserted in the valuable work of Palmer: "Dissertations on Subjects Relating to the Orthodox or Eastern Catholic Communion," London, 1853.

¹⁸ It is noteworthy that the necessity of rebaptizing Western Christians has been recently asserted by Antoni Krapovitzky, Russian Archbishop of Kharkov, in a series of pamphlets addressed to Mr. Robert H. Gardiner, secretary of the World Conference on Faith and Order. Later on we shall have the opportunity of pointing out the main results of the polemic, or rather irenic, contest between Russian theologians and the leaders of the World Conference.

¹⁹ Athens, I., 1852; II., 1854.

²⁰ "Mysl' Anglikan o pravoslavnoi tserkvi i ob otnoshenii k nei tserkvi anglikanskoi" ("The Views of Anglican on the Orthodox Church and Her Relations to the Anglican Church"). "Dukhovnala besleda," 1859, t. VII., pp. 262-265; Paul Evthimovich, "Obraztsov, O popytках k soedineniu anglikanskoi episkopalnoi tserkvi s pravoslavnoi" ("The attempts at a reunion of the Anglican Episcopal Church with the Orthodox Church"), "Pravoslavnoe Obozrenie," Moscow, 1866, t. XIX., pp. 41-70; 169-201; 245-270; Basil Joannovich Fortunatov, *Vospominanie o W. Palmer* (Recollections of William Palmer), *Dukhovnala besleda*, 1867, t. I., pp. 206-16; 221-42; 257-64; II., 297-305; 323-28; 347-53; 384-39; 422-23.

The conversion of Palmer to Catholicism exceedingly grieved Khomiakov, who lost his sympathies for the Anglican Church. No wonder, then, if two years before his death he poured fiery invectives upon his old friends: "In so far as she is Roman or Dissenting, England sails in the wake of continental thought. But looked upon as Anglican, she is devoid of solid standing ground. Anglicanism is indeed a misconstructured scaffolding in the Reformed world, like Gallicanism in that of Rome. Gallicanism died. Anglicanism, in turn, is doomed to an approaching death. It is a fortuitous congeries of conventional principles which do not agree with each other by virtue of a common bond: it is a small sandy neck beaten by the powerful waves of two rival oceans, and which is ceaselessly crumbling on both its sides of Romanism and Dissent. By the mouth of its most distinguished representatives, Anglicanism has thrown overboard the characteristic beliefs of the Roman schism. At the same time it is unable to give any reason which could restrain it from becoming orthodox. It is within the pale of the Church by its principles, but outside of it by its historic provincialism, a provincialism which puts upon it a Protestant mask, and deprives it of every tradition and of every logical basis. Yet it cannot throw off that mask owing partly to the national pride of Englishmen, and partly to the acquiescence in accomplished facts, which characterizes the English mind. Anglicanism is at once the purest and the most illogical of all the Western communions. It is at once in the very heart of the Church by the religious element of its vitality, while it acts as a rust, corroding even the notion of the Church. It is neither a tradition nor a doctrine, but a mere national establishment, an edifice built up by the hands of men. Sentence has been already passed upon it. Its case is a desperate one, and soon it will gasp its last breath."²¹

The adventures of Palmer in Russia and in the West stirred up Russian divines to a more accurate study of the Anglican communion. Many pamphlets and papers were published with a view to acquaint Russian readers with the fundamental doctrines of the Church of England. The greater part of that literary production did not conceal a feeling of distrust with regard to Anglican religious beliefs. Optimists, however, were not wanting. For instance, in the *Strannik (The Wanderer)*, an ecclesiastical magazine of Petrograd, Gregory Povessky declared in 1860 that the An-

²¹ "L'Eglise Latine et le Protestantisme," Lausanne, 1872, pp. 257-258. The same idea is to be found in a letter to Palmer dated in 1850: "The position of Anglicanism is completely defined. It is a narrow ledge of dubious terra firma, beaten by the waves of Romanism and Protestantism, and crumbling on both sides into the mighty waters. The position cannot be maintained, but where is the egress?" Birkbeck, p. 102.

glican Church approached nearer than the other Western communions to the Orthodox Church and better preserved the teaching of primitive Christianity.²²

²² Polievsky Gregory, "Vzgliad na sovremennoe religioznoe dvizhenie v anglikanskoi tserkvi" (A view on the present religious movement within the Anglican Church), Strannik, 1860, t. II, pp. 235-274; IV., 393-426 (second section). Among the studies devoted by Russian theologians to the Anglican Church between 1859-1864 we quote the following: "Mysl' Anglichan o pravoslavnoi tserkvi i ob otnochenii k nei tserkvi anglikanskoi" ("Anglican views on the Orthodox Church and on her relations to the Orthodox Church"), "Dukhovnala besleda," Petrograd, 1859, pp. 262-265; D. B., "Ocherk istorii anglikanskoi tserkvi" ("A Sketch of the History of the Church of England"), Ibid., 1860, XL, pp. 214-237; 284-296; 350-364; Popov Eugene, "Ivanovich, Ustolstvo i byt anglikanskoi tserkvi" ("The Constitution and Life of the Anglican Church"), "Pravoslavnoe Obozrenie," 1860, t. II, pp. 415-428; 517-528; III., 149-160; "Anglikanskala tserkov" ("The Anglican Church"), "Pravoslavnoe Sobesiednik," Kazan, 1860, t. II, pp. 154-175; 413-452; Mikhalkovsky Basil, "Ob Anglikanskoi tserkvi" ("The Anglican Church"), "Pravoslavnoe Obozrenie," Moscow, 1860, t. II, pp. 308-331; Popov E. J., "O partilakh na kotoryia razdieliasia v nastoiashchee vremia anglikanskala tserkov" ("The Factions into which the Contemporary Anglican Church is divided"), "Khristianskoe Chtenie," Petrograd, 1861, t. I, p. 3-21; 437-50; "Otnochenie Anglikanskoi tserkvi k rimskoi i pravoslavnoi" ("The relations of the Anglican Church to the Roman and Orthodox Churches"), "Pravoslavny Sobesiednik," Kazan, 1861, t. I, pp. 48-76; Mikhailovich Basil, "Bogosluzhenie tserkvi Anglikanskoi" ("The liturgy of the Anglican Church"), "Dukhovnala Besleda," Petrograd, 1861, t. XIV., pp. 354-364; 417-428; 449-465; "Dviienie v Anglikanskoi episkopalnoi tserkvi k snocheniu s tserkoviu russkoiu" ("The movement within the Anglican Episcopal Church towards the establishment of relations with the Russian Church"), "Pravoslavnoe Obozrenie, 1863, t. X. pp. 194-202; "Vasiliev Ivan, Mysl' po povodu vyskazannago anglikanskoiu tserkoviu zhelania voiti v blizkoe snochenie s vostochnoiu katolicheskoiu tserkoviu" ("Thoughts on the desires expressed by the Anglican Church to enter into relation with the Orthodox Catholic Church"), "Voskresnoe Chtenie," Moscow, 1863, pp. 340-44; 361-68; 386-91; Guetté Vladimir, "Lettres sur les divergences qui existent entre l'Eglise d'Orient et celle d'Occident, Union Chrétienne, Paris, 1863, t. V., pp. 29-32; 44-46; 51-54; "Sovremennoe sostiane Anglikanskoi tserkvi" ("The present status of the Church of England"), "Dukhovnyi Viestnik," Moscow, 1863, t. V., pp. 285-310; Mikhalkovsky Basil, "Anglikanskala tserkov i eia otnochenie k pravoslavliu" ("The Anglican Church and her relations to the Orthodox"), Petrograd, 1864; Osinin Ivan Terentieyich, "O tserkovnom sostoianii Anglii" ("The religious conditions of England"), "Khristianskoe Chtenie," Petrograd, 1864, t. II, p. 451; III., 3, 173; Popov E. J., "Natchatki dvizhenia v anglikanskoi tserkvi k soedineniu s vostochnoiu" ("The origins of the movement of the Anglican Church towards a union with the Orthodox"), "Pribavleniia" ("Supplements to the works of the Fathers of the Church translated into Russian"), Moscow, 1864, t. XXIII., pp. 483-502; Moscow, 1865; "Sviet pravoslavia: po povodu predlojenia pastora anglikanskoi tserkvi o soedinenii tserkvei" ("Lux ex oriente: the proposal of the reunion of Churches made by Pastor Young, of the Anglican Church"), "Pravoslavny Sobesiednik," 1864, t. III., pp. 3-8; "Dukhovnyi Viestnik," 1864, IX., 451-53; Osinin, "Nieskolko slov o sovremennykh stremleniiakh anglo amerikanskoi tserkvi k sbliieniu s pravoslavnoiu" ("A few words about the modern tendencies of the Anglo-American Church for an ap-

Anglicans in turn gave a stronger impulse to the attempts at an official recognition of their hierarchy by the Eastern Churches. This purpose lies at the bottom of the "*Association for Promoting the Unity of Christianity*," founded in London in 1857 and in which many Catholics joined. The same purpose was made evident in the *Eastern Church Association*, established in 1863 with a view to acquaint Eastern Christians with the doctrines and principles of the Anglican communion; and to help Eastern Orthodox Bishops in the spiritual training of their flocks.²³ A few Orthodox prelates, as Archimandrite Constantine Stratulis and the Metropolitan of

proach towards Orthodoxy"), "Khristianskoe Chtenie," 1865, t. I., pp. 188-197; Ibid., "Obzor XXXIX, chlenov anglikanskaro vierolispovedaniia" ("Examination of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Anglican Communion"), Ibid., 1866, t. I., pp. 571-603; Ibid., "Novoe zaiavlenie v polzu sblizheniia angliiskoi tserkvi s pravoslavnoi" ("A new declaration in favor of approach of the Anglican Church"), Ibid., 1867, t. I., pp. 673-688; Popov E. J., "Popytki v anglikanskoi tserkvi k soedineniu s pravoslavnoi v XVIII. stolietii" ("Attempts of the Anglican Church to unite herself with the Orthodox in the eighteenth century"), Ibid., 1865, t. II., pp. 259-79; 384-407; Troitzky Ivan Egorovich, "Soedinenno-Amerikanskie Chtaty v religiozno-tserkovnom otnoshenii" ("The United States of America from a religious and ecclesiastical point of view"), Ibid., 1865, t. I., pp. 543-80; 11, 3, 189; Nechaev Basil, "Po povodu pribytia v Rossii sivoero-amerikanskayo posolstva" ("The coming into Russia of an American deputation"), "Duchepoleznoe Chtenie," Moscow, 1866, t. III., 9, pp. 80-88; "Po voprosu o soedinenii anglikanskoi tserkvi s vostochnoi pravoslavnoi" ("The question of the union of the Anglican Church with the Eastern Orthodox Church"), "Khristianskoe Chtenie," 1866, t. II., pp. 348-362; Obratsov Paul Euthymovich, "O popytkakh k soedineniu anglikanskoi episkopalnoi tserkvi s pravoslavnoi" ("The attempt at a union between the Anglican Episcopal and the Orthodox Churches"), "Pravoslavnoe Obozrenie," Moscow, 1866, XIX, pp. 41-70; 169-201; 245-270; Matvievsky Paul Alekseevich, "Traktarianskoe v anglikanskoi tserkvi v 1833-62 godakh" ("The Tractarian movement in the Church of England during the years 1833-62"), "Strannik," Petrograd, 1866, t. II., pp. 59-98; "Zamiechania o predpolagaemom soedinenii protestantskikh episkopalnykh tserkvi s pravoslavnoi katolicheskoi tserkviu" ("Some remarks upon the plans of union of the Protestant Episcopal Churches with the Orthodox Catholic Church"), "Dukhovnaia beseda," 1868, t. II., pp. 49-113; Vasiliev J., "Polezdka v Angliu dlia sobesledovaniia o soednenii anglikanskoi tserkvi s pravoslavnoi" ("A visit to England for a meeting concerning the union of the Anglican Church with the Orthodox"), "Chtenia" of the Society of Russian History and Antiquities, Moscow, 1866, I., pp. 142-159; Filaret, "Metrop. M. v ego zabotakh o vseobshchem tserkovnom edinenii" ("Philaret, Metropolitan of Moscow, and his cares for the union of the whole Church"), "Voskresnoe Chtenie," Moscow, 1868, t. XXXII, pp. 333-341; Lopukhin Alexander Pavlovich, "Snocheniia amerikanskoi episkopalnoi tserkvi s pravoslavnym vostokom po voprosu o soedinenii tserkvei" ("The relations between the American Episcopal Church and the Orthodox East as concerns the union of Churches"), Petrograd, 1888; Sokolov B., "Anglikanskii popytki k sblizheniiu s pravoslavnoi greko-russkoi tserkviu" ("Anglican attempts at an approach to the Orthodox Greco-Russian Church"), "Strannik," Petrograd, 1901, t. I., pp. 826-852.

²³ Hore. p. 673.

Serbia, were enlisted as members of the Standing Committee of the Association. At the same time the movement towards an understanding with the Eastern Churches expanded in the United States under the auspices of the American Episcopal Church. The General Convention of this Church held in New York in 1862 appointed a Russo-Greek Committee to consider the expediency of opening communication with the Russo-Greek Church and to promote intercommunion between it and the Anglican Church. The following year at the first meeting of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury of the Church of England and Ireland, a petition was presented to the Upper House of Convocation by many members of the Lower, who asked the Bishops to endeavor to bring about such intercommunion. A committee was appointed to communicate touching that matter with the American Russo-Greek Committee of the United States. The same year Samuel B. Ruggles, an eminent member of the General Convention, who had been commissioned by the Government of the United States as its representative to the International Statistical Congress of Berlin, took advantage of his mission to visit Russia, where he had some interviews with the leading members of the Russian Church, especially with Philarete, Metropolitan of Moscow. He laid stress upon the fact that the religious sympathies between Russia and the United States would be strengthened by the mutual interchange on the part of the two Churches of the religious offices common to both, and especially the Christian duties of visiting the sick and burying the dead.²⁴

In 1864 a clergyman of Trinity Church, in New York, John Freeman Young, secretary of the Russo-Greek Committee, and in 1867 Bishop of Florida, visited England, where he conferred with the Committee of Convocation, and afterwards went to Russia. The Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod, Metropolitan Philarete, and his vicars, Leonidas and Sabas, received him with the utmost courtesy. He presented to them commendatory letters from certain American Bishops. The letter of Samuel Allen McCoskry, Bishop of Michigan, contained the following passage: "*Ex animo quidem cupimus arctioribus unitatis nexibus cum magna ista unius Ecclesiae catholicae et Apostolicae parte coniungi. Tempus vero jam adest, quam levicula omnia quae Ecclesiam dividunt aut negligenda sunt, aut deponenda, et unitas christianorum per orbem terrarum stabi-*

²⁴ "Journal of the Proceedings of the Bishops, Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America," assembled in a General Convention, held in St. Andrew's Church, in the city of Philadelphia, from October 4 to October 24 inclusive, in the year of Our Lord 1865; Boston. 1865, p. 321.

lienda.²⁵ In order to secure to the plenipotentiary of the American Episcopal Church the benevolence of the Greek hierarchy, Bishop McCoskry launched a dart against the Roman Church as the hater and oppressor of Hellenism in the Eastern countries.

What results followed the mission of Young in Russia? Apparently Russian prelates were pleased with his proposals, and above all with the suggestion of the building of an Orthodox Church at San Francisco. Philarete of Moscow abounded in kind and warm expressions towards the Bishops of the American Episcopal Church, whose greetings moved him and whose letters gave him great pleasure. He charged Rev. Young to bear his kiss of peace to the whole venerable hierarchy of the American Church, and to assure them of his warmest sympathy and love, of his prayers and hopes that they may soon be one with the Russian episcopate, as they are already one in heart in Christ Jesus.

Encouraged by these kind words, Young addressed a memorandum to Isidor, Metropolitan of Petrograd. By that document he strove at first to certify that the Anglican communion was not rowing in the same boat with Protestantism: "Standing alone amidst the numerous Protestant communions by which she is surrounded, because of her tenacious adherence to the apostolic succession of her priesthood, her Catholic liturgy, creeds, tradition and ceremonies, the great Anglican communion, of which the American Church is a considerable part, ever since her release from the thralldom of the Papacy, has regarded with interest and lively sympathy the venerable Orthodox Church of the East."²⁶ Following in the footsteps of Palmer, he claimed the possibility of an harmonious understanding between the American and the Orthodox Churches without the surrender of fundamental principles on either side.

The memorandum revealed the true object of the mission of Young to Russia, that is "to make known to the Orthodox hierarchy the well-established claims of the Anglican Church to recognition as an intergral portion of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, having ultimately in view (should it appear feasible and desirable when we come to know each other better) such mutual recognition of Orders and Sacraments as will allow members of the Anglican communion to avail themselves of the offices of the Eastern Church, with the consent of its Bishops and clergy, without renouncing the Communion of their own Church, and as will permit members of the Eastern Church with like consent, as occasion shall serve, to avail themselves of the ministrations of the

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 335.

Anglo-American Church, without forfeiting thereby the privilege of church membership in their own communion."²⁷

The answers of the Russian prelates to the proposals of Young were animated by a spirit of deceitful condescension. According to a Russian Bishop, an understanding between the two Churches might have been had at once on most points by the Hierarchy of the two communions. But with the masses on both sides it would have been more difficult, especially in Russia. "Time will be required," he said, "for the diffusion of information, the softening down of prejudices and the conciliation of mutual regard."²⁸ Another Bishop spoke to him as follows: "The feelings which prompted the movement of the American Church towards the Russian could not but meet with warm sympathy on the part of the Russian Church, which is always ready to negotiate with those who desire to stand on the basis of primitive truth and who admit the apostolic claims and dignity of the Russian Church. Besides, the cordial political harmony which has always existed between Russia and America, and the more intimate social relations between the Churches, strengthen those ties which bind heart to heart in the fellowship and love of our Saviour."

Yet the profuseness of these flowery compliments did not forward the establishment of intercommunion between the two Churches. The lips of Russian prelates let fall no words which would have meant a surrender of the traditional positions of the Orthodox Churches. In her official documents the Russian Church stands firmly as a preserver of the old discipline, as an opposer of every kind of compromise with the *heretics* of the West.

In spite of his honeyed words and promises, Philarete frankly declared that he disclaimed the validity of Anglican Orders. As is well known, Philarete Drozdov, Metropolitan of Moscow (1782-1867) is praised by Russians as an enlightener of the orthodox church, as a man of purest and holiest life, as the greatest theologian of his century. His "Solutions" of canonical or theological questions, gathered up and published in many volumes, enjoy in Russia the same authority which in our Catholic Church is granted to the decrees of the Roman Congregations. His "Christian Catechism of the Eastern Greco-Russian Orthodox Church," published in 1823, although tainted with Protestant teachings and forbidden at first by the Holy Governing Synod, became later one of the standards of faith or symbolical books of the Russian Orthodox Church.²⁹ No

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 337.

²⁹ A. Palmieri, "La Chiesa russa," Florence, 1908, p. 633; *Ibid.*, "Theologia dogmatica orthodoxa Ecclesiae graeco-russicae," Florence, 1911, t. I., pp 644-649.

wonder then if Young earnestly desired to win him over to the cause for which he pleaded.

Philarete requested the American clergymen to give him an answer to the following questions: (1) Are not the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England a doctrinal obstacle to an understanding between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches? (2) Does the Church of England admit the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father alone? (3) Are there no doubts about the validity of Anglican Orders? (4) Does the Church of England acknowledge the necessity of Christian tradition for the right interpretation of Holy Scripture? (5) Is not the sacramental system of the Anglican theology impaired by Protestant novelties? Young tried to dissipate the suspicions of Philarete with regard to the Anglican faith. A learned helper came to his assistance, namely, William Stubbs (1825-1901), at that time Lambeth librarian, and afterwards Bishop successively of Chester and Oxford. Bishop Stubbs sent a letter to Philarete, in which he explained the controverted points between the Anglican and Russian Churches and the reasons militating in favor of the validity of his own hierarchy. Philarete read attentively the plea of the Anglican scholar, but he did not give up his adverse opinion as to the validity of the Anglican priesthood. He believed himself to be bound to disclose his doubts of Anglican claims, and published his remarks on the letter of Stubbs in a widely circulated periodical of Moscow, *Pravoslavnoe Obozrenie* (the *Orthodox Review*), which for long years was highly praised as the leading organ of Russian theological thought.

According to Philarete, the study of the documents brought forward by Anglican divines leaves it greatly doubtful whether the separation of the Church of England from the Roman extinguished the living power of the apostolic consecration and its inner influence, although the outward rite was kept on. If we admit, as history teaches, that Crammer and Barlow denied to the episcopate the spiritual grace of conferring the priesthood and looked upon ordination as an act not necessary for the performance of pastoral duties, there is ground to infer that the apostolic succession was broken in the Church of England. After a thorough analysis and refutation of the letter of William Stubbs, Metropolitan Philarete closed his paper in the following terms: "What judgment must a true son of the Orthodox Church form upon the uninterrupted preservation of the Apostolic Succession of Orders in the Church of England? Must he not, strictly speaking, answer the question in the negative? Even in case he wishes to soften the severity of his judgment for the sake of fostering his aspirations towards the reunion of Christianity, will he ever be able to settle

the long-debated controversy in a sense favorable to Anglican claims? Will he not constantly waver between a negative and an affirmative solution in a relentless doubt? And if the uncertainty concerning the validity of Anglican Orders cannot be put aside, will the Anglican Bishops find any way to enter into communion with the Orthodox Church? When there is no possible way to prove that a certain one has been validly baptized, the disciplinary laws of the Church enjoin that such a man shall be considered as unbaptized, and that the ceremony of baptism shall be repeated upon him. Similarly, when it may be doubted whether a Bishop was validly consecrated, the consecration of that Bishop should be treated as if it were null, and the Bishop should submit himself to a conditional consecration. It is needless to say that Anglican Bishops would hardly agree with our statement. Therefore, we have to rest upon God, Who will open for us an easier way to the longed for communion and union of the Churches."³⁰

As might be expected, the pronouncement of Philarete caused a great stir among theologians, both Russian and Anglican, and its influence never ceased its work in the ranks of the conservative wing of the Russian Church. Anglican theologians felt the weight of the blow inflicted upon them by the *Enlightener* of the Russian Church, and strove to avert it by rumoring that Philarete had not carefully investigated the historical and liturgical facts asserted by Anglican divines to establish the episcopal legitimacy of their own hierarchy.

In the Old Catholic Union Conferences held at Bonn from September 14 to 16, 1874, under the presidency of Dr. von Döllinger, the Anglican canon Henry Parry Liddon (1825-1901) said that Metropolitan Philarete, a year before his death, confessed himself to have drawn up his declaration of the invalidity of Anglican Orders without a sufficient knowledge of the history of the Anglican Church, and that it was based solely on the ground of Latin prejudices.³¹

However true may be this tardy explanation, it is beyond all doubt that Metropolitan Philarete never surrendered his opinion. Thus, the first attempts of Anglican divines to win over to their cause the Russian hierarchy met with complete failure. An Anglican priest, Charles F. Hoffman, in his preface to an Anglican edition of the Bull "*Apostolicae Curae*" declared that efforts for unity, in the main, must be outside of Rome, and the East and the

³⁰ "Neprieryynost episkopskago rukopolozheniia v angliiskoi tserkvi" ("The non-interruption of the episcopal consecration in the Anglican Church"), "*Pravoslavnoe Obozrenie*," 1866, t. XIX., pp. 85-94.

³¹ H. Reusch, "Bericht über die am 14, 15 und 16 September zu Bonn gehaltenen Unions-Conferenzen im Auftrage des Vorsitzenden Dr. von Döllinger," Bonn, 1874, p. 87.

West must join hands to bring Rome to her knees. Our researches, however, make it plain that a brotherly joining of hands of two national Churches, the one isolated from continental Catholicism, the other cut off from Western Christianity, did not take place in their earliest meeting, and perhaps their future attempts to formulate a treaty of alliance, as will be shown, will meet the same fate. The reason for this is that national particularism chills and kills the buds of the Catholic ideal of the Church of Christ. Unity outside of Rome means for Catholics a unity without a vital bond of union, a fictitious unity which fosters in its heart a solvent of the supernatural compactness of the Body of Christ, to the spreading of the petty dissensions of a most narrow nationalism. And, at the close of this paper, it will perhaps be to the purpose to quote the beautiful saying of William Palmer to a Russian lady concerning the disastrous rôle of nationalism in Christianity: "Nationality in religion has been our ruin; it has made us all but apostatize from the true faith, and we in England are struggling now to crawl out of that pit into which I hope you may never fall deeper than you have fallen already."³²

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³² Palmer, "Notes of a Visit," p. 408.

BLESSED CATHERINE OF RACCONIGI.

WHEN the merchant, Luchhesio of Poggibonzi, in Tuscany, meeting St. Francis casually, as the Poverello of Assisi was wending his way from Florence to Siena, suggested to him the idea of giving a rule of holy living to persons living in the world, whereby they might strive to attain to the higher life, he was sowing a seed which, like the typical grain of mustard seed, was to grow up into a great tree that would expand its branches far and wide. Germinating in the receptive and far-seeing mind of the saint, it produced the Third Order, of which Luchhesio's house was the birthplace and of which he and his good wife, Bona Donna, were the first members, receiving from St. Francis a simple, modest, ashen-gray habit similar to that primitively worn by the Friars Minor, which was an adaptation of the humble home-spun work-a-day garb of the Italian peasantry of the Apennines. Thus, in 1221, originated the oldest of all the Third Orders, simple and spontaneous in its beginning like that of the first Franciscan Order. A great future awaited it. It effected a social and moral revolution, or rather renovation, in mediæval society, to which no historical parallel can be found. Reinforced by the kindred Third Order of St. Dominic, the tertiary development of the Franciscan and Dominican spirit rapidly spread all over Europe. Just as the waters of the Nile, overflowing its banks, fertilizes, while it irrigates, the sun-parched earth, so the spirit of the two great mendicant orders, poured out from the cloisters and diffused through society by means of these channels, cleansed, purified and reinvigorated the family and social life of the middle ages. As one belonged to a family by blood, to a corporation by the office one filled, to the Church by baptism, people wished to belong by self-devotion to one of the two glorious militias that served the Church in charitable and penitential works. "They put on the livery of St. Dominic or St. Francis," says Lacordaire. "They were engrafted on one of those two trunks and nourished by their sap while still preserving their individuality. They frequented their churches, participated in their prayers, cultivated friendly relations with them and followed as close as possible in the track of their virtues. It was no longer thought necessary to fly from the world to imitate the saints; every room might become a cell and every house a Thebaid."¹

A new force had arisen, a new weapon had been forged and added to the Church's armory. "The Third Orders of Dominic and Francis," says a well-known writer, "completed the conquest

¹ "Life of St. Dominic," by Père Lacordaire, O. P.

of the world. They placed the religious habit under the breastplate of warriors and the robes of Kings. They were like streams, carrying the fertility of Paradise to many a dry and barren region, so that the wilderness blossomed like a rose. Something of the barrier between the world and the cloister was broken down, and the degrees of heroic sanctity were placed, as it were, within the grasp of thousands, who else, perhaps, had never risen above the ordinary standard. These Third Orders have given us a crowd of saints, dearer to us, perhaps, and more familiar than any others, in so far as we feel able to claim their close sympathy with ourselves; and the more so that they are a perpetual witness to us, that no path in life is so busy or so beset with temptations but that God's grace may cover it with the very choicest beauty of holiness. As time went on and the circumstances of its first institution had passed away, the militia of Jesus Christ exchanged its name for that of the Order of Penance of St. Dominic, and by degrees assumed more and more of the religious character, particularly after St. Catherine of Siena had by her example given a new shape to the order, in so far as regarded its adoption by her own set, and in her life and that of the numberless saints who have trodden in her steps, we see the final triumph and vindication of what we may venture to call the primary Dominican idea; namely, that the highest walks of contemplation are not incompatible with the exercise of active charity and labor for souls, but that a union of both is possible, which more nearly fulfills our conception of the life of Christ than the separated perfection of either."²

Among those numerous Dominican tertiaries, true heroines of the home, who practised in the domestic interior the virtues of the cloister, attaining to a high degree of heroic sanctity, was the Blessed Catherine Mattei, of Racconigi. A great number of authors, particularly Dominicans, have written about this holy tertiary, but all have derived their information mainly from her life written in elegant Latin by her contemporary and friend, John Francis Pico, Prince of Mirandola. The Church, repeating the expression of an old author, says of her: "Between the Virgin of Racconigi and the Virgin of Siena there is no difference but canonization." She was, in fact, in constant mystical and at times even visible intercourse with the famous daughter of the Sienese dyer, although she does not figure prominently in ecclesiastical history like the latter. Both had this in common, that they were at once types of citizen saints, of secular tertiaries and of heroines of the home.

² "The Life of St. Dominic, with a Sketch of the Dominican Order," by Augusta Theodosia Drane (Mother Francis Raphael, O. S. D.), fourth edition, page 191.

Daughter of Giorgio Mattei, a tool-maker, and Bilia de Ferrari, she was born in June, 1486, at Racconigi, a town of Piedmont, about twenty-three miles from Turin, where her cult has ever since existed. Her house in the centre of the city is still seen and a street bears her name. An old and constant tradition indicates the large wainscotted room in which she was born and wherein she lived for **thirty-eight years**. Her mother, unable to nurse her or pay a nurse, used to send the infant by her little brother to some charitable matron, whom she begged to give her child the natural nutriment. From her earliest years she was made familiar with poverty and suffering. The Duke of Savoy, who at that time was waging against the lord of the soil, the Marquis of Saluzzo, one of those internecine petty wars of which the history of mediæval Italy is so full, having sacked the town, Catherine's parents, in consequence, were reduced to destitution, often wanting the barest necessities of life: but they bore it with patience and fortitude. When she was nine years old and constrained by stress of extreme poverty to work without intermission, unable to allow herself a moment's rest, thinking of her mother's hard, sad lot, she laid her head upon the loom and began to weep, appealing to God to relieve the misery of the home. Immediately, on raising her eyes, she saw before her a boy of ten, having on him only his shirt, who begged an alms. She replied that for love of God she was prepared to give her blood and life, but that then, truth to tell, she had nothing to give him; nevertheless she would go and search through the house to see if there was a bit of bread left or anything he could eat. It was Christ, it is said, who appeared to her under that form. He gave her wherewith to relieve their necessities, comforting her, and encouraging her to endure patiently all adversities after His example. One day at the beginning of Lent, she was very afflicted on account of some disturbance that had arisen between her father and mother and fasted on bread and water, weeping so much that her face was bathed in tears. Our Lord, who appeared to her on this occasion in the **semblance of a youth of fourteen**, told her, for her consolation, that her mother would have a happy old age and, in the end, be saved. Then, taking a loaf and breaking and blessing it, He invited her to eat. In remembrance of this she ever after broke the bread with her own hands, instead of using a knife.

She was very charitable. Although poor herself, the daughter of a *fabbro-ferraio* and born at a time when her country was in great distress, being only barely able to provide for her own wants and help the family by working hard at ribbon weaving, still she distributed to the poor all the food and clothing she could, and when powerless to afford them any temporal relief, spiritually min-

istered to them, afflicting herself with fasts, vigils and disciplines on their account and for love of them.

One Saturday, when she was nine years old, as she was returning from the baker's with bread, unable any longer to endure the fast, she was met by St. Catherine of Siena, who appeared to her in the form of a poor little girl of ten, clad in white, who begged relief. Fearing that her mother would scold her if she gave away the bread, so much needed at home, she made an evasive reply and pursued her way. But no sooner had she arrived home than great remorse of conscience seized her and she said to herself: "What little charity, what little compassion reigns in me! How would I like such an answer to be given to me? How do I know but that poor little girl is in greater want than I am?" So saying, she retraced her steps, praying that she might meet the little beggar girl, and, having found her, said: "Forgive me, sister, if I have behaved cruelly towards you. Here is the loaf you asked from me. Another time I will be more courteous and charitable." The young girl took it with a smiling face, and having tasted a bit thanked her and told her that her alms would be most acceptable in the sight of the Divine Majesty. Quite consoled and full of spiritual joy, she parted from her, not knowing, until some years afterwards, when it was made known to her by the saint herself, who the little girl really was.

Similar visitations often put her charity to the test and afforded opportunities for its exercise. Once Our Lord appeared to her in the form of a half-naked poor man, to whom she gave a shirt. On another occasion, in the depth of winter, she met a poor woman, whose arms were bare, to cover which she cut off the sleeves of her own dress, saying to herself: "My God, I was born poor and, for love of you, I wish to live and die in poverty. I would rather be without a garment than without charity." Again, she met a poor little boy who was suffering from cold and hunger and took him home and gave him a warm bath and food. These are acts of benevolence, one will be told, that many good-hearted people frequently perform; but do they spring from a high supernatural motive, such as always actuated the saints? Natural virtues receive natural rewards and sometimes lead to the attainment of higher virtues; but it is the supernatural and heroic which give to the acts of the saints their distinctive *cachet*. The Master, who promised that even a cup of cold water given in the name of a disciple, should not be without its reward, was not slow to signify His approval and acceptance of a charitable deed, done through love of Him who has made the poor His representatives on earth. He appeared to Catherine and presented her with red and white roses, saying: "For

this act of charity, which thou, My spouse, hast performed to this poor one, give thee now these roses and in the next life will give thee a greater reward." Those who lived with her, although it was then winter, related that they were conscious of the most delightful perfume of roses.

All her life, which was very mystical, she was recipient of special graces. Her childhood had but dawned, when it already disclosed foregleams of future sanctity. The Holy Ghost several times descended upon her: at one time in the form of a white dove, at another as a wonderful Light, emitting three rays; then in the form of a luminous cloud or as a globe of fire, from which issued seven tongues, increasing in her soul the fervor of divine charity, zeal for the honor of God and the salvation of souls and infusing an enlarged knowledge of divine things. A certain white light, tinged with red, was visible in her face, so that people marveled, some thinking it was produced by artificial means; but she assured them that she used nothing else than the Most Holy Sacrament of the altar, and that this light came from the Holy Spirit. There was on these occasions imparted to her a clear understanding of the difference between true revelations and visions and those that are false.

On the Pentecost of 1491 she became a spouse of Christ, who appeared to her, accompanied by Our Lady, many saints and angels, including a six-winged seraph, St. Jerome, St. Peter Martyr and St. Catherine of Siena. Her Italian biographer^a relates minutely the vision in which the mystical nuptials were solemnized, and which twenty years afterwards were twice renewed—the wonder of the innocent child, the simple language in which she tremblingly addressed the Mother of God; how our Lord put on her finger a ring, espousing her in faith, hope and charity, bade His Mother take her for her daughter, commanded the seraph and her angel guardian never to abandon her, and assigned to her St. Jerome, St. Peter Martyr and St. Catherine of Siena as her teachers. It was the beginning of a succession of similar marvels, of which her whole life is a record.

The most marvelous event of her life took place on the eve of the feast of St. Dominic, 1512. She had been begging the Lord with tears to give her a clean heart, when, at the hour of Prime, Christ appeared to her along with many saints, and, having blessed

^a *Vite de Santi e Beati del Sacro Ordine de Frati Predicatori, cuosi Huomini come Donne, con aggiunta di molte vite che nella prima impressione non erano. Scritte dal R. P. Maestro Serafino Razzi dell' Istesso Ordine, e professore di San Marco di Firenze. Con Licenzia de' Signori Superiori. In Firenze, nella Stampa di Bartolomeo Sermartelli. MDLXXXVIII.*

her, removed, as it seemed to her, from her breast her heart in which was traced, as it were in silver letters, the words, "*Jesus, spes mea*," and, after changing them into golden letters, restored it to its place.⁴ This is recorded as being subsequently repeated four times, the last taking place in presence of the vicar of the Convent of San Domenico and her confessor, who saw in her face the expression of acute pain and heard her moans, but saw or heard nothing else. She told her confessor that while her heart was in the hands of angels, she suffered such pain that she did not know if the pain of death was greater.

' It was at the bidding of Our Lady she became a Dominican tertiary, her reception taking place in a convent of the Friars Preachers at Racconigi, the erection of which she predicted long before it was built, naming the friars who would officiate there. When she publicly made her solemn profession many indications of her holiness were given. Before she went to the church she had to endure many threats and assaults from demoniacal assailants, but, on the other hand, was consoled by angels. The Lord of Racconigi, along with the noblest in the land, wished to be present at the ceremony. But most of all was the honor bestowed upon by heaven itself. The most delightful odors perfumed and pervaded the route she traversed; St. Peter Martyr, invisible to others, but visible to her, blessed the habit with which she was clothed; the harmonious canticles of angels were heard by many, while others saw a fiery cloud⁵ hovering over her head.

If she was predestined to be the recipient of special spiritual favors, she was also predestined to tread the rugged road of suffering, that *via dolorosa*, the wearisome way of the Cross. When she was only seven years of age, as she was walking in the cloisters of the Servites and saw a fresco of St. Peter Martyr with sword and palm, a great desire of martyrdom seized her, and, praying that it might be her lot, the saint appeared to her holding a chalice full of blood, which he presented to her, saying: "Take, my daughter, this chalice and taste its precious blood, for in time you will have many tribulations." Fearing that it might be an illusion, she prayed the Lord not to abandon her nor permit her to be deceived. He at once appeared to her in the guise of a boy of ten, with a cross on His shoulder, and said: "Doubt not, My spouse, for he that appeared to thee is My faithful servant, Peter Martyr, whom I have already given thee as father and director. As he.

⁴ "Le trasse di petto il cuore tutto livido e terreo eccetto in quella parte, nella quale era scritto a lettere d'argento, *Jesus, Spes mea*. e poi mondatolo, e convertite le lettere d'argento in oro gille lo restitui." Razzi, *op. cit.*, page 136.

⁵ Una nugola come di fuoco. Razzi, *op. cit.*

for love of Me and zeal for My faith, has drunk of the bitter chalice of My Passion, so thou, too, through love of Me and zeal for souls, shall endure many adversities." Then, placing the Cross on her left shoulder, He said: "This will seem to thee bitter only in the beginning, but in the end sweet and pleasant, thanks to My love, which makes all things light." On the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross our Lord again appeared to her with two angels preceding Him, carrying a larger cross, which also He placed on her left shoulder, saying: "This, O beloved, is the cross that for the whole of thy life will not be wanting to thee. I give it to thee now, since it is fitting that the Bridegroom should make some present to His bride. It will seem to thee troublesome at first, but in the end the more glorious." In receiving this cross she felt such a pain and burthen, that from that moment her left shoulder was visibly more bent than the other. When, for the third time, she received from the hands of Christ the cross, it was in the form of a staff, given to her with these words: "You will overcome all tribulations and adversities with patience by means of this staff," to which she replied: "My Lord, my hope, solace of my soul and sweet refuge, I have borne and will willingly bear the cross for Thy land and glory, confiding in Thy goodness and help, which I am certain will never fail me." After she had received the three crosses, two shining angels appeared to her on the night of the feast of St. Nicholas, and, on the part of God, presented her with a stole covered all over with crosses, which they placed over her shoulders and arms.

At daybreak one Eastertide morning, as she was meditating on the agony in the garden, which increased in her the longing for martyrdom, Christ appeared and impressed upon her the stigmata. A blood-stained thorn projected, as it were, from the hands, feet and side of our Lord and penetrated her. She was like one dead from excessive pain; on recovering, she begged and obtained that the stigmata should not be visible to every one. She was also impressed with the crown of thorns. Pico and some others affirmed that they had seen and touched it. It extended from the crown of her head to her neck and cut into the bone. She was then in her twenty-fourth year.

In 1519, on the feast of SS. Simon and Jude, as she was praying the Lord to enlighten her enemies and those who persecuted her, so that they might not fall into sin and calling to mind the words of the Psalmist, "*Domine Deus, in te speravi, salvum me fac ex omnibus persequentibus me, et libera me,*" the Prophet David appeared to her, accompanying her so sweetly on the lyre that it seemed as if her soul would leave her body, a detail which recalls

a similar incident in the life of St. Francis of Assisi.⁶ Having ceased chanting, David said to her: "Remember, my daughter, that all men in mortal life are, for the most part, sinners, who, however, can more easily do penance in it than in that which is to come; the more willingly endure all the adversities that will befall you, and know that all that you ask of the Lord will be granted to you."

Many saints appeared to her from time to time, whose varying characteristics she minutely described. She often received Communion at the hands of Our Lord, the angels and saints. From St. Michael the Archangel she received the visible impress of a cross on the breast, which remained for a few days. Unable to provide personally for all her needs, she was often the recipient of many gifts from God and the saints. She was once led in spirit to Jerusalem, where she witnessed all the mysteries of the Passion, when Christ gave her two pieces of the wood of the cross, one of which she gave to Count Pico, of Mirandola, and the other to his daughter, wife of the Doge of Genoa, Count di Renda, and, as the Count relates, it wrought the miraculous deliverance of some possessed persons.

An instructive incident, which illustrates how Christ is personified in the suffering members of His mystical Body, is related by her Italian biographer. When she was once in spiritual converse with Our Saviour and was summoned to render some service of charity, but excused herself, she was ordered by Christ to leave Him and go whither she was wanted; but, submitting that it was not fitting for the creature to leave its Creator, Our Lord replied: "Although, my daughter, it may be hard for thee to go, nevertheless, it is pleasing to Me that for love of Me and your neighbor's good, thou shouldst deprive thyself of personal consolations. And let your mind be at ease, for thereby thou dost not leave nor I abandon thee, for I am always with thee." Having received Our Lord's blessing, she went promptly and performed this work of charity through simple obedience.

She was often carried invisibly by her angels⁷ to distant regions to deliver her friends from imminent danger. Once, invisibly, but actually in the body⁸ she traversed a distance of one hundred and

⁶ See *Life of St. Francis* by Rev. Leopold de Chéracé, O. S. F. C. Third edition, page 325.

⁷ Besides the guardian angel who watched over her from her birth, she had also assigned to her a six-winged seraph, the former appearing in white vesture and the latter in red.

⁸ Her Italian biographer says "*nel vero corpo*." But it must have been in what is called the human essence, as distinct from the physical body.

sixty miles to rebuke a great noble who was the cause of the most cruel wars in Italy and commanded him, in the name of Christ, to desist from fomenting discord and disturbances in Christendom, otherwise the divine wrath would be visited upon him. Disturbed at first by the aspect and language of his visitor, having learnt who she was and for what reason she came, he gave her hope of peace. The chronicler notes that she made the journey, three hundred and twenty miles going and coming, in the space of three or four hours. She appeared in the same way to a famous preacher long antagonistic to her, thinking she was under demoniacal influence. She was accompanied by another Dominican tertiary, and, having complained of his incredulity, said: "Get rid, father, of this sinister impression you have of me, although I do not deserve your good opinion; nevertheless, respect God, who can do with His handmaid what He pleases."

She had the gift common to saints and favored souls of reading conscience. She knew, by divine or infused knowledge, the secrets of hearts and revealed them to many, rebuking them for their hidden vices. The gift of prophecy was also given to her. She predicted many things that subsequently came to pass, such as the death of Pope Julius II., the coming of the French into Italy and the imprisonment of their King.

The Church and the world, particularly in Italy, were sore afflicted in the age in which Catherine of Racconigi lived. It was an age of conflicts—an age when triumphant vice, naked and not ashamed, of deplorable decadence, of unbridled luxury and internecine conflict flaunted with unabashed insolence and sullied with its slimy presence the holiest places and the highest office, vice against which the Dominican Friar Savonarola, with the courage of an apostle and the prescience of a prophet, declaimed from the pulpit; the age when the Medici ruled and revelled in Florence and an Alexander VI. occupied the Pontifical throne. Catherine Mattei was four years old when the prior of San Marco, after preaching in Brescia and Genoa, returned to Florence at the instance and entreaty of Pico of Mirandola. It was in July, 1490, he reached Tuscany, after parting with the mysterious stranger he met on the way at Pianoro, who accompanied him as far as the Porto San Gallo, saying: "Take care to discharge faithfully the mission entrusted to thee by God." To another Dominican another mission was assigned, which had a certain relationship to his. Catherine of Racconigi, years after Savonarola's mission ended in the tragic scene which the fair city on the Arno witnessed in 1498, was leading her hidden life of mystical suffering for the Church in the midst of poverty and toil in an obscure town in Piedmont, while the tide of corruption rose

higher and higher in the south, until it flooded and fouled the very sanctuary of the Holy of Holies.

The moral condition of the Church and the world was revealed to her in symbolical visions. Once, rapt in spirit, she was led into a church, the walls of which were draped in black, and she saw herself similarly vested, whereupon the Blessed Virgin appeared to her and said: "Wonder not, my daughter, to see the church with its sombre veil; for the sins of the world, and particularly of those who should be pastors and spouses, have thus darkened it. Thou art also vested in black through great grief and sadness of soul, seeing that blood and labors of my dear Son, thy beloved spouse, so little prized, and tribulations to come, which God wills to send to His deformed Church, will sadden thee much more." Then she saw two combatants, one in black, of horrible aspect, and the other in white and red, armed with a sword having in its pommel an image of Christ, with which he fought and conquered. The same year there were visioned to her two great armies, one of which had a red and white standard, with the Madonna and Child surmounted by a cross, and the other a black standard, on which was a forbidding face, against which a young man under thirty waged war and obtained a victory, although at the cost of the loss of many on his side. It seemed to her that those who were taken alive in the enemy's ranks were baptized. Similar armed conflicts, likewise ending in the baptism of the conquered, were foreshown to her in later visions.

In 1521, when pestilence ravaged Turin and its vicinity, grieving for her country, she offered herself to God as a victim to appease the divine wrath, praying that He would pardon the people and punish her for their sins, whereupon two angels appeared, carrying a coffined corpse and said: "Thou knowest, Catherine, that God is angered on account of the multitude of wicked men, and if thou hadst not interposed, offering thy body to the scourges, His most just anger would have already fallen upon mortals, but as they have not amended, lo, we bring the pestilence, indicated by this coffin." "Tell the Lord," she replied, "not to be angered against His people, but to punish their sins in my body." Her petition was heard and through her merits the plague ceased.

Her ecstasies were frequent. She was often rapt into heaven and participated, as far as it is possible for a mortal still *in via*, in the beatitude of the saints. She was led to hell and witnessed the tortures of the damned, and into purgatory, where she conversed with the suffering souls, whom she consoled. Once, on the feast of the holy angels, she was again rapt into heaven and saw the glorified state of the blessed, indescribable in human language and

only dimly adumbrated in similitudes. When she emerged from the ecstatic state, a richly adorned palace appeared to her like a squalid abject cabin. On the feast of St. Jerome, as her mind was raised to the contemplation of the celestial spheres, she heard the most harmonious canticles in Paradise, and it was shown to her how by her prayers many souls would be saved. One Corpus Christi she was borne by angels into the presence of God and saw, nigh the throne of the Divine Majesty, a great book sealed with seven seals, in which, by a special favor, she was permitted to read the names of her spiritual children, for whom she prayed that they might never offend God mortally. Her prayer was answered for many, but not for all; for all were not disposed. It was, however, promised her that at the end they would arise from sin and be saved.

One day as she was reading the Gospel of the marriage feast, she was rapt into heaven and saw the divine nuptials represented and was clothed with a purple garment and crowned, but her crown was not yet complete and perfect. On another occasion she was again rapt in spirit and saw the Most Holy Trinity, and her soul was filled with such a sense of complete contentment by the beatific vision that, like the Apostles on Thabor, she longed for it to last and prayed not to return to the prison and stable of the world, but was given to understand that her crown was not yet finished. She was shown by a symbolical vision how it is the three theological virtues, faith, hope and charity, which obtain for us entrance into heaven, and that without innocence and purity no one can see God.

Praying the Lord out of His great charity to shut the mouth of hell, the answer was given to her that that could not be, for Divine justice must have its place. Urging that the glory of God would be thereby made more resplendent and His immense goodness be praised by a greater multitude, she was told that His glory will be reflected not less in His divine justice than in His mercy. Then she besought the Lord to execute His justice upon her. "Thou couldst not," said Christ, "endure such punishment, nor is it reasonable that thou shouldst do penance for the sin of another." "Wherefore, then," she asked, "hast Thou infused into my soul such an ardent desire of suffering if Thou willest not, my sweetest Jesus, to satisfy it?" "This thy desire," replied Our Lord, "will be to thy rejoicing and to many others on thy account, but not possibly to all, as My Passion has not its effect in all."^a

In 1520 St. Peter and St. Paul appeared to her, one placing on her shoulder the sword of divine justice and the other in her hands the keys of infinite mercy, exhorting her to pray fervently for the

^a "Che ne anco la mia passione ha effeto in tutti." Sic in orig.

Church. Beseeching the Lord to give good pastors to His Church, Christ appeared to her vested in black, holding a blood-stained poniard and displaying great anger towards ungrateful sinners; whereupon she prostrated herself, pleading for pardon and mercy for those who administered the sacrament, for she knew God was chiefly angered against them. And that divine justice might be satisfied, she received in her heart from that poniard a wound which lasted for many years and gave her incredible pain. Such was her love and charity towards God and her neighbor that she took upon her great pains and torments not only for the Church, but also for many private persons.

One day when she was oppressed with great heat, she began to meditate on the pains of purgatory and said within herself: "What wouldst thou do if thou were so tortured in purgatory?" upon which she heard a voice that said: "Thou dost well to think of those pains; but in order that thou mayest better realize their intensity, thou shalt experience for a while that fire." Immediately she felt a spark of fire in her left cheek, which gave her such pain as she had never hitherto endured. Having once offered all her merits for a soul that had just passed out of life, after five days it appeared to her, liberated from purgatory, affirming that the sufferings therein were much greater than was said. Led again in spirit to purgatory, the soul of the mother of a certain Dominican prior begged her to make known to her son his mother's state in the other world. She did so, taking upon her a portion of the punishment meted out to that soul, which, upon its release a few days afterwards, appeared to her accompanied by angels and thanked her for her charity, commending her son to her prayers, Catherine replied that she did not know who could better help him than his mother, who now saw God face to face. It elicited the following response, full of instruction for us: "Nevertheless, not being in a condition to merit and to suffer as thou art, I cannot so efficaciously remember him." From her fifth year she was wont to help the souls of the departed and many obtained their release from purgatory through her prayers. In 1513 Sister Margaret of Blandra, another Dominican, having died, Catherine went to her obseques and asked of the Lord some sign of the state of the soul of her deceased sister at that moment. The dead woman suddenly raised her right hand and, seizing Catherine's, strongly pressed it, and after a while relaxed her grasp. Catherine interpreted from this that she had escaped the pains of hell, but was in purgatory, which moved her to offer her merits for her release and on the fifth day she was liberated.

Her humility, habitual and deep-seated, expressed itself in her

speech, gestures and actions. When she heard any person of holy life praised, she wept for her tepidity and little fervor in the divine service. Once, when entreating forgiveness for her sins, she saw above her a globe of fire, from which was outstretched a hand that blessed her.

Her love of solitude was such that, when still a little girl, she avoided churches where she knew there would be a great concourse of people. This desire to lead a solitary life grew in her to such a degree that, in 1512, when she was in her twenty-seventh year, on the night of November 9, the ground being then covered with hoarfrost, she rose without disturbing her mother; and, crucifix in hand, knelt and invoked the Holy Spirit to guide her across the Alps and lead her into some solitude or some monastery where she might shut herself up. Then she heard a voice utter these words: "Whither wouldst thou go? I do not will that thou shouldst leave." Looking around her and seeing no one, she thought she had offended God by what she conceived to be her presumption, and, unable to give effect to her wishes, remained inconsolable until the feast of St. John Baptist, when Christ appeared to her and said that the reason He had conferred so many gifts upon her was not that she should shut herself up in a hermitage or convent, but, remaining in her father's house, by her example and life, be the means of eternal salvation to many. He taught her to build the spiritual edifice on the foundation of humility and the walls thereof with tribulations. She seemed to live at once on earth and in heaven, combining the active with the contemplative or interior life. While she labored with her hands, her mind was raised on high; as the old Italian writer says, she read in the book of nature—*con la mente leggendo nella libreria della natura*—and by means of visible things rose to the contemplation of what is "heavenly and invisible."

This illiterate Italian peasant, who had not known the letters of the alphabet, did not know how to read until Our Lord Himself taught her, and who could read nothing but the Office, was consulted by many eminent and learned personages, Archbishops, Bishops and nobles like Claudio of Savoy, Lord of Racconigi, who sought her counsel and declared they had never found any one endowed with such luminous intelligence.

She led a very mortified life. Before she had passed her early youth she began the practice of astounding austerities and penances, fasting for some years on bread and water every day except Sunday from the beginning of November until Christmas. The great abstinences of the early saints were, for the most part, undergone in warm or temperate climates, like Egypt, parts of Syria and

Greece, but she practised this austerity in very cold seasons and in a country where, one of her Italian biographers naively remarks, people are hardly content to eat only three times a day. She wore round the waist an iron chain, which penetrated through the skin into the flesh.

Learning from theologians that every act of virtue performed under vow is more meritorious and earns a higher reward, after trying herself for some time by these austerities, hearing a preacher one day dilate on St. Catherine of Siena, on her return home she made a vow of perpetual virginity, consecrating it to the Most Holy Trinity and the Blessed Virgin. On the following night St. Catherine of Siena, more luminous than usual, appeared to her and said: "My daughter, your vow is pleasing to your spouse, to His Blessed Mother and to me also. Be of good heart, for we will help you in the spiritual warfare, and not fail thee at need. Take now these two roses, one white and one red, sent to thee by Thy spouse, which will be as a token on thy heart. The red rose will remind thee of the most ardent charity which He has manifested towards thee and all the human race when He shed His blood, and the white rose will remind thee of His great purity and innocence, which thou shouldst imitate."

She had much to endure in body as well as in spirit from demoniacal assaults, being attacked sometimes by one, sometimes by two, at other times by five and often by innumerable demons—supernatural conflicts, recorded in detail by her early biographers, in each of which she achieved a complete victory over Satan.

Testimony to Catherine's holiness was borne not only by the saints in glory but by many persons on earth as well as by many miracles which she wrought. A venerable priest related to Count Mirandola that, praying one day with great concentration of mind, he was called by his guardian angel to witness a marvelous thing and saw a young girl of between ten and eleven, very resplendent, and, on asking who it was, he was told it was Catherine of Racconigi and to pray for her; for, being a little girl and physically weak, she had great need of prayers. Mgr. Claudio, of Racconigi, who held the virtuous girl in high esteem, affirmed that he had often from his palace windows seen at night heavenly splendor over Catherine's poor little house, and ascertained that at that moment she was in converse with saints from Paradise. To a priest during the celebration of Mass the form of a little boy clad in red appeared over the altar and, taking a particle of the consecrated Host, said, "I want this for Catherine of Racconigi," and then suddenly disappeared. That holy priest knew that it was Christ who was that morning providing the food of angels for His angelic

spouse. Similar particles of the Host were taken by invisible hands from other priests and given to this holy virgin when unable to go to the church for Communion. In 1514 two priests, one of whom was a Dominican, saw the ring with which she was espoused to her Saviour. When praying in her room there was often seen over her head a light like a radiant star. Her face underwent a change and became more beautiful when in presence of the saints who visited her. A Benedictine monk named Maurus once, when in prayer, saw Christ hanging on the cross and Catherine, as it were, inlaid in all His members which suffered such torments for our salvation, an incident which prompted him to visit her, although he lived about three hundred miles from Racconigi. A holy friendship, which even death did not interrupt, was formed between them; for dying not many years afterward, he appeared to her and said he had gone to a happier life and frequently visited and consoled her in her tribulations. Persons were often conscious of a supernatural perfume in her room and believed it came from the presence of the saints, whose apparitions were of daily occurrence. This fragrance was inhaled by many who conversed with her outside her own house. She was once seen going to the church at Racconigi accompanied by three other Sisters of the same order, and, asked by her confessor who they were—as there were none others in that particular locality but herself—she replied with much hesitation that they were St. Catherine of Siena, the Blessed Osanna of Mantua and the Blessed Colomba of Rieti. In some of her numerous journeys she was visibly accompanied by the Blessed Virgin, St. Jerome, St. Peter Martyr and St. Thomas of Aquin. She made frequent journeys to Garessio, a populous town in Piedmont, at the base of the Apennines; to Vercelli, where the Duke, Duchess and other princes of the House of Savoy received her in their palace; to Casale, to Anne, Marchioness of Montferrat, a relative of the King of France, who would have liked to have kept her always with her and who said to Count Pico of Mirandola that in the midst of all her vicissitudes, her greatest consolation was to talk to Catherine, and to Mirandola, another castle of Rodo, which belonged to Count Pico, to whom she foretold that he would write her life and be assassinated by one of his near relations, prophecies which were fulfilled in the last year but one of her life.

For many years beforehand she knew that she was to migrate to Caramagna, a small town about three miles from Racconigi famous for its ancient abbey dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. God made known to her the house she would inhabit, and when ordered to go there, she obeyed like Abraham the voice of the Lord and

left her country, her family, her father's house and went into the country indicated to her to spend there the twenty-three last years of her life, and die there, a martyr of charity. The celebrated preacher and writer, Father Paul Segneri, S. J., in his celebrated work, "*L'Incredule sans excuse*" (second part, c. xxviii.) places her among the most illustrious heroines of Christian charity who have exemplified the Catholic religion.

Towards the close of her life, to still further purify and exalt her, Providence permitted her to be tried by severe persecutions on the part of those who ought to have consoled and defended her. After the removal of her confessor she remained deprived of all human solace and comfort. When almost at the point of death, she was abandoned by all her friends and could have none of her order near her. She was thus made more conformable to her Divine Master in His Passion when "all leaving Him, fled." Like Him, too, she bore this desertion and desolation with indescribable patience, resignation and fortitude. Although, like St. Paul, longing to be dissolved and to be with Christ, nevertheless, like St. Martin, such was her love of her neighbor, such her thirst for souls, that she prayed the Lord that for their sakes He might leave her longer in this valley of tears, visiting upon her body the sins of the world. In her last days her heart was so aglow with divine love that it seemed as if it would spontaneously detach itself from her body. She lay as motionless as a corpse, and, scarcely breathing, seemed as if dead. Finally, on Sunday, the 4th of September, 1547, after devoutly receiving the last sacraments from a venerable priest, a Benedictine monk, many spiritual persons being then present, with her eyes raised to heaven she gave up her blessed soul to God, so calmly and sweetly that, though dead, she seemed only sleeping. The supernatural odor, so often exhaled and inhaled during life, was as perceptible after death as before.

In conformity with her last will, prefaced by the words so dear to her—"Jesus, Mary, my firm hope and my repose"—she was buried, not in the Rosary Chapel of the Friars Preachers at Racconigi, as she had signified in a previous will in 1535, but in her Dominican Church at Garessio, to the great regret of the inhabitants of Caramagna, who, however, had custody of her remains for five months. The whole population, the secular clergy as well as the Dominican friars, went out a long distance from Garessio to receive, under a canopy, her sanctified body, which was in a perfect state of preservation and continued to exhale a delightful odor, with the ringing of bells, the chanting of hymns, and by the light of torches, they bore it to the church, where it was exposed for veneration under the chapter altar, which is consecrated to her.

In 1761 the Bishop of Alba made an authentic verification of her remains and an examination of a large number of graces obtained through her intercession. On account of portions of her remains having been given as relics to Caramagna and Racconigi, the entire body did not rest there. At the time of the suppression of the regular orders in Piedmont in the beginning of the last century, the convent and church were sold and destroyed, the perpetrator of the sacrilegious spoliation subsequently dying in misery. The remains at Garessio, encased in wax and clothed in the habit of a Dominican tertiary, were deposited in a chapel dedicated to her in which her feast is annually solemnized.

Garessio was the native place of Father Peter Martyr Morelli, for whom she obtained many favors and to whom she foretold that he would be twice prior of the new convent at Racconigi and her last confessor. Father Augustin of Reggio, a Dominican religious, had been previously assigned to her by Our Lord as the director of her conscience. He went to Racconigi and in her name—for she was always ill—answered the numerous letters addressed to her by princes and great personages. Later, when advanced in years and debilitated in health, he obtained permission from his superiors to remain at Caramagna, whither he went with her and where he died a year before her in the reputation of holiness. Father Morelli revised her life by Pico of Mirandola, adding thereto things unknown to her first biographer, who had predeceased her. Thus was fulfilled her prophecy that the graces she had received would be made public in the Church and related by two different persons, well known to her. This life, although called a compendium,¹⁰ is the most complete and reliable.

A decree of Pius VII. raised her to the honors of the altar. Father Pius Anthony Molinier, of Chieri, near Turin, the successful promoter of her cause as well as of the causes of other saintly Dominicans, who composed the lessons and prayers for the proper office and Mass, died in 1811 on the eve of her feast, doubtless to keep it along with her in the company of the blessed, the *Familia Dominicana* who form a part of the Church Triumphant.

Devotion to this holy soul has never ceased to exist in Italy. Her

¹⁰ "Compendium of the Admirable deeds done by the Blessed Catherine of Racconigi, a most pure virgin of the Order of Penance of St Dominic, divided into ten Books and composed by John Francis Pico, Prince of Mirandola and Count of Concorda, and finished by the Servant of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Father Peter Martyr Morelli of Garessio, of the Order of Friars Preachers: with Notes. Chieri and Turin: Press of Tory and Dalmasio, 1838." A pious tertiary of Turin had this work republished, adding thereto both her Wills, and with a Preface by Father Dominic Massoli, O. P. Father Hyacinth Daniel, of Turin, formerly a Jesuit, published a short Life.

room in her humble home at Racconigi was converted into a chapel. Over the altar is represented the Redeemer restoring to His spouse her heart adorned with rays in the form of a cross, in which are read the words "Jesus, my hope," and upon the altar is a reliquary containing a bone of the Beata, perfectly preserved, a gift made in 1751 by the Dominicans of Gressio. When any public calamity befell the town, the faithful of all classes, even from distant districts, repaired in pilgrimage to this sanctified centre of devotion, where they heard Mass, presented offerings, petitioned for favors or returned thanks for favors received through her intercession. In 1835, when an epidemic of cholera brought death and desolation in its train, they carried her image in procession, promising to fast for twenty years on the eve of her feast and present a rich chalice of gold and silver, whereupon the epidemic ceased. In gratitude they erected a church, dedicated under her invocation, in the vicinity of her birthplace, the pious Queen, Maria Theresa, wife of Charles Albert, securing for a site an adjoining house, the foundation stone, laid in 1836, bearing the following inscription:

B Catherine De Mattels, concivi
Ob morbum indicum anno
Abhinc jugatum,
Racconizium Memor,
Provida. Reg. Karl Alb et Mar Ther Aura
Prior D Plasco Cum Præp Sacco
Utroque Clero, municipio, populo
Adstantibus
Ad complendum novæ civitatis votum
Prid. Non. Sept. Anno. MDCCCXXXVI.
Sacelli primum lapidem p.

This church, raised at the public expense, was so constructed that from the floor one could see Catherine's room and ascend thereto by a small stairs. King Charles Albert and his Queen often heard Mass in this church and room; for during her life and after her death she has always been an object of affectionate veneration to the House of Savoy.¹¹ Mary Adelaide, wife of Victor Emmanuel I., presented a rich and handsome chasuble, worked by her own hands, which is used every year, on September 4, when her feast is kept in presence of a great concourse of priests and people. There is a chapel dedicated to her in the parish church of St. John Baptist, erected seventy-six years ago on the site of the older church in which Catherine was baptized. On the first Sunday of every September a pious confraternity keeps her feast therein with great solemnity. Mass is celebrated, a panegyric delivered and after appropriate chants and hymns her statue is borne in a procession in which the municipal council take part. The stuccoed chapel is adorned with statues and frescoes, the altar piece representing Our Lady, Catherine and some of the saints who appeared to her. The

¹¹ The Italian royal family have a summer residence in Racconigi.

City Council repairs to this altar on August 29, makes an offering and assists at Mass, while the Dominican convent keeps her feast on the day fixed for the whole order.

The house in which she lived at Caramagna, on the outer door of which is inscribed, "House in which lived and died holily the Blessed Catherine of Racconigi," has also been converted into a chapel. Among the frequent visitors to this sanctuary were the late King Humbert, Prince Amadeus and the Princesses Marie Clotilde and Maria Pia. Father Francis Thomas Josa, O. P., formerly professor of theology in the University of Turin and later rector of the Pontifical Seminary at Rome, composed the following legend, which epitomizes the history of this house:

"The Blessed Catherine Mattei of Racconigi, of the Third Order of St. Dominic, in this dwelling for many years led a holy and marvelous life, and from this little cell, later changed into a chapel, the saint who inhabited it quitted it for heaven on the 4th of September, 1547. This house, after several centuries, was bought by the theologian, James Gallus of Caramagna, Canon-Archdeacon of the Cathedral of Ivræa. He made it his presbytery, added to it the present chapel and enriched it with gold, marble, stucco and paintings. It was very fitting; for in a place witness of the mysteries of such lofty sanctity, the city of Caramagna could not do less to testify its gratitude no less than its piety to the memory of the illustrious spouse of Christ."

In addition to this there is a chapel dedicated to her in the parish church. She is also held in particular veneration in Turin. On the publication of the decree of the Holy See approving of her cult, Napoleon I. donated an altar for the new chapel erected in her honor in that city. It was to have been marble, but only the modern portion was made, enriched with paintings. She is likewise honored in other churches in Turin, and the ribbon-workers of that city keep her feast on the first Sunday of September. The Dominican nuns of Chieri, on the right bank of the Po, not far from Turin, have her portrait, the head environed with an aureola, her brow encircled with a crown of thorns, a large cross on her left shoulder, a small cross over her heart, the stigmata, a lily in her hand, three rings on her finger, and the Holy Ghost, as it were, descending upon her. One of the large chapels in an older convent in Turin, where the order had two,¹³ is dedicated to her, and the Dominican tertiaries venerate her as their patroness.

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¹³ One of the convents was destroyed at the suppression, the purchaser dying in poverty; the other has passed out of the possession of the order and been converted into a college.

THE ESCHATOLOGY OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.*

*The special principles employed in the following exegesis are, for the most part, not original with the author, who desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to the article, "Jesus Christ," by the Rev. Leonce de Grandmaison, in the "Dictionnaire Apologetique de la Foi Catholique."

THE records of human history present the figure of a single man whose life-story has arrested such universal attention as to become a part of the common knowledge of mankind. That man is Jesus, the prophet of Nazareth. His four biographers unanimously record that He made for Himself the most tremendous claim that the human mind can even conceive—the claim of His own personal identity with the Deity. To such a claim the human mind, with its natural instinct for truth, immediately responds in the words of the ancient dilemma: "Aut Deus, aut non bonus." Either His assertion was true or He was an impostor. It then remains to choose between these two alternatives by examining the records of His life.

First, the Gospels themselves have been examined, not by impartial critics only, but by declared adversaries. Yet their historical value has never been successfully impeached. Simplicity, sincerity, self-consistency in the highest degree, first-hand experience of the facts recorded, unity of theme and purpose, historical and geographical accuracy and a marvelous concord in substantials combined with precisely that individual freedom in detail which precludes conspiracy—these are the notes which the Gospels bear upon their every page and line, and which stamp them as genuine and truthful if ever human writing was. No contemporary writer questions them, or even indirectly contradicts them. Many bear external testimony, intentional or unconscious, to their truth. And thousands of their readers, in many generations, have calmly and deliberately surrendered their very lives rather than assent to the doubtfulness, not of the naturally credible portions of this history, but of those of its assertions which appear most extravagant and improbable.

There is, therefore, no course remaining for the reasonable mind but to accept the truth of the record, and go on to examine the character of its hero. Again the dilemma, "Aut Deus, aut non bonus." He must therefore be taken as His biographers present Him, and judged on His own merits. In such a process the step must be from the second alternative to the first, as from the more easily to the less easily known. Was Jesus merely a pretender? For nearly twenty centuries the civilized world has been engaged in examining this question, each successive generation bringing to

bear upon the subject its newly acquired knowledge. The result is nothing less than startling. It is unanimously the verdict of Jesus' own supreme judge on earth: "I find no fault in this man."

But the obvious conclusion, to the former alternative, is to many an unwelcome one. Resentful of the proposal to assent to the truth of an inscrutable mystery, they tell us that all such conclusions are *a priori* irrational—as if, forsooth, the human intellect should only be discredited in confessing itself finite. This class of critics has sought refuge in a third possibility—that the hero of the Gospels was deluded. This theory has appeared in every stage, not even excluding the supposition that Jesus was insane. Such a charge was made against Him twice in His own lifetime—once by companions of his early life, startled by a misleading report of His sudden notoriety,¹ and later by some carping critics among His auditors.² The same charge has been occasionally repeated in later ages; but it is now definitely abandoned, as, indeed, it had been before His death. His contemporaries recorded its absolute rejection on their part, and they were surely the best judges. They subjected Him to five serious criminal trials, scourged Him to unconsciousness, nailed Him to a malefactor's gibbet and gathered around to overwhelm His dying moments with the bitterest reproaches that hatred could invent. No human society, civilized, barbarous or savage, ever meted out such treatment to a deluded visionary.

The defenders of the delusion theory, therefore, have been obliged to take up a milder position and search the records of Jesus' life for ordinary human error, aware that this, if established against Him, is no less fatal to His paramount claim. To summarize the history of this method of attack is not our present purpose, nor is it worthy of serious effort, since the general objections to which it appeals are so far-fetched that the least attempt at candid examination at once dispels them. There is, however, one particular department of the gospel history which seems to present more obvious difficulty, and which, in consequence, is a fruitful field for a certain modern school of rationalistic criticism. We refer to those portions of the predictions of Jesus which appear to involve a confusion of two distinct events: the end of the national existence of the Jews and the end of the world.

The nature of the objections derived from this source can only be understood by viewing the controverted predictions in their historical setting. The ideal of the Christ, the Messiah or Anointed of God, who was to appear as His vicegerent upon earth, had grown

¹ Mark iii., 21.

² John x., 20.

in clearness and definiteness from Moses through the prophetical writings until the last touch was added to the picture by Malachias, with whose message the prophetical canon of the Hebrews had closed some four centuries before the time of Jesus. During this latter interval the teachers of Israel, pondering over the more evident messianic passages in the sacred writings, had observed therein two distinct functions attributed to the Christ who was to come. On the one hand they found Him depicted as a lineal descendant of the great David and the ruler of a universal realm of order, justice and peace under the sway of those moral principles which as yet were the inheritance of Israel alone among the nations.³ On the other hand, they saw the promised Christ standing in the majesty of God amid the ruin of a falling universe, and, in the name and authority of the Creator, pronouncing upon every human soul the sentence of acceptance or of reprobation which its own moral decision had merited.⁴

These two ideals, the regal Christ and the "eschatological," the Jewish nation as a whole never succeeded in harmoniously uniting in the concept of a single person. In consequence, there arose two distinct schools of messianic doctrine and literature. Since the notion of an earthly reign of universal justice was preponderant in the vast majority of messianic passages of the Scriptures, it was but natural that Israel's official theologians, the rabbis of the various schools, should have emphasized the Christ of political supremacy (as they conceived him to be), to the virtual exclusion of His counterpart, the Christ of the final consummation. It was also but natural that this Christ of the rabbis should have become the expectation of the people and have rendered them incapable of comprehending a Christ whose visible reign on earth was to be but brief,⁵ but whose sway in the person of His successors would be both universal and perpetual.

But the eschatological conception of the Christ as final and supreme Judge, though far less prominent both in the Old Testament and in the mind of the people, was by no means doomed to extinction. Appearing in the later period of the sacred writings, it gained in force, after the last of the Prophets, to such an extent as to become the central theme of those⁶ of the Hebrew apocryphal writ-

³ Cf. Ps. xlv., lxxi.; Isa. ii., 2-4; ix., 6-7; xxxiii., 1-4; xl., 1-11; xlii., 1-12; xlix.; lxi.; Jer. xxxi., 31-34; xxxii., 37-40; Ezech. xxxiv., 32-34; Dan. ii., 44; 45; vii., 13, 14, 27; Amos ix., 11, 12; Mich. iv., 1-3; Zach. ix., 9-10; et al.

⁴ Cf. Isa. xxxiv., 1-4; ii., 5-6; Jer. xxv., 31-33; Dan. xii., 1-2; Joel iii., 11-15; Soph. iii., 8.

⁵ John xii., 34.

⁶ Book of Enoch; Book of Jubilees; Psalms of Solomon; et al.

ings which pertain to the class of literature known as "apocalyptic." The authors of these works did not, it is true, wholly reject the idea of a perpetual messianic reign on earth, nor of its political nature; but they foresaw this reign as inaugurated by the collapse of the whole existing social order and by a general judgment, the signal for which would be the very appearance of the Christ upon earth. The class with whom this idea found favor seems to have been the necessarily small fraternity of mystical and ascetical zealots; and Jesus Himself, in one of the passages which will be discussed, foretold that in future times of crisis and doubt there would arise impostors in whose doctrine the statements "I am He" and "The time is at hand" would be understood as virtually identical in meaning.⁷

It is mainly this historical distinctness of the eschatological from the regal ideal of the Christ that has furnished the above-mentioned rationalistic school with the peculiar viewpoint from which its attack on the inerrancy of Jesus' doctrine is derived. The members of this school differ somewhat in details of both matter and method; but their main contention is that Jesus Himself belonged to the eschatological school of Jewish interpreters. Neglecting or rejecting His clear and frequent references to the permanence of His doctrine through years of history yet to come, they lay a disproportionate stress upon His every utterance with regard to His office as supreme and final Judge. They would have us believe that this was in His estimation the central truth of His system; that His view of His own office was, if not actually inadequate, at least much more limited than His followers have always believed; and that, regarding Himself as the Christ in this aspect only, He also expected, as His own utterances show, that the end of His earthly testimony would be intimately connected, if not identical, with the end of all things earthly. Could this be indeed established, Jesus would stand convicted of serious error. The old argument, "*Aut Deus, aut non bonus*," would no longer be conclusive.

So inadequate a view of the mind of the Master could not have persisted, even for a generation, without some objective support. The supposed evidence lies in some real difficulties presented by those passages in the gospel narrative to which allusion has already been made. These passages are, mainly, four in number, and their contents may here be briefly indicated.

The first passage is peculiar to Matthew and occurs in his tenth chapter, where he records the first mission of the twelve apostles during the early part of Jesus' ministry, and the instructions which

⁷ Luke xxi., 8.

He gave them on that occasion. Among these instructions we find a warning of persecutions to come, terminating in a prediction that "the coming of the Son of man" will find the evangelization of Israel not yet completed.⁸

The second passage is common to the three "Synoptists"—Matthew, Mark and Luke. All of them place it in the same context—directly following Peter's great confession of faith and preceding the narrative of the Transfiguration. This passage begins with the lesson of constant self-denial in the following of Christ, and ends with the prediction that some of his present hearers shall see His coming with their mortal eyes.⁹

The third passage—the longest, the most complex and by far the most difficult—is also common, in its main content, to the three Synoptists. By all of them it is placed directly after the last public discourse of the Master's life. Upon His departure from the Temple at the conclusion of this discourse, on the Tuesday after His triumphal entrance into Jerusalem, an allusion to the magnificent buildings elicits from Him the amazing prediction that they will one day be razed to the ground. A little later, when asked how soon this is to happen and what events will herald its approach, Jesus utters the remarkable series of predictions which appear in this section, comprising an entire chapter in Matthew and Mark and the greater part of a chapter in Luke.¹⁰

The fourth and last passage in question is again common to all the Synoptists, and pertains to Jesus' own confession of His Messiahship, uttered before the Sanhedrin at a trial which, according to Matthew and Mark, took place during the night following His arrest, while Luke assigns it to the dawn of the following morning. This solemn profession of His divine office and mission Jesus proceeded to confirm by a prediction that His judges should witness His appearance in the full majesty of divine authority.¹¹

The difficulties arising from these portions of the gospel narrative may best be exhibited in their concrete analysis. We shall therefore begin with the third of the four passages above cited, as most fully exemplifying the principles of interpretation which govern all the four alike.

I. THE THIRD PASSAGE.

This lengthy discourse has been called "the Eschatological Gospel" on account of its exclusive devotion to "the consummation of

⁸ Matt. x., 16-23.

⁹ Matt. xvi., 24-28; Mark viii., 34-39; Luke ix., 23-27.

¹⁰ Matt. xxiv.; Mark xiii.; Luke xxi., 5-36.

¹¹ Matt. xxvi., 63-64; Mark xiv., 61-62; Luke xxi., 66-70.

things" and to the moral lessons deduced therefrom. The rationalistic argument against Jesus' perfect comprehension of His own mission and of the destiny of his doctrine on earth owes its whole force to certain real difficulties in the interpretation of this passage, which cast their shadow upon the more restricted assertions recorded in the other three. The first of these difficulties lies in the fact that the two events here predicted—the end of Jewish national existence and the end of the world—are strongly similar in some of their characteristic aspects. Secondly, their predictions are recorded by the evangelists in one and the same context. And thirdly, the distinctness of the two themes in the mind of the speaker is not always evident to the reader, owing to sudden and somewhat obscure transitions from one to the other.

These are the facts which lend countenance to the theory of the "eschatological school" of rationalistic exegesis. We are not concerned with the more moderate portion of this school, who would safeguard the inerrancy of Jesus only at the expense of the historical value of the narrative, by viewing the passage now under discussion as a conglomerate of preëxistent apocalyptic fragments with authentic discourses of the Master. Such a position is neither sound in itself nor necessary to the purpose. Insisting upon the historical integrity of the entire gospel record, our aim is the refutation of the more radical theory, that Jesus was possessed by the idea that His very presence on earth was a sign of the end of all things, which was to come, at the latest, within the life of His own generation; and that this is proved by the obvious sense of the passage now under discussion.

Had this passage never been written, the above theory would find little support elsewhere in the Gospels, many of whose statements are, in fact, its most abundant refutation. For Jesus everywhere speaks of His Church—the "Kingdom of heaven," "the Kingdom of God," and therefore the realm over which the Christ should reign—as destined to a prolonged history, and requiring, moreover, such a gradual growth and development of its latent powers as could only be consistent with the finite and imperfect social order of the present state of man, and not with the new and perfect order which is to succeed it. Now He likens the Church to a tiny seed destined to become a great tree;¹² now, to leaven permeating a mass of meal;¹³ now, to a field in which both wheat and cockle are to reach their full maturity before the time of harvesting.¹⁴ In a society whose mission was "to all nations,"¹⁵ and whose benefits

¹² Matt. xiii., 31-32.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 33.

¹⁴ Mark xiii., 24-30, 37-43.

¹⁵ Matt. xxviii., 19.

were to be offered to "every creature,"¹⁶ the concepts expressed in these figures could not be verified in one generation, nor, indeed, in many, but only through centuries of continuous existence. And as if to make His purpose clear beyond possibility of dispute, Jesus frequently refers to His own visible absence from His Church as prolonged far into the future. He is the master "going into a far country"¹⁷ and returning only "after a long time;"¹⁸ He is the son and heir of the lord of the vineyard, which, after His murder, is to be let out to other and worthier occupants than the first.¹⁹

In the light of these teachings, the theory that Jesus was only a representative of the eschatological school of messianic interpreters of His own time falls utterly to the ground, unless it can be successfully maintained that in the passage now under examination He actually and clearly contradicts Himself. It is evident that such a claim cannot be reasonably established by any mere off-hand assertions based upon a superficial reading of the passage in question. To follow such a method would be to set at defiance the simplest principle of exegesis by opposing a single passage of doubtful import against what is clearly the mind of the Gospel as a whole. If any reasonable explanation of the "eschatological gospel" can be offered which is in accord with the rest of Jesus' teachings, the presumption is certainly in favor of that explanation.

Not only, we believe, can such an explanation be found, but even more. Our purpose is to offer a reasonable explanation of the three sources of difficulty already indicated. This involves:

(a) An explanation of the elements in which the two events here predicted are similar and of those wherein they differ.

(b) An explanation of their appearance in the same context.

(c) The assignment of obscure transitional portions to their proper connection with one theme or the other, and the reasons for such assignment.

Before proceeding, however, to this discussion, it becomes necessary for the convenience of the reader to transcribe in full the passages under treatment. In doing so, we shall indicate at once the division which the subsequent arguments will tend to justify.

THE INTRODUCTION.

Matthew xxiv.

Mark xxi.

Luke xxi.

(1) And Jesus being come out of the temple, said unto his disciples, Behold, I send you forth as witnesses unto all nations. (1) And as he was going out of the temple, he said unto his disciples, Behold, I send you forth as witnesses unto all nations. (5) And some saying of the temple, that it was adorned with goodly

¹⁶ Mark xvi., 16.

¹⁷ Luke xix., 12.

¹⁸ Matt. xxv., 19.

¹⁹ Matt. xxi., 33-41; Mark xxi., 1-9; Luke xx., 9-16.

disciples came to show him the buildings of the temple. (2) And he answering, said to them: Do you see all these things? Amen I say to you, there shall not be left here a stone upon a stone that shall not be destroyed. (3) And when he was sitting on mount Olivet, the disciples came to him privately, saying: Tell us when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the consummation of the world?

to him: Master, behold what manner of stones, and what buildings are here. (2) And Jesus answering, said to him: Seest thou all these great buildings? There shall not be left a stone upon a stone, that shall not be thrown down. (3) And as he sat on the mount of Olivet, over against the temple, Peter and James and John and Andrew asked him apart: (4) Tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign when all these things shall begin to be fulfilled?

stones and gifts, he said: These things which you see, the days will come in which there shall not be left a stone upon a stone that shall not be thrown down. (7) And they asked him, saying: Master, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign when they shall begin to come to pass?

PART 1.

(4) And Jesus answering, said to them: Take heed that no man seduce you: (5) for many will come in my name saying: I am Christ: and they will seduce many. (6) And you shall hear of wars and rumors of wars. See that ye be not troubled. For these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet. (7) For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom; and there shall be pestilences, and famines, and earthquakes in places; (8) now all these are the beginnings of sorrows. (9) Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall put you to death: and you shall be hated by all nations for my name's sake. (10) And then shall many be scandalized: and shall betray one another, and shall hate one another. (11) And many false prophets shall rise, and shall seduce many. (12) And because iniquity hath abounded, the charity of many shall grow cold. (13) But he that shall persevere to the end, he shall be saved. (14) And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world, for a testimony to all nations, and then shall the consummation come.

(5) And Jesus answering, began to say to them: Take heed lest any man deceive you. (6) For many shall come in my name, saying, I am he; and they shall deceive many. (7) And when you shall hear of wars and rumors of wars, fear ye not. For such things must needs be, but the end is not yet. (8) For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, and there shall be earthquakes in divers places, and famines. These things are the beginnings of sorrows. (9) But look to yourselves. For they shall deliver you up to councils, and in the synagogues you shall be beaten, and you shall stand before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony unto them. (10) And unto all nations the gospel must first be preached. (11) And when they shall lead you and deliver you up, be not thoughtful beforehand what you shall speak; but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye. For it is not you that speak, but the Holy Ghost. (12) And the brother shall betray his brother unto death, and the father his son; and children shall rise up against the parents, and shall work their death.

(8) Who said, Take heed you be not seduced; for many will come in my name, saying: I am he; and the time is at hand: go ye not therefore after them. (9) And when you shall hear of wars and seditions, be not terrified: these things must first come to pass; but the end is not yet presently. (10) Then he said to them: Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. (11) And there shall be great earthquakes in divers places, and pestilences, and famines, and (12) But before all these things, they will lay their hands on you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues and into prisons, dragging you before kings and governors, for my name's sake. (13) And it shall happen unto you for a testimony. (14) Lay it up therefore in your hearts, not to meditate before how you shall answer: (15) for I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to resist and gainsay. (16) And you shall be betrayed by your parents and brethren, and kinsmen and friends; and some of you they will put to death. (17) And you shall be hated by all men for my

(18) And you shall be hated by all men for my name's sake. But he that shall endure unto the end, he shall be saved.

PART 2.

(15) When therefore you shall see the abomination of desolation, which was spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place: he that readeth let him understand.

(16) Then they that are in Judea, let them flee to the mountains: (17) and he that is on the housetop, let him not come down to take anything out of his house: (18) and he that is in the field, let him not go back to take his coat. (19) And woe to them that are with child, and that give suck in those days. (20) But pray that your flight be not in the winter, or on the sabbath.

(14) And when you shall see the abomination of desolation, standing where it ought not: he that readeth let him understand: then let them that are in Judea, flee unto the mountains: (15) and let him that is on the housetop, not go down into the house, nor enter therein to take anything out of the house: (16) and let him that shall be in the field, not turn back to take up his garment. (17) And woe to them that are with child, and that give suck in those days. (18) But pray ye that these things happen not in winter.

(20) And when you shall see Jerusalem compassed about with an army; then know that the desolation thereof is at hand. (21) Then let those who are in Judea, flee to the mountains; and those who are in the midst thereof, depart out: and those who are in the countries, not enter into it. (22) For these are the days of vengeance, that all things may be fulfilled, that are written. (23) But woe to them that are with child, and give suck in those days; for there shall be great distress in the land, and wrath upon this people. (24) And they shall fall by the edge of the sword; and shall be led away captives into all nations; and Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentiles; till the times of the nations be fulfilled.

PART 3.

(21) For there shall be then great tribulation, such as hath not been from the beginning of the world until now, neither shall be. (22) And unless those days had been shortened, no flesh should be saved; but for the sake of the elect those days shall be shortened. (23) Then if any man shall say to you: Lo here is Christ, or there; do not believe him. (24) For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders, insomuch as to deceive (if possible even the elect. (25) Behold I have told it to you beforehand. (26) If therefore they shall say to you: Behold he is in the desert, go ye not out: behold he is in the closets, believe it not. (27) For as

(19) For in those days shall be such tribulations, as were not from the beginning of the creation which God created until now, neither shall be. (20) And unless the Lord had shortened the days, no flesh should be saved; but for the sake of the elect which he hath chosen, he hath shortened the days. (21) And then if any man shall say to you, Lo, here is Christ; lo, he is here: do not believe. (22) For there will rise up false Christs and false prophets, and they shall show signs and wonders, to seduce (if it were possible) even the elect. (23) Take you heed therefore; behold I have foretold you all things.

lightning cometh out of the east, and appeareth even into the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be. (28) Whosoever the body shall be, there shall the eagles also be gathered together.

PART 4.

(29) And immediately after the tribulation of those days, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of heaven shall be moved. (30) And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn: and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with much power and majesty. (31) And he shall send his angels with a trumpet, and a great voice: and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from the farthest parts of the heavens to the utmost bounds of them.

(24) But in those days, after that tribulation, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light. (25) And the stars of heaven shall be falling down, and the powers that are in heaven shall be moved. (26) And then shall they see the Son of man coming in the clouds, with great power and glory. (27) And then shall he send his angels, and shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from the uttermost part of the earth to the uttermost part of heaven.

(25) And there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars; and upon the earth distress of nations, by reason of the confusion of the roaring of the sea and of the waves; (26) men withering away for fear, and expectation of what shall come upon the whole world. For the powers of heaven shall be moved; (27) and then they shall see the Son of man coming in a cloud with great power and majesty. (28) But when these things begin to come to pass, look up, and lift up your heads, because your redemption is at hand.

PART 5.

(32) And from the fig-tree learn a parable: when the branch thereof is now tender, and the leaves come forth, you know that summer is nigh. (33) So you also, when you shall see all these things, know ye that it is nigh, even at the doors. (34) Amen I say to you, that this generation shall not pass, till all these things be done. (35) Heaven and earth shall pass, but my words shall not pass.

(28) Now of the fig-tree learn ye a parable. When the branch thereof is now tender, and the leaves are come forth, you know that summer is very near. (29) So you also when you shall see these things come to pass, know ye that it is very nigh, even at the doors. (30) Amen I say to you, that this generation shall not pass, until all these things be done. (31) Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.

(29) And he spoke to them a similitude. See the fig-tree, and all the trees: (30) when they now shoot forth their fruit, you know that summer is nigh; (31) so you also, when you shall see these things come to pass, know that the kingdom of God is at hand. (32) Amen I say to you, this generation shall not pass away, till all things be fulfilled. (33) Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.

PART 6.

(36) But of that day and hour no one knoweth, no, not the angels of heaven, but the Father alone. (37) And as in the days of Noe, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be. (38) For as in the days before the flood,

(32) But of that day or hour no man knoweth, neither the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but the Father. (33) Take ye heed, watch and pray. For ye know not when the time is. (34) Even as a man who going into a far

(34) And take heed to yourselves, lest perhaps your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness, and the cares of this life, and that day come upon you suddenly. (35) For as a snare shall it come upon all that sit upon

they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, even till that day in which Noe entered into the ark, (39) and they knew not till the flood came, and took them all away: so also shall the coming of the Son of man be. (40) Then two shall be in the field: one shall be taken, and one shall be left. (41) Two women shall be grinding at the mill: one shall be taken, and one shall be left. (42) Watch ye therefore, because you know not what hour your Lord will come. (43) But this know ye, that if the good man of the house knew at what hour the thief would come, he would certainly watch, and would not suffer his house to be broken open. (44) Wherefore be you also ready, because at what hour you know not, the Son of man will come. (45) Who, thinkest thou, is a faithful and wise servant, whom his lord hath appointed over his family, to give them meat in season? (46) Blessed is that servant, whom when his lord shall come, he shall find so doing. (47) Amen I say to you, he shall place him over all his goods. (48) But if that evil servant shall say in his heart, My lord is long a coming: (49) and shall begin to strike his fellow-servants, and shall eat, and drink with drunkards: (50) the lord of that servant shall come in a day that he hopeth not, and at an hour that he knoweth not: (51) and shall separate him, and appoint his portion with the hypocrites. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

In the above division of this much-discussed passage we neglect for the present a minute analysis of the discourse and confine ourselves to the indication of its dominant themes. The resulting division shows one introductory paragraph and six others comprising the body of the discourse. The introduction²⁰ relates the cir-

²⁰ Matt. xxiv., 1-3.; Mark xiii., 1-4; Luke xxi., 5-7.

circumstances of Jesus' first prediction and the disciples' request for further information. The six remaining paragraphs record the Master's predictions and admonitions on the two subjects proposed: the fall of Jerusalem and the final judgment of all mankind. The first paragraph²¹ enumerates the calamities which are to precede and foreshadow the destruction of Jerusalem and the ruin of the Jewish nation; the second paragraph²² foretells the catastrophe itself. Now the theme changes, and the second question of the disciples—"what shall be the sign of Thy coming, and of the consummation of the world?"—is answered in a similar order, the third paragraph²³ warning them of calamities which must afflict the Church before the end of the world, while the fourth²⁴ foretells the sudden and unprefigured arrival of the end itself. In the fifth paragraph²⁵ we are again recalled to the fall of Jerusalem by a brief parable, warning the disciples of the unerring certainty with which that event shall follow the calamities already designated as its signs. Finally, the sixth paragraph²⁶ performs a corresponding office with respect to the final coming of Christ, embodying an admonition, also by means of a parable, to be ever watchful and prepared for an event which no determinate signs shall prefigure, and which shall come suddenly and without warning upon all.

We are now prepared to examine successively the root-principles of the difficulties presented by our passage, in which principles alone can be found the key to a true solution.

(A) CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TWO EVENTS.

The first source of difficulty in distinguishing the two events here predicted lies in the fact that they possess certain marked characteristics in common. Both are represented as real historical events in future time. Moreover, several of their physical and moral aspects are expressible, and in some cases actually expressed, in terms which are equally appropriate to either the one event or the other. Thus, although the term "Parousia," literally "a being present," and hence "a becoming present" or "arrival"²⁷ has in modern exegesis been by common consent restricted to the final coming of the Christ in judgment, it is nevertheless true that the fearful abolition of the ancient sanctuary and its rites, together with the miraculous powers and diffusion of Christianity, was also

²¹ Matt. iv., 14; Mark v., 13; Luke viii., 10.

²² Matt. xv., 20; Mark xiv., 13; Luke xx., 24.

²³ Matt. xxi., 28; Mark xix., 23; Luke elsewhere.

²⁴ Matt. xx., 31; Mark xxiv., 27; Luke xxv., 28.

²⁵ Matt. xxxii., 35; Mark xxviii., 31; Luke xxix., 33.

²⁶ Matt. xxxvi., 51; Mark xxxii., 37; Luke xxxiv., 36.

²⁷ Cf. the LXX. in Judith x., 18; 2 Macc. viii., 12; xv., 21; 3 Macc. iii., 17.

a real "coming" of Christ to judge His faithless people by the patent triumph of His own cause and by a manifest rejection of that dispensation which had outlived its purpose in the divine economy when it formally renounced God's supreme representative in the flesh. Again, the expressions "consummation" and "end" are by their very nature appropriate to the closing of the probation of either an apostate nation or a faithless race.²⁸ Moreover, since moral probation in either case must be thorough, it follows that either event will be preceded by "tribulations" calculated to test the principles by which men live and to sift the faithful from among the reprobate. And because of this final accumulation of trials, either event when it does occur will bear in some sense the character of a "judgment," whereby the good and the evil, already separated by their own choice, will stand publicly manifested as the recipients of reward or of punishment. And finally, the judgment, the judgment in either case will in itself be a manifestation of the "glory," the "power," the "majesty" of the Judge, whether such manifestation consist only in the triumph of His cause or whether it also involve the visible glorification of His Person.

But if the two "comings" of Christ to "judgment" are identical in these aspects, they differ in certain other marks which are not less characteristic. Within the scope of the above narrative, the "coming of the Son of man" is invested with attributes not only irreconcilable, but mutually contradictory. Now are His disciples warned to save themselves from the catastrophes of judgment by fleeing from Judaea,²⁹ and now are they assured that not even the uttermost part of the earth can afford them refuge.³⁰ Now is the Master's coming as certainly to be foreseen from the signs of the times as is the approach of summer from the budding of the trees;³¹ now is His coming so sudden and unannounced that only eternal vigilance is the price of salvation.³² Whether attributes so contrary as these should appear in the same context, or as far asunder as the first page of the Gospel from its last, one thing is certain: they cannot possibly be predicated of one and the same physical event. Jesus in this passage is certainly recorded as predicting, not one coming only, but two; and in these distinctive attributes He clearly supplies us with the first key to the correct analysis of the passage in question.

²⁸ Although the noun itself does not occur in the LXX, the verb is frequent, its fundamental meaning being "to bring to an end," whether by simply "completing" a work (Isa. x., 12) or by "consuming" (Id. l., 28; x., 23).

²⁹ Matt. xxiv., 16-20; Mark xiii., 14-18; Luke xxi., 21-23.

³⁰ Matt. xxx., 31; Mark xxvi., 27; Luke xxvi., 28.

³¹ Matt. xxxii., 33; Mark xxviii., 29; Luke xxix., 31.

³² Matt. xxxvi., 51; Mark xxxii., 27; Luke xxxiv., 36.

(B) THEIR IDENTIFICATION IN CONTEXT.

But, it is asked, if Jesus intended to foretell two distinct events, why are the two sets of predictions thus intermingled?

The question of context may become a vexed one for the harmonist of the Gospels unless one simple principle be borne in mind. In the Gospels, no less than in any other historical or biographical work, regard must be had for the degree of accuracy in chronological order which serves the purpose of the author. A very common practice, even in carefully arranged biographies, is that of grouping together facts which illustrate a tendency in the subject's career or a phase of his character, with little or no regard for the order of their occurrence in time. More readily may this be expected in writings whose authors tell their story with but slight pretence to orderly sequence in detail. But most of all should we be prepared for a topical rather than a chronological arrangement in biographical sketches whose material, however carefully preserved, is positively known to have been matter of oral tradition, and that in very common use, for years before it was ever committed to writing. Even Luke's prefatory announcement of his intention to write "in order"⁸³ is, in view of the above fact, subject to some qualification; and the other two Synoptists neither profess nor betray any such intention, at least in matters of detail. All this considered, we may soundly admit the possibility that "the Eschatological Gospel" was not, as it stands, uttered consecutively on one occasion.

There are internal signs that this is not only a possibility but a fact. Two passages of considerable length appearing in Matthew's version of this discourse and partly in Mark's are placed by Luke in other contexts.⁸⁴ Yet that Luke is throughout the whole discourse (as some would have it) designedly the redactor and corrector of the other two cannot be successfully maintained so long as it cannot be shown independently that Luke himself, either here or elsewhere, never resorts to an arrangement which is topical rather than chronological.

In view of the above considerations and in the light of the paramount moral purpose of the Church in relating her Founder's life and teachings, it is by no means abnormal that two predictions so largely at one in moral import, even though uttered separately in the Master's actual teachings, should appear in one context in the evangelical record. The very least that can be said is that the superficial appearance thus presented of their confusion one with

⁸³ Luke i., 3.

⁸⁴ Compare Matt. xxiv., 23-28 and 37-41 with Luke xvii., 22-37; also Matt. xxiv., 45-51, with Luke xii., 37-46.

the other is very far from being a sufficient reason for concluding that two such events were ever actually confused in the mind of their predictor. Nor is the possibility just allowed—that the present arrangement of the two predictions is due to the evangelists and not to Jesus Himself—necessary to establish our contention, since even their original utterance in this form would have been entirely in keeping with a recognized device of prophetic style, of which more anon.³⁵

That Jesus' disciples before His ascension did actually regard the two events as one is evident from their question as recorded by Matthew.³⁶ To their minds, not yet illuminated by the plenary gift of the Holy Ghost, the destruction of God's ancient dispensation might well seem identical with the consummation of all things earthly. From this, however, it by no means follows that the same idea still governed their minds at the time when the Gospels were written. From certain of the Epistles many passages might be adduced which would serve to refute such an hypothesis. This, however, is not to our present purpose, since we are directly concerned with the mind of Jesus, not of His disciples. Suffice it to say only what concerns us here: that no supposition of the persistence of this error in the apostolic age is necessary in order to account for the appearance of the two sets of predictions contained in the passage now before us. For this phenomenon abundant reasons have already been given.

Two of the three sources of difficulty in this passage have thus been removed. It now remains to cope with the particular difficulties presented by certain transitional verses whose reference to one or the other event is more or less obscure.

(C) SPECIAL DIFFICULTIES IN TRANSITION.

The task now before us is really involved in a larger one, namely, the division of the whole passage according to the scheme already indicated. For it is obvious that in case of a statement whose reference is ambiguous, the reasons advanced for placing it in either connection must rest largely upon principles governing the exegesis of the whole passage. The chief of these principles—the key furnished by contrary characteristics of the two events predicted—has already been noticed, and will be followed as the main basis of division throughout.

A second principle, though greatly subordinate in importance to

³⁵ Vid. *inf.* pages 23, 35.

³⁶ Matt. xxiv., 3: "Tell us, when shall these things (i. e., the destruction of the Temple) be, and what shall be the sign of Thy coming, and of the consummation of the world?"

the first, and by no means so frequently in demand, appears in the style of the discourse, which is preëminently that employed in the writings of the prophets. Not only are many figures borrowed from this source, but the whole passage abounds in citations, more or less direct, of the prophetic books of the Old Testament. The value of this consideration will not merely appear in the one or two references which may throw light upon some particular exegesis. Applied to the passage as a whole, it accounts for the mingling of two predictions, not at haphazard, but in the form of an extended parallel already hinted at—a device by no means uncommon to the prophets of Israel.

We shall therefore subject the whole passage to the analysis which lies at the basis of the suggested division, endeavoring to point out the difficulties as they may occur and to solve them in the light of the principles already stated.

(1) The Introductory Question.

The introductory section simply narrates Jesus' first prediction of the ruin of the temple and the request of His disciples for a more explicit account of its time and circumstances. Israel was at peace under the yoke of Rome, and, though always somewhat restless, was now fairly well governed and prosperous. The magnificent temple itself was a monument to one who had wielded His power under the favor of the Cæsars. Nothing save national independence now seemed wanting to complete Israel's glory and establish its peace. Hence the astonishment created in the minds of the disciples by the prediction of a complete and final overthrow, at a moment when no sign of its approach could be discerned.

All of the Synoptists record a twofold question: "When shall these things be?" and "What shall be the sign?" Matthew alone reveals to us an inference which the disciples had naturally drawn: that the fall of the ancient covenant must involve the end of all things. Here the second question is, "What shall be the sign of Thy coming and of the consummation of the world?"

(2) The First Paragraph.

Jesus now addresses Himself to the answering of this twofold question in so far as the revelation befits His purpose and the comprehension of His disciples. The first paragraph, as already noted, enumerates certain trials which will precede the downfall of Jerusalem. The primary purpose in this section is to prepare the disciples to endure those trials in the patience and confidence of a certain faith.

They are not to suppose that Judaism will come to its end suddenly and without an intervening period of gradual dissolution. After His departure false Messiahs will arise and will gain followers. Civil strife³⁷ will rage; social calamities and even natural convulsions will be reported from various quarters of the world. Thus are foretold the miseries which, according to Josephus and others, accumulated to such a fearful degree in Palestine itself shortly before the fall of the city. But "before all these things," and therefore soon after the Master's departure, the disciples will have to bear the harder trial of rejection. They shall answer for their faith, first in the synagogues³⁸ of their own people, then "before governors and kings," until, in the days of Nero, they will "be hated of all the nations." Apostasies and treacherous betrayals will result within the very body of the faithful, nay, within families themselves. The "false prophets" of heresy, too, will begin to show themselves during this period, and will meet with only too much success. But the disciples are not to be "troubled," that is, shaken in their faith, by all this; the Church and her mission not only will not perish from the earth, but the individual who holds fast his faith "to the end" of his personal struggle shall prove its saving power to his own eternal satisfaction.

Thus the main theme of this section demands its assignment as a whole to the destruction of the old dispensation. Running parallel with this, however, there is a subordinate theme which is never lost sight of; a series of cautions calculated, when the words should afterwards be recalled in the light of a clearer knowledge, to prevent the confusion of the two ideas which had been identified in the disciples' question. The calamities described are signs that the faithless people of God's first choice are hastening to their merited destruction; but this by no means indicates that the new dispensation is about to perish with the old in one general judgment of the world. Against this misconception of the Church's future the disciples are repeatedly cautioned. The apostle may perish, but his cause will not perish with him. The false Messiahs are not to be credited in teaching that "the time is at hand." "These things" of which the disciples had asked "must come to pass; but the end" of which they had also asked "is not yet." For "all these are the beginnings of birth-pangs."³⁹ The Synagogue may perish in bring-

³⁷ For this meaning of "nation against nation, and kingdom against kingdom." cf. Isa. xix., 2. apparently cited here; also the phrase "house upon house." Luke xi., 15—"a house against itself."

³⁸ So Mark and Luke in loc.—a statement which could not possibly be verified after the destruction of Jerusalem.

³⁹ Matt., Mark, in loc. This word, frequently used in the writings of the prophets (cf. Isa. xlii., 8; Jer. vi., 24; xlii., 21; et al.), has here, as usually, its full figurative force, and strongly implies a reference to Mich. iv., 7-13, esp. 10.

ing forth the Church, but the latter has her future still before her. For, notwithstanding every obstacle, "this Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached in the whole world, for a testimony to all nations." Not until this has been done "shall the consummation come."

This last statement refers, it is true, to the Parousia, but only to distinguish that event from the judgment of Israel. It is true that Matthew's expression "the whole world" in the original⁴⁰ can as it stands be restricted to the civilized world as then known, namely, the Roman Empire, the greater part of which had heard the preaching of the Gospel before Jerusalem fell. But Matthew's use of this phrase is not unqualified. He adds that this universal proclamation is to serve "for a testimony to all (the) nations,"⁴¹ that is, "all the Gentiles," precisely as contrasted with the Jews. It is therefore evident that he indicates the same period as that of which Luke says, in a later section, "Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentiles, until the times of the nations be fulfilled."⁴²

Here, then, recurring again and again throughout this section, is a practical caution to which evident importance is attached—a warning to the disciples not to fall into the very error which the "eschatological" school of rationalism would attribute to the mind of the speaker himself! It is difficult to conceive how he could more explicitly have stated that the new covenant was to outlive the old; that the death of the old would be but the birth of the new; that ages of probation must pass before the world as a whole should stand condemned, as Israel already did, of having rejected its own salvation.

• (3) *The Second Paragraph.*

Continuing the theme of the fall of Judaism, Jesus now passes from the trials and calamities foreshadowing that event to the event itself. The investment of Jerusalem by the armies of Titus will be the beginning of the end. Flight must, then, be hasty and unprepared for those who have failed to read the former signs and to save themselves (as the Christians of Jerusalem actually did) while there was time for a more leisurely escape. Now there will be no time for the collection of personal property, even the most necessary. Fortunate shall he be who is unencumbered and swift of flight. Neither the severities of the climate nor the rigors of the law will be abated in favor of the unlucky fugitives. Even the pity which all humanity shows towards a woman with child cannot, then,

⁴⁰ Matt. xxiv., 14.

⁴¹ Matt. xxiv., 14.

⁴² Luke xxi., 24

be expected. For mercy's day is past; "these are the days of vengeance."

(4) *The Third Paragraph.*

In the assignment of the next two verses we encounter our first real difficulty. Luke having transferred the whole section to another context,⁴⁸ we must depend upon Matthew and Mark. With the exception of the first two verses, the section as a whole presents no difficulty. It speaks in unmistakable terms of an age of affliction preceding another and a greater catastrophe than that of Jerusalem. Again arise false Christs, again false prophets; and now their message is confirmed by signs which seem to exceed the powers of nature. Only the elect, whose faith rests upon the firm foundation of an infallible guidance, will be safe from deception. But these already know all that has been "foretold." They know that they are apt not now to look for a coming which is "here" or "there," for a Christ Who must be sought out in the solitudes of nature or in the secrecy of human habitation. The only coming they have now to expect is one which shall overspread the universal realm of human vision as the lightning-flash illumines the whole sky. Evidently the theme has now changed to the Parousia, or rather to the days of great trial which are to come before it.

But to which event are we to assign the two verses in question—the twenty-first and twenty-second of Matthew's version, the nineteenth and twentieth of Mark's? This unannounced change in the subject of the discourse seems abrupt enough in any case; but where does the transition take place? Even the Fathers of the Church are divided in opinion here. At first sight we should say that the prediction of the "great tribulation" continues the theme of Jerusalem's fall. Both the evangelists seem to connect it closely with the preceding verse by using the conjunction "for," as if giving additional reasons for fleeing from the doomed city. Matthew, moreover, says that the tribulation shall be "then;" Mark, "in those days." Both speak of them as unparalleled in human experience; and Josephus' account of the last days of Jerusalem, with their wild carnival of every conceivable form of horror and despair, seems an all but literal fulfillment of such a prediction.

But the Master's words in this context breathe an atmosphere of solemnity and precision which seems to preclude hyperbole. He speaks of a period of affliction so general in its extent, so crushing in its severity, that neither "from the beginning of the creation which God created" has anything like it occurred, nor shall anything comparable to it occur again. Of what could this be true ex-

⁴⁸ *Vid. sup. note 34.*

cept of the great final sifting of the human race, for which ages of abundant grace will have prepared the way, and which will prove on the one hand the power of that grace in those who live thereby, and on the other the supreme sin of its rejection? So great will be the calamities of this age, that were the powers of evil permitted to pursue their course unchecked, "no flesh" could emerge from the ordeal untainted by surrender; but for the sake of His elect, God will intervene. It is difficult to verify either of these statements in the destruction of Jerusalem. Those days were not shortened; the grim tragedy was acted out to the end. Forty thousand Jews, it is true, are said to have escaped death; but none of these could be called "the elect" when the Christians were already safe in Pella; and had every inhabitant of Jerusalem actually perished, the statement that "no flesh should be saved" would be restricted to a merely relative verification which ill accords with the tone of the context.

In the second place, though the evidence is by no means conclusive in itself, it is at least noteworthy that the passage in Daniel's prophecy,⁴⁴ which is cited in the first of these two verses, is one of the very few in the Old Testament which clearly refer to the last judgment.

Thirdly, it is quite true that the conjunction "for" and the adverbs "then" and "in those days," with their apparent reference to the preceding theme, are difficult to account for in the light of this arrangement. But, on the other hand, if these two transitional verses be assigned to the fall of Jerusalem, not one, but two such difficulties arise. The first of them appears in the beginning of the next paragraph, whose reference to the Parousia is beyond question. There we are told that the Parousia will occur "immediately after the tribulation of those days," evidently referring to the trials last mentioned and not to those preceding the fall of Jerusalem. (This phrase will require some special attention in its proper place.) Nor does this statement necessarily conflict with what has been said above, to the effect that no series of prior events can serve as a sign of the nearness of the final coming. Its suddenness and the rapidity and finality of the accompanying judgment will render valueless any preparation which does not endure to the very moment of decision; and moreover, if "those days shall be shortened" the Parousia will doubtless interrupt "the great tribulation" midway in its natural course and thus be all the more sudden and unexpected.

Again, if the two verses under discussion be referred to the fall of Jerusalem another express connection must be broken. For they are immediately followed by the words: "*Then* if any man shall say

⁴⁴ Daniel xii., 1, 2.

to you, Lo, here is Christ or there, do not believe him." The connection here is not only grammatical, but logical. At a time when even the faithful are to be tried to the utmost of their power of endurance there is especial danger of their embracing a false and substitute Christianity in the form of some system of compromise acceptable to the powers of the world. It is "then" that the appeal of Anti-Christ must be most clearly discerned and most positively rejected by all who would be "worthy to stand before the Son of man."

From these considerations, it seems reasonable to begin the third paragraph of Jesus' discourse with the first of the two verses in question, referring them both to the final period of great trial. The force of the initial "for" is not an insuperable obstacle, considering the abhorrence of the Greek idiom for abrupt and unintroduced discourse, in preference to which even such a particle might possibly indicate a general and loose connection rather than an exact causal sequence.

(5) The Fourth Paragraph.

The opening words of this section, in the versions of Matthew and Mark, may at first sight appear to increase our difficulties. Mark begins with what seems a strongly adversative phrase—"But in these days, after that tribulation"—as if returning to a former theme after some parenthetical interruption. Matthew begins: "And immediately after the tribulation of those days." The apparently abrupt transition in Mark and the qualification, by both evangelists, of the "tribulation" in question by the demonstratives "that" and "those," rather than "this" and "these"—such features of the style might appear to recall not the period of affliction just alluded to, but that other described so minutely and vividly in the first and second paragraphs as incidental to the judgment of the old dispensation. Or, again, these opening words may seem to insinuate the real identity of the two periods of trial, thus at one stroke evading the objection of a too remote reference and also tending to revive and accentuate the difficulty of the two introductory verses in the paragraph last treated. Could this be reasonably established, the argument of our adversaries would be greatly strengthened, since Jesus would seem to have expected the Parousia to follow close upon the fall of Jerusalem.

But even if all the positive reasons already adduced against this view could be ignored, the difficulty as it stands would be but specious. The apparent transitional force of Matthew's and Mark's initial phrases here is not a whit too strong for the introduction of the same solemn theme in the whole discourse; whereas, it is far

from being strong enough to suggest a backward leap over the whole preceding section to a connection with something lying still further in the rear. That two distinct periods of "tribulation" have been predicted is abundantly clear from the contrast of some of their characteristic features. To make the present section begin with a reference to the first of these periods is utterly to violate its natural and obvious connection with the second.

If this difficulty is not a real one, much less can there be any reasonable question about the reference of the words which follow. Suddenly and without warning the whole natural order undergoes a series of inexplicable convulsions, as though the physical universe itself were in the throes of dissolution. Immediately the Son of man appears, not merely in the public defeat of His enemies, but in a visible glorification of His own proper person, even as Daniel's vision⁴⁶ had once depicted Him, "coming in the clouds of heaven, with much power and majesty." Every eye sees and recognizes Him. By His power His messengers assemble all the children of men in a concourse so universal and searching that not a corner of the earth can serve as a refuge for any who would fain escape the coming scrutiny. It is needless to say that, whatever allowance may be made for figurative language, the obviously literal portions of this section are applicable to no other event than the Parousia.

(6) The Fifth Paragraph.

Although this passage, containing the parable of the fig-tree, follows close upon the last, it is evident that it introduces a change in the theme of the discourse. The two events predicted have already been described in their logical order—first, the nearer in time, then the more remote. Each of them, moreover, has been treated according to a definite process, the moral preparation for the event being first described, and then the event itself. The historical facts of both events having been thus set forth, it is now time for their moral application. It is therefore but natural that the practical conclusions from the two should follow the same order as that of the main body of the discourse.

First, then, in the present section comes the lesson to be drawn from what has been said of the destruction of the old dispensation. This lesson is that that destruction will surely come, and will come while yet the Church is in her infancy. The years immediately following the departure of Jesus may find the great body of the Jews still unmoved in their rejection of His mission. But that mission will triumph. The old order, from which the divine authority has departed, will fall in ruins upon its self-willed votaries. And when

⁴⁶ Daniel vii., 13.

the storm of calamity and persecution begins, the faithful ones of Christ may read its lesson with a confidence as implicit as that which sees the promise of summer in the budding leaves of spring. Then must the Church begin to enlarge her borders and enter with all her zeal upon the wider sphere of activity opening before her. For even within that same generation which condemned her Master to death, her cradle, the ancient city of God, shall be no more, and she shall find herself "as needy, yet enriching many; as having nothing, and possessing all things"—the divinely appointed teacher and guide, no longer of a single nation, but of all nations and all times to be.

The only suggestion of difficulty in this passage arises from the fact that Jesus twice makes reference to "all these things," as though alluding to the section just preceding. Whether or not in His actual conversation some gesture or sign may have made the reference of the pronoun clear to His hearers, we have no means of knowing. It is certain, however, that if "these things" which are to be fulfilled before "this generation shall pass away,"⁴⁶ are, as our opponents would have it, the events of the Parousia, the result is an inextricable tangle, induced in defiance of every positive principle hitherto established for the exegesis of this discourse, and resting upon no positive ground of its own excepting the apparent reference of a demonstrative.

If the contrary reference be not sufficiently established by the main principles hitherto followed, two additional facts may be worthy of observation. The first is, that Jesus in the words "all these things" is actually reproducing the very phrase of His interrogators. It was with precise reference to His prediction of the destruction of the temple that they had asked: "When shall these things be, and what shall be the sign when *all these things* shall begin to be fulfilled?" The natural presumption is that, in returning now to their original words, He is speaking of the matter to which those words had reference. That He is speaking of some event of which other events will be a most certain sign is evident from His words. That such event is not His final coming to judge the world is equally evident from the sudden and unannounced character which, throughout the whole discourse, has been consistently attributed to the Parousia.

Secondly, it may not be irrelevant to consider more in particular

⁴⁶ Although it is true that *genea*, even when thus modified (cf. Luke vii., 31), may mean "race" or "stock" as well as "period" or "age," yet to interpret the present context "this (human) race shall not pass, till all these things be done," would be to make the prediction both superfluous in itself and also meaningless to determine the time of a sign with respect to its fulfillment.

here a fact already hinted at in the beginning of our analysis⁴⁷—that the literary style of the whole discourse is prophetic and apocalyptic. A few of its many verbal references to the Old Testament have been noted in passing. But similarity of diction is not all: we have an equal right to expect a similar structural order in the arrangement of the matter. Whether this latter device should be attributed to the discourse of Jesus as originally delivered or to His evangelical recorders, does not matter, since, other things being equal, either speaker or writers would be equally likely to adopt the form of literary structure commonly employed in prophetic discourse. Of this form, as already stated, one of the peculiar characteristics consists in an extended parallelism of balanced themes. Now it has already been shown that the first four paragraphs, when distinguished in the simplest manner by their respective central themes, actually exhibit this arrangement. They fall naturally into two groups, of which the first pair treats of the fall of Jerusalem, the second of the Parousia. There still remain two paragraphs (the fifth and sixth) which turn from description to practical admonition. That the sixth undoubtedly refers to the Parousia will appear in due course. If, therefore, the fifth paragraph, now under discussion, does not refer to the fall of Jerusalem—if that particular series of calamities is not what is intended by “all these things”—a parallel arrangement, maintained throughout this long discourse with evident deliberation, must utterly fail here, and here only.

(7) The Sixth Paragraph.

While the apparent close connection, in Matthew's and Mark's versions,⁴⁸ and even more in Luke's, between the fifth section and the opening words of the sixth, offers some obstacle to the placing of the transition at this point, the difficulty is only apparent. For although the opening verse of Matthew could be detached from what follows and connected with what precedes it, the parallel verse in Mark is immediately followed by a manifest deduction from its teaching; whereas, Luke's opening verse, which plunges at once into the heart of the theme, is instantly followed by a reason appropriate only to the nature of the Parousia. Moreover, in both Matthew and Mark there is at the very outset an implied contrast between “these things” and “that day,” indicated by two demonstratives which, when thus closely associated, are as strongly opposed in reference as the English “this” and “that.”

⁴⁷ Vid. sup. pages 22, 23.

⁴⁸ The word translated “but” in both evangelists is not the strong adversative “alla,” but the less definite “de.”

All three evangelists in this section return for the last time to the subject of the Parousia, and draw from it one and the same moral lesson. It is the lesson of perpetual watchfulness and preparation. So far off is this great event from the days of Christ's ministry in the flesh, that even His own may forget His warning in their absorption in the pleasures or the cares of this world. Once before the earth, in spite of divine warning, was a scene of thoughtless revelry, when judgment suddenly descended and swept the race away, sparing only the faithful remnant who had heeded the warning. History will repeat itself once again upon the unbelieving world at large; let the faithful beware lest they share its fate. For "of that day and hour no one knoweth;" as a thief at night and "as a snare shall it come upon all that sit upon the face of the whole earth." The faithful shall have no more warning of its imminence than others; their only pledge of salvation lies in an attitude of continual readiness and expectation.

(8) *Conclusions.*

Looking back over the whole of this remarkable discourse, what do we find to be its value as a rationalistic weapon against the inerrancy of Jesus of Nazareth? It is clear beyond question that He is here recorded as treating of two distinct events. As regards their apparent confusion, the fact that the first event in order of time is a natural type of the second; that the question which elicited the discourse included a reference to both events; that the same moral lessons of faith against the world, patience in persecution, confidence in the truth and power of God and in the ultimate triumph of His cause, are natural deductions from both; above all, perhaps, the fact that the early fulfilment of the first event would be an earnest of the verification of the second, however long deferred—all these are more than abundant reasons for the intermingling of the two in one context. The fact, on the other hand, that Jesus not only attributes, with perfect consistency, contrary attributes to the two events, but that He begins His whole discourse with repeated cautions against their confusion—this is not merely evidence, but actual demonstration that no such confusion existed in His own mind.

With these basic principles as a guide in following the two threads throughout the whole passage, there is no occasion to go far astray in their identification. There is no difficulty in recognizing either theme where its characteristic features dominate the context. The only points of difficulty lie between such places, in contexts which are at first sight so ambiguous as to obscure the exact point of transition from theme to theme. In these cases, as we have seen,

the ambiguous passage raises difficulty in either connection, so that it must in any case be assigned in the manner which, all the elements having been considered, offers least violence to the context.

Taking the matter, then, as it stands, and without explaining away or minimizing, we contend that a fair and judicious view of this discourse as a whole cannot reasonably lead to the conclusion that it stands alone in the gospel record as a monument to Jesus' erroneous conception of His own mission and its destiny. We venture to say "alone," because the other three passages which are cited as sources of difficulty, although independent in context, are governed by the same didactic themes and purposes as this one, and are to be interpreted by the same principles. And the conclusion just expressed is the very least that can be said. Rather may it be confidently affirmed that Jesus Himself has proved His own defender against His critics, by uttering words which of themselves have refuted the accusation centuries in advance of its appearance.

It has been stated above⁴⁰ that the position of our adversaries rests principally upon four passages found in the Gospels. The third in order of these four has been treated first, not only because of its greater weight, but because its principles, once grasped, furnish all the clues required for the exegesis of the other three. The latter must now be examined in order.

II. THE FIRST PASSAGE.

As it stands, this extract is peculiar to Matthew's Gospel. Reproduced together with its introductory context, it is as follows (Mt. x.):

(16) Behold, I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves. Be ye therefore wise as serpents and simple as doves. (17) But beware of men. For they will deliver you up in councils, and they will scourge you in their synagogues. (18) And you shall be brought before governors, and before kings for My sake, for a testimony to them and to the Gentiles: (19) but when they shall deliver you up, take no thought how or what to speak: for it shall be given you in that hour what to speak. (20) For it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you. (21) The brother also shall deliver up the brother to death, and the father the son; and the children shall rise up against their parents, and shall put them to death. (22) And you shall be hated by all men for My name's sake: but he that shall persevere unto the end, he shall be saved. (23) And when they shall persecute you in this city, flee into another. Amen I say to you, you shall not finish all the cities of Israel, till the Son of man come.

The point of contention is furnished by the closing sentence. Here, we are told, Jesus explicitly asserts that He will appear in final judgment of the world before the preaching of His apostles shall have passed the boundaries of their own nation. Let us see whether such a meaning can be taken from His words.

He has chosen His twelve apostles and is about to give them their

⁴⁰ Vid. sup., pages 6, 7.

first introduction to their future ministry by sending them, still subject to His personal supervision, to preach and heal in His name. This first ministry is to be confined strictly to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel."⁵⁰ Minute instructions concerning their manner of life and conduct are given them. And then comes a warning suggested by the present occasion, though not to be fully verified until after the departure of Jesus and the coming of the Holy Ghost. The apostles must not in those days expect to find public opinion on their side; hence they must not now acquire the habit of committing themselves to its favor. In their future ministry to the Jews, they will be persecuted, and their message will be a cause of division even among families. When, however, that message is rejected in one locality, it must be promptly offered elsewhere. For the time allotted them for the evangelization of the chosen people is limited. They will not be able to do more than complete the circuit of Israel's own cities before the coming of their Master.

Whether or not this last prediction be capable of a twofold fulfilment, its more natural and immediate application must certainly be that which is in harmony with the context. With this standard as our criterion, there is simply no question that the whole period to which these instructions literally apply is limited by the last days of Judaism. The mission is to Israel alone. The persecutions will be instituted before the local rabbinical assemblies,⁵¹ and executed in the synagogues. Moreover, portions of this passage are identical with certain parts of the "Eschatological Gospel;" and in every such instance⁵² the theme of the latter is the rejection of the Church by the decadent Synagogue, not by the corrupted world. The whole context, then, excludes the extension of this apostolic mission to the time of the Parousia.

What, then, is this "coming of the Son of man" which is to leave the apostles so little time for their Palestinian mission? Evidently, it is the coming of His judgment upon that faithless nation. Even during His earthly life that coming is to begin; for where the word of His power is borne by His messengers, there the Son of man comes "in power." But the complete manifestation of His power will be seen later, though still within the life of His own generation. When the veil of the sanctuary is rent at His death, Israel may still ignore the signs of divine rejection; but when the sanctuary itself lies in ruins, at the very moment when the Name of Jesus "is great among the Gentiles, from the rising of the sun even to

⁵⁰ Verse 6.

⁵¹ Zunedria, verse 17.

⁵² Compare verses 17 and 18 with Matt. xxiv., 9; Mark xiii., 9; Luke xxi., 12; verses 19 and 20 with Mark xiii., 11; Luke xxi., 14, 15; verses 21 and 22 with Matt. xxiv., 9, 10, 13; Mark xiii., 12, 13; Luke xxi., 16-19.

the going down,"⁸³ there can no longer be any doubt that "Him hath God the Father sealed."⁸⁴ In the manifestation of a supernatural life such as Israel's never was, and yet which everywhere acknowledges the despised Nazarene as its only course, His enemies cannot but realize that "the Son of man is come," and that His cause, as opposed to Judaism, has completely triumphed.

That this "coming," though justly so called, was never in Jesus' mind or words confused with His ultimate Parousia requires no further proof. No prediction of the imminence of the latter event can, therefore, be justly wrested from this passage.

III. THE SECOND PASSAGE.

The next extract to be considered is common to the three Synoptists, and by them all is placed in the same context: between Peter's confession of Jesus as the Christ and the latter's transfiguration. The text in full follows:

Matthew xvi.

(24) Then Jesus said to his disciples: If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. (25) For he that will save his life, shall lose it: and he that shall lose his life for my sake, shall find it. (26) For what doth it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and suffer the loss of his own soul? Or what exchange shall a man give for his soul? (27) For the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels: and then will he render to every man according to his works. (28) Amen I say to you, there are some of them that stand here, that shall not taste death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom.

Mark viii.

(34) And calling the multitude together with his disciples, he said to them: If any man will follow me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. (35) For whosoever will save his life, shall lose it. and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel, shall save it. (36) For what shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and suffer the loss of his soul? (37) Or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul? (38) For he that shall be ashamed of me, and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation: the Son of man also will be ashamed of him, when he shall come in the glory of his Father with the holy angels. (39) And he said to them: Amen I say to you, that there are some of them that stand here, who shall not taste death, till they see the kingdom of God coming in power.

Luke ix.

(23) And he said to all: If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross daily, and follow me. (24) For whosoever will save his life, shall lose it; for he that shall lose his life for my sake, shall save it. (25) For what is a man advantaged, if he gain the whole world, and lose himself, and cast away himself? (26) For he that shall be ashamed of me and of my words, of him the Son of man shall be ashamed, when he shall come in his majesty, and that of his Father, and of the holy angels. (27) But I tell you of a truth: There are some standing here, that shall not taste death, till they see the kingdom of God.

The difficulty of this passage is certainly more obvious than that of the section last examined. In all three evangelists, the last sentence but one speaks in the clearest terms of the Parousia, while

⁸³ Mal. i. 11.

⁸⁴ John vi., 27.

the concluding sentence seems to continue the same subject, and to affirm in the most solemn language that this same coming will take place while some of the listeners are yet in this mortal life. If the subject is not thus continued, the final verse would seem to be wholly isolated in theme, although following close upon an extended context whose subject-matter is at least very similar. Is it not evident, then, that at least in this place Jesus is represented as emphatically asserting the imminence of His final coming?

At first sight, such would seem to be the case. But let us look more closely. In the first place, the concluding verse is not so closely connected with what precedes it, if the apparent influence of the subject-matter be set aside. Matthew actually gives this verse no grammatical connection whatever with the preceding discourse—an utter violation of the Greek idiom, if the subject be not a new one. Mark goes farther, and formally marks a change of theme by the introductory words, "And He said to them"—words unqualified by any adverbial reference. Luke, though his "but" is only the weaker enclitic, permits his subject to decline from an explicit reference to the Parousia, to the merely general term "the kingdom of God;" while Mark speaks of "the kingdom of God coming in power," and Matthew of "the Son of man coming in His kingdom"—all of them expressions which we have seen, in their eschatological use, often employed to denote the triumph of Christ's cause on earth, but nowhere His final revelation in the majesty of universal Judge.

In the second place, the mere appearance of a new theme—the triumph of the new dispensation over the old—in the same context with a prediction of the Parousia can no longer be of itself a source of difficulty, after what we have seen of the fact itself and of the abundant reasons for it. In general, the same bond of a common moral value must unite the two themes here as elsewhere, whether their appearance side by side in the pages of the Gospel be primarily due to Jesus Himself or to the evangelists.

But, in the third place, the context of this passage supplies a particular reason for referring this final verse alone to the early triumphs of the Church on earth. Following upon Peter's confession of faith had come the first announcement of the hard lesson of the cross, which Peter himself had been reproved for rejecting. Later the same lesson, now applied to the lot of the disciple, is administered to all within hearing. It is a matter of the supreme issues of life; of sacrificing everything to gain everything. The final confirmation of the choice, whether rightly or wrongly made, will come with Christ's final appearing in glory. But it may be hard for nature to maintain a continual warfare against itself in the

mere expectation of a far-off reward or the fear of a punishment as long deferred. Therefore the promise is confirmed. The cross shall triumph over the highest earthly standard of success. The Son of man shall come in the supernatural powers of His newly-founded kingdom; and, for their encouragement and conviction, some of His present hearers shall see this first coming with their mortal eyes, that they may confidently expect the last.

Thus, in the light of the same principles which have guided us all along, the difficulty disappears. Not only have we here no confusion, but the clearest logical sequence.

IV. THE FOURTH PASSAGE.

We now approach the last extract from the Gospels which is brought by our adversaries against the inerrancy of Jesus. It comprises a most solemn prediction uttered by Him at a trial before the Jewish authorities, placed by Matthew and Mark during the night which followed His arrest, and by Luke at the dawn of the following day. The text follows:

Matthew xxvi.

Mark xiv.

Luke xxii.

<p>(63) But Jesus held his peace. And the high priest said to him: I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us if thou be the Christ the Son of God. (64) Jesus saith to him: Thou hast said it. Nevertheless I say to you, hereafter you shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of the power of God, and coming in the clouds of heaven.</p>	<p>(61) But he held his peace and answered nothing. Again the high priest asked him, and said to him: Art thou the Christ the Son of the blessed God? (62) And Jesus said to him: I am. And you shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of the power of God, and coming in the clouds of heaven.</p>	<p>(66) And as soon as it was day, the ancients of the people, and the chief priests, and scribes came together, and they brought him into their council, saying: If thou be the Christ, tell us. (67) And he said to them: If I shall tell you, you will not believe me. (68) And if I shall also ask you, you will not answer me, nor let me go. (69) But hereafter the Son of man shall be sitting on the right hand of the power of God. (70) Then said they all: Art thou then the Son of God? Who said: You say, that I am.</p>
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In this prediction, according to His modern critics, Jesus announced to His earthly judges that their mortal eyes shall behold His final coming in glory.

In the words "coming in the clouds of heaven" we can at least recognize a phrase which, throughout our whole discussion of this subject, has been consistently restricted to the Parousia. In this phrase, as also in the title "Son of man," Jesus appropriates to Himself the words in which Daniel recorded the description of His messianic vision. Neither expression could be mistaken by the judges. Their prisoner solemnly asserted Himself to be all that they understood by "the Christ, the Son of the blessed God."

But before predicting this manner of His coming, the Master uses an expression which is as yet new to us: "Ye shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of the power of God." This particular language Daniel did not employ. Is it here used by Jesus, for the first time, to express an additional feature of His final glorification? If so, it was not likely to be understood by His enemies, familiar as they were with the words of Daniel—unless, indeed, as a paraphrase of the prophet's words:⁵⁵ "And He gave Him power, and glory, and a kingdom: and all peoples, tribes and tongues shall serve Him: His power is an everlasting power that shall not be taken away: and His kingdom, that shall not be destroyed."

And as such a paraphrase we understand these words. With their mortal eyes, indeed, the judges of Israel were to see the powers of the kingdom of grace. The exaltation of their victim to the right hand of God's power—that is, to its plenitude—though invisible in itself, would be really visible in its effects. And this visible glorification was to be "from now," in Matthew's phrase, or in Luke's, "from the present."⁵⁶ It was to be the beginning of that progressive glorification only to be consummated in His "coming in the clouds of heaven." And it is because His glorification is thus progressive and continuous, that the two distinct events, one of which marks its inception and the other its far-off consummation, are both alike placed here in the same relation of time expressed by the evangelists' "from the present."

Briefly, then, Jesus sums up in this solemn assertion the whole of His eschatology, as befits His last public utterance on the mysteries of the future. Both of His future advents are here predicted in one brief sentence. Identified they are not, for each is expressed in the exact terms by which it may be recognized and distinguished everywhere else in His teaching. There is no confusion in His language. Having declared His Messiahship in compliance with the solemn and official demand of the Synagogue, He proceeds to confirm it. From this very day the manifestation of His power shall begin. His judges, while still in this present life, shall see that power in its effects, and recognize in it, even against their will, that He possesses the fulness of divine authority. In the universal kingdom prophesied by Daniel they shall see "the Son of man sitting on the right hand of the power of God." And this new order, which is to begin "from the present," shall culminate ages hence, when once again His judges, now with the eyes of

⁵⁵ Daniel vii., 14.

⁵⁶ The expressions translated "hereafter" are, in Matthew "ap arti," in Luke "apo tou nun."

the risen body shall see their victim "coming in the clouds of heaven," and shall supplicate His mercy who now at their hands seeks in vain for common truth and justice.

In the marvelous history of His earthly kingdom through nineteen centuries, we recognize the fulfilment of the promise of His coming with power. In the confidence born of this fulfilment of His word, we await its consummation in His final appearance in supreme majesty. In both alike, we reverently confess the unsearchable depth of that unerring wisdom whose least assertion stands unshaken against the vain imaginations of the sons of men.

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OUTLINES OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE MYSTICAL LIFE.

MORTAL SIN IN THE LIGHT OF MYSTICISM.

THE existence of moral evil or sin is a fact which cannot be denied. In whatever light it may be viewed, or however one may try to account for it, one is compelled to admit that there are disordered actions of men, such, for instance, as murder, theft, perjury, adultery, intemperance, ungodliness—all arising from disordered affections, such as hatred, envy, lust, sloth, pride, etc. We meet with gross, palpable evidences of this evil everywhere around us, to say nothing of our personal experience of it in our own selves. Moreover, by natural implication and by the testimony of history, we know that it has been so throughout the past ages, going back from century to century to the very dawn of the history of the world. At this point divine revelation unveils before our eyes the head-spring of this ocean of human misery and guilt, in the original sin of our first-parents; and the same authority, furthermore, discloses the fact that even the sin of Adam and Eve was not the first link in the long chain, for this sin connects itself, by the temptation of the evil one, with his own sin and that of the other fallen angels when they raised the cry of rebellion against God in the paradise of their trial.

Sin is essentially a free deliberate act, contrary to right reason. The Psalmist asks this question: "Who can understand sin?" (Ps. xviii., 13). No one can understand sin in itself, because it is an absurdity, a monstrous absurdity, the act of a reasonable creature, and yet an act contrary to right reason. Therefore, on the face of it, it is an act of self-destruction, an obliterating of the likeness of God in one's self with one's own hands, a guilty returning to nothingness. Considered in the abstract—apart even from the incidental sufferings it entails on its perpetrator and on his victims, sufferings which are very grievous, as we shall see in the next chapter—sin is the greatest evil that can ever happen, for it is the evil of the spirit. It is a falling away from God, a wilful cutting off of communication with the spring of spiritual life, a throwing of one self headlong into a bottomless abyss, a suicidal act and at the same time an awful lie. Whilst the mystic says with the king-prophet: "It is good for me to adhere to God" (Ps. lxxii., 28), because indeed he has experienced it to be so, the sinner declares by his acts, if not by word of mouth: "It is good for me to turn away from God; it is good for me to adhere to created things instead of God; it is good for me, by falling back upon my-

self and things created, to return as far as in me lies into nothingness;" and all the while the event is giving him the lie. It is not good; it is very harmful for him to do these things.

There are two formidable aspects of sin. First, there is the evil done to God, inasmuch as sin is an attack upon Him, an offense against His sanctity and love, an infringement upon His absolute sovereign rights. There is at the same time the evil done to the reasonable creature, in that sin separates him from God, Who is his very life, and precipitates him into a depth of degradation and misery proportionate to the height of glory and happiness to which God has predestined him.

The original mistake of the sinner is that, for the gratification of his passions, he practically refers everything to himself. For this unworthy end he employs the noble faculties of his body and soul, which were given him as so many instruments for the exclusive service of God. He moreover lays guilty hands upon the creatures, animate and inanimate, of this natural universe, all of which are God's property, and he reduces them to an unjust captivity, making use of them, in spite of their groaning, for his own nefarious purposes against the will of God and against God, who created him and them for a noble end. But the height of injustice and folly is reached when the unfortunate sinner damns himself in this world and in the next by misusing his fellow-men, even his own flesh and blood, a wife or children, subordinates or friends, dragging all along with him into sin.

For this egotist the whole universe of things created and uncreated is but a vast circumference, of which he constitutes himself the centre. He refers and subordinates everything to his own self, even God, since he would have Him to yield to his puny will. Now God cannot acquiesce in such a monstrous overthrow of His inalienable sovereign rights. The sweetness and harmony of order demand that everything be referred to God and subordinated to Him; the more so that God has in view the procuring of His own glory by means of our happiness. Could anything be more desirable? The sinner, on the other hand, proposes to himself and to all he can press into his service, his own glory instead of that of God, his own will instead of that of God, at the cost of his own happiness, both temporal and eternal, and at the cost of the precious souls of those he scandalizes. Could anything be thought of more criminal and idiotic?

Now, though he may, through want of faith or through in-advertence, be all unconscious of the fact, the terrible truth is that the centre around which the sinner really gravitates and to which he is attracted and to which he tends by the sheer weight of his

guilt, is the hell of the damned. It is an article of faith that were he to die suddenly, unrepentant, as suddenly would he fall into the pit of hell, just as a stone, held above water, falls and is engulfed in the water the instant it is released and abandoned to its natural attraction. The sinner would not have God, and out of God there is no future place for the reasonable creature guilty of such a crime but the eternal prison of hell.

In this regard there is no difference between him who is guilty of but one mortal sin and the man who is guilty of a multitude; they both belong to hell, though they are not in it as yet. The very moment that the sinner achieves his severance from God, his name is blotted out of the book of life and inscribed on the rolls of hell. By right he now belongs to hell as much as the lost souls themselves, though it is yet in his power, with the grace of God, if he will accept it, to cancel the terrible indenture.

The difference between sinner and sinner on earth, as also between reprobate and reprobate in hell, lies in the respective amount of guilt each one has incurred and the special punishment meted out to him in consequence. We might say it lies radically in the degree of rottenness and filthiness to which each one has descended. A man just dead is as dead as one who died yesterday, or a week ago, or a month ago, or six months ago; but he is not yet such an object of horror as these latter; so the sinner who is guilty of but one mortal sin is as absolutely dead to the life of grace as he who is laden with a thousand mortal sins, but this latter is a greater object of the reprobation of God and of His vindictive justice.

This may serve to explain the warning of our Lord to the sinner in the Apocalypse iii., 1-2: "I know that thou hast the name of being alive, and thou art dead. Be watchful and strengthen the things that remain, which are ready to die." In the unfortunate Christian who has lost charity by but one mortal sin there survive usually, first, the theological virtue of hope, then that of faith; formless, both of them, it is true (Latin *informes*), but still able even as such to prevent a greater ruin and to become somehow principles of spiritual resurrection. There survive, moreover, all the acquired moral virtues, and finally, at times, a certain lingering shadow of the spirit of prayer. There may even perchance be found in that soul a certain imitation of charity—a dangerous survival of the former state, because, says S. Francis of Sales ("Love of God,") it serves but to deceive the wretched sinner and keep him in illusion as to his real state. *The things that remain which are ready to die*, of which our Lord speaks, are therefore the formless theological virtues of hope and faith and the acquired moral virtues. The infused moral virtues which are as the suite and the

handmaidens of charity are struck dead the same moment as their queen.

The theological virtue of hope, rendered formless by mortal sin, may at last perish altogether, by the repetition or multiplication of criminal acts. There will come a moment when the soul will pass almost without transition from the height of presumption to the depths of despair. The yoke of sin grows heavier and heavier, the evil habits, like so many iron chains, become firmly riveted to the soul, and all prospect of deliverance is shut out of sight. Then the wretched sinner falls into discouragement, and drifting at the mercy of circumstances, is a ready prey to the most violent and sudden transports of passion, after which he is haunted by temptations of despair or even of suicide.

Christian hope being dead, faith may still survive, formless, and further weakened by the sad fate of hope; how very ailing, how severely shaken, is shown by its occasional fainting-fits, so to speak, or, to use another metaphor, by the partial and more or less prolonged eclipses of its light. Still, even such a weak and fitful light is better than absolute darkness, and it may help the soul to avoid the worst pitfalls, and even direct its first steps towards a return to God.

The worst state of all is arrived at when faith itself has finally been put out, either by the sinner's committing certain particularly heinous crimes or a deliberate intention on his part to extinguish its persistant flickering. However, do what he will, the light which he received in baptism, the indelible character or sign which marked him a Christian, is never totally done away with, but from time to time from its dying embers sparks and flames spring up unexpectedly, which are the last appeals of God to the soul bent obstinately upon its own destruction.

To conclude, we may say that in the moral order there are two great centres of attraction, and only two—God, the loving God, and Hell, the Hell of the damned. All reasonable creatures, whether *in via* or *in termino*, converge towards one or other of these centres; attracted to the one by the mysterious force of charity, or to the other by that other force, the antithesis of charity, which is sin, habitual sin; for actual sin becomes habitual if it is not at once repented of and abolished by a good confession or an act of perfect contrition. Those *in termino*, both angels and the souls of the dead, are not only attracted to their centre, whichever this happens to be, but they are bound to it for ever. Souls which are yet *in via* have it in their power to wrench themselves from the one and transfer themselves to the other. All, whether *in termino* or *in via*, gravitate towards their centre of attraction, with a force propor-

tionate to their attraction to charity or sin respectively. The tepid Christian himself, just as the mystic of all degrees or the sinner of all shades, is also actually gravitating towards one of the two spheres of attraction—that of the God of love or that whose focus is the hell of the damned. Only when he happens to be gravitating towards the natural centre of charity, God, by not being actually in the state of mortal sin, still he keeps himself at such an enormous distance from this centre that he cannot be warmed nor illumined by its rays, and, being hardly conscious of the force that draws him, he obeys its attraction but sluggishly. He is so very near to the confines of the sphere whose centre of attraction is sin that it is not to be wondered at if he be suddenly whirled out of his former orbit and tossed into this one, to become one of those “wandering stars” of which St. Jude speaks, “to whom the storm of darkness is reserved for ever.” (Jud. i., 13). Oh! may the loving God preserve us from such a terrible fate!

THE HARD WAYS OF SIN.

“My people have done two evils: they have forsaken me, the fountain of living water, and have digged to themselves cisterns, broken cisterns that can hold no water.”—Jerem.

The keynote of mystical life is joy—a joy deep and pure, but hidden from the eyes of men; it does not preclude severe sufferings, both mental and physical; these will ever be the part of the pilgrim sojourning in this land of exile. After their severe flagellations in the presence of the council of their nation the Apostles “went away rejoicing, for that they were accounted worthy to suffer reproach for the name of Jesus.” (Acts v., 41). “I am filled with comfort,” says St. Paul, “I exceedingly abound with joy in all our tribulations.” (II. Cor. vii., 4.) The keynote of a sinful life, on the other hand, is sadness; but a secret sadness, which eats its way relentlessly into the very heart of the sinner, and though perforce this he concealed from the world, yet, in spite of every effort, it will often manifest itself. How could it be otherwise with one who chooses to make himself the enemy of God, and of his better self, and of his fellow-men?

It is certainly a merciful dispensation by which sin always brings its own chastisement, even in this world—the poor sinner may take heed and at least escape eternal punishment. It is a law of the universe that every disorder brings uneasiness. A broken limb, a dislocated bone, will cause an agony of suffering until it is properly set. Now sin is the greatest of disorders, a moral disorder, causing uneasiness to the spirit even of angel or man; but very often with

men it is also at the same time a physical and material disorder, bringing material and physical pain.

Let us glance rapidly at some of the sufferings, moral and physical, which are to be found in the trail of sin. First of all, remorse. This is the skeleton in the cupboard, not at all a comfortable companion for the diseased mind. The sinner tries to forget it; he never succeeds completely. Then the fear of disclosure, and the confusion when one is discovered and becomes an object of reprobation to all right-minded persons, and even to the wicked and hypocritical, by whom, mayhap, the temptation and sin were caused. Very often bitter disappointment, disgust and nausea; for the object which promised to give satisfaction and enjoyment has turned out to be a veritable apple of Sodom, alluring in appearance, but changing to ashes and sulphur in the mouth. Loss of health, the squandering of fortune, exasperating recriminations, bitter regrets, burning reproaches—all these come as a matter of course. And the distressing, maddening question which cannot but rise in the mind: How will all this end? It may be silenced for a while, but it rises again, importunate and persistent. The wretched sinner wrings his hands, turns his head away and feigns not to hear.

And now, if the sinner remains obdurate, refusing to return like the prodigal to God, his Heavenly Father, by true repentance and amendment of life, a new series of alarming symptoms will begin to manifest themselves. These are: 1. Deformation of the conscience. Though it is hard to kick against the goad and to sin with open eyes yet, at this point, the sinner tries to persuade himself that black is white and white is black. 2. Spiritual blindness. An infatuation with the object of his passion now takes possession of the sinner, so that he cannot see anything else that matters in the whole world. 3. A weakening of the queen-faculty, the will. Resisting power becomes nil and the soul is ready for every sort of abdication. 4. A hardening of the heart. Here sin is loved for its own sake; the sinner refuses to be released from his evil, resolved to pursue his course withersoever it may lead him. 5. A lowering of the character to untold depths. Probity, sincerity, self-respect, natural affections, consideration for others, regard for public decency—all go by the board. 6. A monstrous perversion of the natural appetites, unbridled licentiousness of the imagination, overpowering, well nigh irresistible tyranny of the senses, a thorough disorganization of the whole being, body and soul. 7. Terrible, shameful diseases, leading to the very verge of folly and despair. 8. The horrible fear of stealthily approaching death and of what lies beyond. There is none who fears death like the sinner; his all in all is in and of this world; is it surprising that he should tremble

at the very thought of judgment? Then the probable transmission of the accursed germs of disease and vice to an innocent offspring.

Is this an overcharged picture? Any one acquainted with the world will be able to point out hundreds of cases not one whit less terrible than this.

Finally, there will be the posthumous effects of sin, that is to say, a whole evil brood of sins, which, after the sinner's death, may spring up from the scandals he caused during life. These may go on spreading and perpetuating and propagating without limit or end till the very day of judgment. Then will all these evils be attributed to the sinner who fathered them, and demand will be made for a revision of his account with the Divine Justice and for a proportionate aggravation of his eternal punishment.

And all along during his wretched life on earth to all the self-inflicted chastisement of the sinner was added the uneasiness arising from the fear of God—not a holy fear, like that of the true children of God, who are in dread lest they offend their Heavenly Father, and incur His displeasure and lose Him; but an abject fear, a fear which makes the sinner shun God and look upon Him as an enemy. Adam, in order to taste freely of the forbidden fruit, put away his habit of the filial, holy fear of God, and on eating of the forbidden fruit, was immediately seized with the abject fear of God. Henceforth, he shuns God, he avoids meeting Him as heretofore, he hides from Him in the woods with his guilty consort, and when perforce he must face his offended Creator and Benefactor, he becomes impudent, which is another way of running away from God. He says: "The woman thou gavest me tempted me," as much as to say: "I am not the one to blame; she is. Nay, if we look well into it, Thou, my God, Thou Who gavest her to me, Thou art the One to blame."

Does not every sinner in a way conduct himself like Adam and blame God for his own evil deeds? Look at the typical modern man of the world; he entertains no holy fear of God—not he; he is above that; he can drink in sin like water. Nevertheless, he has at the same time a horrible dread of God. He cannot bear the thought of Him. The bare mention of His Holy Name is enough to throw that man into a frenzy. For months and years at a time he will not set foot in a church; and when forced to do so by worldly conventionality, to attend a wedding, for instance, or the funeral of a friend, or for some civic demonstration, he does so with a shudder, as is plainly shown by his whole attitude. He flies, I say; he flies in abject terror from before the face of God; he flies with a flight which very soon may be eternal. And all along

he blames God, the loving God, the Holy One, not himself, for his own wickedness. The literature of the day in all its branches, high and low, refined and coarse, light and learned, is saturated with this sort of blasphemy. But it is not convincing, it is not reassuring, and the louder the voice which gives expression to these horrors, the more evident becomes the abject fear of God by which those who cry out are tormented.

It is fear, even an abject fear? Nay, it is something worse, much worse; it is hatred, positive hatred of God, of which the habitual sinner becomes at last possessed. Of course, the beginner in the ways of sin does not arrive all at once at such an extremity as this. He comes to it little by little, but he comes to it in the end to actually hating the good God Who made him, and the loving Saviour Who died for him on the Cross. Because God forbids sin and punishes it terribly even in this world and threatens an eternal, fearful punishment of it in the next, the sinner is brought step by step to hate with a positive and explicit hatred the sanctity of God, His justice, His infinite perfections, His very Being. This is indeed one of the hard ways of sin. "We have wearied ourselves in the ways of iniquity and destruction and have walked through hard ways." Thus the reprobates in the Book of Wisdom v., 7.

These, then, are the hard ways of sin. When we tell the foolish youth bent upon taking a large bite of forbidden fruit that sin hurts, he will not believe it. He argues with himself that these tales of woe are inventions of priests, good at most to frighten little children with. He persuades himself that he at least will not feel the worse for quaffing a generous draught at the cup of pleasure; that he will know when to stop, and that even if he gets a touch of fever in consequence, he will soon be well again. Poor fool! How many such are to be seen, terribly caught indeed, and they are forced at last to cry out that sin does indeed hurt.

When, by a very signal mercy of God, the sinner is given the grace to desire to retrace his footsteps and return to a saintly life, he is confronted with really appalling difficulties. To mention at present but one, among many, there is literally "the devil to pay." The devil holds him and will not let him go. The devil has bought his soul; the sinner sold it to him, very cheap, it is true, and he has been cheated into the bargain, but still the devil has his bond. He has taken his assurances. He holds a mortgage on the brain, another on the will-power, another on the imagination, another on the senses, still another on the nerves of the sinner. Oh! how hard it is to wrench oneself free from the devil's clutches! But it must be done. It must be done at all costs. It is a question of life and death, and of life and death eternal; and the longer the delay in

the great and desperate effort towards the liberty of the children of God, the more the devil rivets his chains and weighs down the soul of the poor sinner with his fetters.

THE PRODIGAL'S RETURN.

It may at first sight seem impossible for a poor sinner, after years of slavery to evil habits, to retrace his steps and return to a healthy and saintly state of life. But that which is impossible to man is not impossible to God. If a miracle or even a series of miracles be needed to help the repentant sinner's good-will, miracles will be forthcoming.

I do not mean thereby that the sinner will be spared the hardships of conversion; no, for these are a part of his expiation and a necessary discipline. It is required that by as many acts of self-indulgence as he descended to his present position on the road of perdition, by at least as many acts of self-restraint and self-renunciation shall he now retrace his steps before he can scale the heights of sanctity.

Do you think that the prodigal's return home in the state that he was in was not fraught with appalling difficulties to his self-love? When the Good Shepherd lifted up the erring sheep from the thorny bush on the mountain crag, where it had fallen and all but killed itself and took it tenderly into His arms, He could not for all His loving care prevent the bruised sheep from feeling the pain of its hurts nor the tediousness of the journey back to the fold, nor the discomfort of the heat of the day. The Good Samaritan poured, it is true, oil and vinegar into the wounds of the unfortunate traveler who had fallen into the hands of highwaymen, been robbed and left half dead on the wayside. He skillfully bandaged the wounds and with infinite care placed the man on his beast and led him to an inn, the nearest on the road. But for all that he could not prevent fever from setting in during the night, in consequence of the loss of blood and the terrible nervous shock which the poor man had sustained; neither could he forestall nor shorten the slow progress of recovery.

Although God has forgiven all past sins as soon as a full, sincere and sorrowful confession of them has been made, and although the penitent has by confession banished the loathsome presence of sin from his soul and is resolved with God's grace to begin a new life, nevertheless, the consequences of sin still remain. He will have resolutely to grapple with these, nor can he hope to overcome them all at once, but gradually, and by dint of patient and unremitting effort. The arch-fiend has been forced to evacuate the country he had invaded, but he leaves it bare and desolate, the fields are burnt,

the houses in ruins. Time and labor will be needed to clear the rubbish and break up the ground again and rebuild the houses and thus bring the country to its former flourishing condition.

It may even happen occasionally in the beginning of his conversion that the poor penitent may relapse into sin after a long and protracted struggle. Has he really given full consent to evil? No one can tell—himself less than any one. Whether quite a mortal sin or not, this relapse is horribly painful, yet the poor sinner must rise at once; but he remains dazed and sick and disgusted with himself and so frightened. Saint Angela of Foligno had such a relapse in the beginning of her conversion. Thus it is absolutely certain that the sinner wishing to return to God has before him, besides the hardships common to all the servants of God, the prospect of some special sufferings which are the effect of his past sins and would have been spared him if he had never left the path of virtue. He is therefore in need of a very powerful grace of God: but he is no sooner resolved to correspond to grace than he is at once lifted out of the depths of perdition and assumed into the economy of divine life. **This is already an immense miracle, the proportions of which we shall be able to appreciate only in paradise.**

This is only the beginning. The penitent sinner has now to set out on his way of the Cross and to climb his Calvary. He does so, dragging himself heavily along, groaning under the weight of the awkward cross which he has hewn and carved out for himself with his own hands; it is made up of the shame of his past sins, of the falterings of nature and of the tyranny of inveterate evil habits—a heavy cross, which occasionally bears him down and seems on the point of crushing him to death. So it proved to be with the illustrious penitent, Mary of Egypt, in the first years of her solitary life. Now and again she fell into discouragement; almost into despair—almost, almost, but not quite. It is so with every true penitent. But here we behold a second miracle. Lo, the Lamb of God, the Divine Saviour, walks before the weary pilgrim of Calvary, laden with His own still heavier Cross, bleeding, falling, rising again and beckoning to him to follow. And virtue goes out of the sweet Saviour, so that, though trembling, the poor penitent is able to rise to his feet again and totter on and now as he climbs higher and higher up the steep hill, he finds it more alluring than the broad way of his former life of sin and he begins to love its very hardness.

Humiliations will not be spared him on the way—kicks and cuffs, and sneers and lashes of the tongue and curses deep and loud from his former associates in sin. No one can leave with impunity the

service of Belial. Oh! how the world and the devils hate the man who turns away from them to follow Jesus to Calvary!

Nor are these the severest trials. To the innocent Jesus Himself the worst afflictions during His sacred Passion came not from the hands of men, but from those of His Heavenly Father and from His own hands, so to say, I mean from the horror and hatred with which he looked upon the sins of the world which He bore in His own Person. So also for the true penitent. The severest afflictions come to him from the hands of God and from his own hands.

Although God has forgiven him, the penitent himself will never till death forgive himself for having offended the Divine Majesty. Many and many a time will he break his heart in silent prayer and melt into bitter tears at the recollection of his former offenses. See how St. Peter bewailed all his life the misfortune of having in a moment of weakness denied his Master. Tradition tells us the tears coursing incessantly from his eyes had traced deep furrows in his cheeks. The immortal penitential psalms bear witness to the deep, long-abiding sorrow of King David after his crime; and they furnish the penitents of all ages with an inspired form in which to express their bitter regret of having offended God.

Now in this abiding and persevering sorrow of the penitent sinner lies one of the greatest safeguards against a relapse into sin. There is little danger of doing again what is bewailed so bitterly. Lifelong observation has convinced me that the reason why so many Christians lamentably relapse into grievous sin, even soon after good confessions—as good, at any rate, as attrition with holy absolution can make them—is chiefly that they do not cultivate an abiding sorrow for their former offenses; or, what comes to the same thing, they do not cultivate a true love of God for Himself. They have received holy absolution with joy and with a deep sense of relief, but they do no further penance than the light one imposed by the priest, nor do they feel the necessity of watching and praying against the recurrence of temptation. As soon as forgiven, their sins are forgotten by them. And yet we are warned by the oracle of the Holy Ghost: “My son, be not without fear even of the sins that have been forgiven thee.” Hence the deplorable weakness of many Christians. What would seem incredible also is that repeated falls do not help them to grasp this principle of spiritual life—that, though God forgives the sinner, the sinner must never forgive himself; herein lies the surest safeguard for the future.

“Wash me yet more from my iniquity,” sighs the true penitent with the King-Prophet. God hears his prayer, He cleanses him more and more. For although our Heavenly Father has forgiven the sins of His penitent child, yet does He chastise him, make him

suffer, allow him to feel the full weight of their horror and wickedness. This God does, not in anger, but in love; not only in order to cleanse the soul more and more, but in order to make it gain precious merits for heaven, thus redeeming lost time.

Hence it is that, after the first transport of joy and sweetness and fervor of conversion, there usually sets in a period of darkness and dryness, a withdrawal of spiritual consolations. Prayer,, meditations, Holy Communions—all seem absolutely devoid of the unction of piety. Sometimes a well-nigh invincible horror of confession will come upon the soul; doubts, fearful doubts, arise as to whether the sins of the past have been duly confessed and are really forgiven; the infinite mercy of God is lost sight of and the efficacy which the Sacraments derive from the merits of the Passion of Our Lord. The perplexed penitent, seeking vainly to alleviate his sufferings, desires, while at the same time he dreads, to repeat over and over again his general confession, and, though he may do this, it will but serve to involve him in an inextricable maze of explanations and difficulties. The unbearable torment of scrupulosity infests the soul and doubts against faith and frightful temptations against purity alternate with the fear of death and of the judgment to come.

Is all this terrible enough? True and yet is it not better to be so tormented and pleasing to God than to be as heretofore a slave of the devil living on the brink of hell? This soul is happy, deep down within herself. She would not exchange her present state for the happiest moments of her former life. She has become a spectacle to the world and to angels, to the saints of heaven and to God Himself. Oh! with what palpitating interest do these follow each incident in the beautiful drama of the transformation of a sinner into a saint, even into another Christ!

The supreme act will be accomplished in the mystical crucifixion and death on the Cross of the poor penitent. He must submit to be stripped of all created affections and allow his soul to be torn to shreds by the most cruel tortures and to be nailed to the cross and hang there by his wounds. Then all the pains of this soul shall be gathered up into one, the greatest of all, the torment of thirst—the thirst for love, for the feeling of loving God and of being loved by Him. Of this cooling draught he shall be refused even one drop, and instead, he shall be offered bitter gall and vinegar. He must go through the supreme ordeal of feeling abandoned by men and by God Himself and cry out with Jesus in His extremity: "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?"

Meanwhile there is more joy in heaven upon the transformation of such a sinner into Jesus and into Jesus Crucified than upon the perseverance of ninety-nine just who need not penance. Oh! it

were enough, if that were possible, to fill even the saints with envy!

But the sublimity of his state is wholly hidden from him as yet. Hidden also, quite out of sight is the marvellous crown of jewels of eternal splendor, which all these painful victories over self are gaining for him.

Behold at last the moment of triumph is at hand, Jesus says to the dying sinner: "Friend and fellow-sufferer, this day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise. *Consummatum est*. All is finished!" "Come, beloved; winter is now passed, sadness is no more; the joyful voice of love is heard in our land; the flowers of eternal glory break forth all over thee; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

Oh, what a chorus of congratulations bursts forth upon the ears of the penitent-elect, and what hosannahs of praise to God and of jubilation are heard in heaven when such a one makes entrance there.

Sinner, O my brother, it is yet in our power, yours and mine, with God's grace to secure ineffable glory such as this for ourselves and to give joy to the hosts in heaven above. We are wretched, yea, but the more wretched we are at present, the greater will our achievement be! Shall we not start forth upon the journey?

THE UNCLEAN SPIRITS.

These Outlines of the Doctrine of the Mystical Life would not be complete and we should be guilty of a serious omission were we not to take into account the fallen angels, their sin and their action upon the world at large, as upon the Church of Christ and upon each individual soul in particular. This consideration will help towards a true appreciation of Mysticism. It will also serve to bring out in clear perspective the fate of the purest and brightest of God's creatures once they separate themselves from Him who is their life, and it will show us at the same time the wisdom and power of God Himself, Who from the evil of sin draws a greater good, namely, that of the sanctification of His elect and the manifestation of the treasures of His charity. Indeed, the Church of Christ and every predestinated soul would be far less bright and holy than they now are had they not passed through the severe ordeal of temptation by devils and persecution by the wicked, and we would never have known the excess of the love of God for us had not the sin of our first parents given occasion for the awful mystery of our Redemption by the Cross.

By a wise counsel of God the devil is permitted to have a hand in the making of history. We cannot reckon without him. Nor could we explain without him the superhuman perverseness of some historical personages, such as Cain, Pharaoh, Antiochus, Judas, Nero,

Domitian, Arius, Mhhomet, Luther, Voltaire, Robespierre, the Anti-christ that is to come; nor the superhuman perverseness of associations such as Free-masonry; nor the ugliest features of such great social upheavals as the so-called Reformation of the sixteenth century, the French Revolution of the end of the eighteenth century and the present world-war, with its atrocities, sacrileges and immoralities, at least on the part of some of the belligerents. The activity of Satan does much more than merely add a further source of temptation to the weakness of the world and of the flesh; it brings to bear also a combination and an intelligent direction of all the elements of evil. Man, even fallen from innocence and grace, would never have descended to the depths of wickedness he is capable of now if he had been left to himself.

The devils are spirits of darkness; they are set out upon the task of casting darkness over the souls of men, to make them fall into errors, dogmatic and moral, and thus achieve their eternal ruin. It is worthy of the infinite wisdom of God that He allows them to have their way for a time whilst turning their malicious intent to His own ends. By their insane efforts the devils only succeed in threshing out the wheat of the divine Husbandman, separating it from the chaff upon the threshing floor of this present world. The wheat is being constantly taken up into heaven by the blessed angels; the chaff only remains in the hands of the devils, to be burnt for ever with them in the flames of hell.

St. John Climachus, that great master and teacher of mystical Theology, in "The Steps of Paradise" shows us the devils, full of cunning and malice, incessantly applying the keenness of their intellects and the unbending strength of their perverted wills to the one purpose of burning down, by means of the very fire which torments them, the temple of God, that is to say, the Church of Jesus Christ, and every individual soul which, when in the state of grace, is also the temple of God. "Brethren," says St. Paul, "put you on the armor of God, that you may be able to stand against the deceits of the devil. For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the world of this darkness, against the spirits of wickedness in high places. Wherefore, take unto you the armor of God, that you may be able to resist in the evil day and to stand in all things perfect. Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breast-plate of justice: in all things taking the shield of faith, wherewith you may be able to extinguish all the fiery darts of the most wicked one." (Eph. vi., 11-16.)

Our Lord calls the devils "unclean spirits." It would be impossible to find another name which would characterize them more

truly. The idea of uncleanness seems very repugnant to that of spirituality. The devils are angels, that is to say, spirits, unmixed with bodily matter, and therefore absolutely free from the passions of lust which are derived therefrom; how, then, can they be called unclean? Do not the two words "unclean" and "spirit" involve a contradiction, an anomaly, a monstrosity? Yes; but we are prepared somewhat to understand this by what we have read (*supra* Ch. XIII,) of sin in the abstract, namely, that it is an absurdity, an anomaly, a guilty return to nothingness—therefore a corruption, making the subject of it unclean.

The devils are justly called unclean, though spirits, because they have embraced the state of sin and live in it for ever. The love of God is the only aroma which can preserve the reasonable creature from corruption. This love they have deliberately and definitively put away. They are, moreover, justly called unclean, because sin is now their only occupation—hating and blaspheming God, tempting men and tormenting themselves and one another and their victims, the reprobates in hell. These are the only uses to which they put their bright intellect and strong will. Finally, they are justly called unclean, because they tempt men to commit the sins of the flesh, for which they themselves, as pure spirits, have a horror, intense and abiding. Such is their hatred of God that they incite men to this thing which causes in themselves an intolerable nausea—just as if a man of noble birth and education and of refined tastes would hate another man to such an extent that he would do violence to himself and take in his hands the most unclean substance in order to fling it at the picture of his enemy, whose person he was unable to reach. How unclean indeed must they be accounted who are the instigators of all uncleanness.

From various passages of Holy Scripture—more particularly from *Ezech. xxviii., 12-15, Isaias xiv., 12-15, Luke x., 18, and Apoc. xii., 1-9*—the Fathers of the Church and scholastic theologians have evolved the story of the fall of the angels as follows: The sin of Lucifer and his followers consisted in refusing to abide and persevere in the supernatural order in which God had placed them in the first moment of their existence. All the angels of God in the beginning were created in a like state of grace. They were all made angels of light, children of God, dearly loved, highly exalted, and they were all alike destined, after due probation, to the glory and bliss of the beatific vision. They were not only endowed with a most excellent, purely spiritual nature, free from any defect or inclination to evil and sin, but they were moreover raised by grace above their nature to an unspeakable height of positive sanctity and endowed with most admirable supernatural illumination and virtue.

It is from such a height that with open eyes deliberately, by their own choice and without any temptation, they precipitated themselves.

Lucifer revolted against the precedence given to love over intellect. The splendor of his own natural gifts seem to have so dazzled him that he loathed the supernatural order wherein magnificence of intellect counted for nothing if not accompanied by humility and love. He was enraged to see in the light of the revelation that was given to all the angels during their probation this great wonder in heaven, a future Lucifer or Light-bearer, brighter than himself, namely, the Virgin, with the Child-God in her arms. He could not bring himself to acknowledge that a woman inferior to him in nature should at some future epoch be made his Queen, and that the seed of that woman should be preferred to himself for the honor of the hypostatic union. Thus it was that when God the Father made known to the angels the coming of the First-Begotten in the humility of our flesh and commanded all the angels to adore Him (Heb. 1-6), Lucifer raised his great battle-cry and his rebellion spread to some of the ranks of the angelic hierarchies—and we know the sequel.

So the devils, though still perfect in the incorruptible nature of pure spirits, are vitiated in their intellect and will, in that they do not accept the supernatural order, they protest against it, they unceasingly wage war against it, and God allows them for a while to fight against it with all their might. The devil will, of course, never have the knowledge proper of the blessed in the beatific vision. On the other hand, by his apostasy he has fallen away from grace and from the divine light that was in him at his creation. He has but the knowledge that is common to all pure spirits, which is very great indeed, but is only of natural things and does not make for happiness; it is but darkness in regard to the whole supernatural order. In his affections and in his acts the devil is monstrously deformed. From an angel of light he has changed himself into an angel of darkness; from a pure flame of love he has made himself a dragon, a burning brand of inextinguishable malice and hatred. Our quaint mediæval painters were not, after all, so far from hitting the mark when they pictured "*Old Horney*" in all sorts of shameful deformations and grotesque attitudes.

"THE WORLD OF THIS DARKNESS."

In the banding together of the devils with the sinners of the world is to be found an explanation of that strange phenomenon, that formidable power of evil upon earth called by the Apostle "The world of this darkness." (Eph. vi., 12.)

By this expression St. Paul does not mean the material universe of things visible, which God made and which He solemnly declared in the beginning to be "good, very good" (Gen. 11), nor even that portion of it, the earth, on which living men, divided into two opposite camps, carry on their deeds of sanctity or of shame. By "the world of this darkness" the apostle signifies only the whole company of sinners, together with their evil works in every department of human activity. This is the world over which the devil is proclaimed prince. "The prince of this world," as our Lord says (Jo. xii., 31). When Christ was tempted in the desert, the devil took Him up into a high mountain and showed Him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them and said unto Him: "All these will I give Thee if, falling down, Thou wilt adore me." (Mat. iv., 8-9.) This is the world against which our Lord launches His anathemas: "Woe to the world on account of its scandals." (Mat. xviii., 7.) "Father, I pray not for the world, but for them whom Thou hast given Me. . . . out of the world. . . . They are not of the world, as I also am not of the world." (Jo. xvii., 6, 9, 16.) To His brethren who did not believe in Him He said: "The world cannot hate you, but Me it hateth, because I give testimony of it, that the works thereof are evil." (Jo. vii., 7.) And to the Jews who did not receive His teaching He declared: "You are from beneath, I am from above, you are of this world, I am not of this world." (Jo. viii. 23.) This is the world which St. John says is "wholly seated in wickedness" (I. Jo. v., 19) and of which he gives us solemn warning: "My little children, love not the world, nor the things which are in the world. If any man love the world, the charity of the Father is not in him; for all that is in the world is the concupiscence of the flesh, and the concupiscence of the eyes, and the pride of life, which is not of the Father, but is of the world. And the world passeth away, and the concupiscence thereof, but he that doth the Will of God abideth for ever." (I. Jo. xi., 15-17.)

So the world is the society of the wicked on earth, under the leadership of the devil. It is social, collective, cumulative, organized ungodliness. It is the City of Evil, "The great city which hath kingdom over the kings of the earth." (Apoc. xvii., 18,) the city of confusion, the Babel of contradiction and strife, the image of hell on earth, where men hate one another and agree together in but one thing, namely, in "fighting with the Lamb." (Apoc. xvii., 14;) it is "the Great Babylon" (Apoc. xix., 5,) as opposed to the City of God on earth, the Church Militant, which is made up of the servants of God, under the leadership of Christ.

Between these two cities the Church of God on the one hand

and the great Babylon of this world on the other, as the genius of St. Augustine has sketched them out in his immortal work, "De Civitate Dei," there is irreconcilable enmity. The boundaries which separate them are not material ones, walls of stone or ditches dug in the earth. Their respective soldier-citizens are intermingled one with another; and though God knows His own, the eyes of men cannot always distinguish in the strife and confusion which are of God and which are of the devil. The world finds confederates in the very heart of the citadel, even on the steps of the sanctuary. At the same time the Church of God is fearlessly sending forth apostolic men to all the nations of the earth, who cease not continually to snatch victims from the lures of sin and from the very jaws of hell, and she finds her faithful subjects in all classes of society. To the angel of Pergamus our Lord said in the Apocalypse: "I know where thou dwellest, where the seat of Satan is." (Apoc. xi., 13.) To every servant of God living in a great city where corruption is seething these words may also fitly be addressed.

As the Church of God on earth has affinities with heaven and constant intercommunication with the blessed angels and saints and with God Himself, so the world of sin has affinities and constant inter-communication with the hell of the damned and its inhabitants. The Spiritism of to-day, like that of all past ages, would bear out this contention were it necessary after the clear, emphatic and abundant testimony of the Scriptures.

The world is at one and the same time a lunatic asylum, a convict prison, a home for contagious and incurable diseases, a barracks of the Devil's militia, a den of unspeakable malefactors, a jungle full of wild beasts; it is a low and sordid theatre, where, from one generation to another, the same ignoble tragi-comedy is enacted by drunken players; it is the shambles of all innocence and purity—an immense whited sepulchre, beautiful without, but full within of dead men's bones and every sort of filth; a cesspool, barely covered with a veil of silk.

The world is the *Cloaca Maxima* of the sweet universe of God, into which all the festering rottenness of the seven capital sins is continually being shot in overwhelming quantities to be disgorged into hell. No wonder its atmosphere is stifling. Its stench almost kills outright the souls of those who venture incautiously into its midst. Men marvel sometimes that young people whose innocence has been safeguarded beneath the parental roof, or who have been educated by priests or nuns, suddenly fall into sin and give scandal soon after making their appearance in the world. Yes, this sort of thing happens occasionally, but it need not surprise anybody. The education such young people receive at home, or in the convent-

school, or at the Catholic college may not be to blame in the least. Even if it is all it ought to be, it does not, because it cannot prepare these young people for what they have to contend with in the world. That is more than ordinary virtue can withstand.

A comparison may make my meaning plain. Suppose we were to thrust into the main sewers of some great city, let us say London or Paris, a swarm of bees, some butterflies, some birds—swallows, nightingales or larks—or some squirrels—how do you think these lovely children of azure and pure air would fare in so dark and foul a place? How long do you think they would live? Not for a single day; perhaps not even for an hour. Only rats and bats could thrive in such an atmosphere. So it is with pure souls thrust into the world—that sewer, that Cloaca Maxima, which is carrying along on the impure stream of its literature, business and so-called pleasures and honors the floating corpses of souls in all degrees of putrescence. No wonder the mystic, that child of light and song, having once tasted how sweet God is, will have nothing to do with it.

The question now naturally arises: If the dangers of the world are so appalling, so universal, so manifold, who can hope to save himself therein? Yet it is not every one who can betake himself into the desert, as the hermits of old, or seek the seclusion of the cloister. What will the poor Christian in the world do?

A very pertinent question this and one which brings into view one of the least understood aspects of mystical life, namely, the part played by the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost in the general economy of grace.

In becoming a perfect Christian by the Sacrament of Confirmation a man receives all he needs to enable him to cope with the difficulties of his situation in the midst of a corrupting and corrupt world. He is made a soldier, he is given a breast-plate, arms and munitions. By the internal unction of the Holy Ghost he is rendered immune from the poisonous gases, as also from all pusillanimity and human respect. The slight blow he receives on the cheek at the hand of the Bishop is not only a symbol of what he ought to be ready to suffer for Christ, but it does actually and permanently confer on him the grace to be thus ready to suffer for the faith, even unto the shedding of his blood, even unto death, like the martyrs of old. All he needs henceforth is to live up to his promotion in the spiritual life and make good use of the resources at his disposal. Let him bear in mind that he is now no longer a child, but a soldier, and he must comport himself as such, unsheath his weapons, inhale and breathe forth the sweet odor

of Jesus Christ, he strong in faith and fervent in love; in a word, he must be a mystic.

In the second and third parts of these *Outlines* we shall see at greater length how the Gifts of the Holy Ghost raise a man above himself, above nature, above even the grace of ordinary virtues, theological as well as moral, and will, if he be attentive and docile to the internal motions of the Holy Ghost, make him a hero, not only on extraordinary occasions, such as when he is called upon to confess his faith before tyrants, but even in all the ordinary circumstances of life—a hero, a genuine hero, constantly and perseveringly a hero, by the purity of intention, the fervor of love and the perfect contempt of the world which he displays in all he does. It is enough for my present purpose in this chapter if the consideration of “*The world of this darkness*” has furnished us with a fresh proof of the fact that every Christian ought to be a mystic. By the very perils of his situation in the world a man is called to be a mystic, and he has in the grace of the Sacrament of Confirmation the wherewithal to become a mystic if he but lend an attentive ear to the motions of this grace.

If the further question be asked: why is it that so few, so very few of the Christians who have received the Sacrament of Confirmation fail in their struggle with the world? I answer: Simply because, after having received this Sacrament, they think no more about it. They do not suspect the magnificence of the riches they have received, nor do they realize the serious obligation to strive after sanctity for which every means has been put into their hands, which has thereby been laid upon them. Thus through their own ignorance or culpable carelessness the Divine Guest, the Holy Ghost, is bound and fettered in their soul. The omnipotence of Divine Love is reduced to inefficiency and this by the ill-will of the lukewarm Christian.

SIGNUM BESTIAE.

The sure mark of the beast in fallen angel or sinful man, on earth or in hell, through time and eternity is unmysticism.

The exclusion of the grace of God, the actual and habitual state of sin, the being enslaved by the concupiscence of the flesh, or by that of the eyes, or by the pride of life, or by any of the capital sins, all have one common characteristic, all can be ranged under one comprehensive head—unmysticism.

There is speculative, philosophical, highly reasoned and dogmatical or pedantic unmysticism; there is impulsive, instinctive and highly unreasoning unmysticism; there is practical, downright matter-of-fact unmysticism; and there is even religious unmysticism,

ascetical unmysticism, one might almost say mystical unmysticism. Thus the negative attitude towards the supernatural, which is, without any guilt on its part, the attitude proper of the beast, when guiltily assumed by the reasonable creature of God reduces him to the level of the beast.

Tertullian calls the proud man "*animal gloria*," just as St. Paul calls the sensual man "*animalis homo*," and indeed is not the slave of pride as much as the slave of sensual indulgence one who has no relish for the things of God, who perceives not the things of mystical life? Your so-called intellectual, your modernist, your dilettante in matters of faith—what is he, after all? A beast! *animal gloria*! He may strut and pose and play the Sir Oracle, yet by his unmysticism he has descended, together with the poor slave of drink and debauchery, to the level of the unreasoning brute. Here is tragedy! Here is irony with a vengeance!

The damned in hell will all be on the same level, in that they have rejected God and His knowledge; they have thus made themselves unreasoning creatures like unto beasts; they are beasts, every one of them, and Lucifer the greatest beast of all, "*Bestia*." (Apoc. xxxiv.) This rejection cast him down to depths as great as were the heights of supernatural illumination and sanctity to which, as a pure spirit, he had been raised by God. Disobedience or the breaking off of proper relations between creature and Creator was taken by him and all his train for a mark of superiority, but instead it has proved an unmistakable sign of deterioration. Of a truth, only the humility of faith, coupled with the fervor of charity, makes us true men and children of God.

At bottom the sinner on earth and the reprobate in hell, man or angel, have this in common—God displeases them, Who is the sovereign good! They are sorry that God is infinitely holy, and just and good, and loving, and omnipotent, the First Cause, the Last End and the Supreme Lawgiver. They would have a god of their own fashioning or none at all. They say: Why does not God leave us alone? Why does He refer us to Himself? Why does He not allow us to be happy in our own way? Why should we take any account of Him?

Now this we declare emphatically: whoever is touched with this blight shows the mark of the beast.

It is his attitude towards the divine order and plan which is itself a source of torment and vexation to the reprobate. The manifestation of God in nature, the revelation of the three Divine Persons in Holy Writ, the mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God, of the redemption of man by the Cross, of the Church of Christ with its Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and the seven Sacra-

ments—these things cause him tortures of disquietude. He is enraged at the multitudes of angels that remained immovable in their allegiance to God and thus attained the glory and bliss of heaven; that so many men are saved by serving and loving God, that the Virgin Mary is Queen over all, and that the nuptials of the Lamb will fill the blessed with everlasting glory. All this, so inexpressibly grand and beautiful and good, displeases him; this is why we say he is unreasonable, like unto the brute.

The reprobates then are the unloving ones, "*les sans-amour*," and they are themselves unlovable. Unmysticism, this is their disease, and they themselves have made it incurable. Is not this a frightful state of affairs?

There are two courses open to all men: that which leads to a life with God, in His friendship and active love, by the deliberate acceptance of the whole supernatural order, culminating in the mystical union of the soul with God; or that which leads to a deliberate refusal of the friendship and the love of God, a wilful withdrawal from the supernatural, which renders the mystical union of the soul with God impossible.

The sin of the rebel angels was a refusal to abide and persevere in the mystical union with God, in which they **had been created**. The sin of Eve in yielding to the temptation of the devil and eating the forbidden fruit was likewise a discarding or rejection of the supernatural, by which her mystical union with God was brought to an end. And Adam's sin, in giving preference to the wishes of his guilty wife rather than to the known will of God was a terrible coming down from the high supernatural regions of mystical union with God to the domain of the purely natural—a descent which he also consummated freely and with open eyes.

In the same way every actual sin, if analyzed, is found to be a refusal to enter into the supernatural order or a wilful withdrawal from it, and hereby all possibility of mystical union of the soul with God is precluded. By sin, therefore, the soul either goes against the light of reason and refuses the light of faith; or, having received the light of faith, fails to follow it up to the consummation of charity in the mystical union with God.

And we shall find that all false religions, after all, are nothing but a substitute of the natural elements for the supernatural. What is Paganism but the worship of nature under symbols more or less ingenious or more or less brutish? Heresies in their attacks against certain revealed truths are simply so many attempts at putting the human sense in the place of divine authority. Freemasonry, as has been ascertained, from its secret teaching as well as from its consistent public action all over the world, has no other

end but to snatch the whole human race from Jesus Christ and subjugate it to the worship of pure reason. Now the worship of pure reason is not quite the same as the worship of purity. This was startlingly demonstrated when during the French Revolution, *la Déesse Raison*, impersonated in "le marbre vivant d'une chair prostituée"—to use the words of Lacordaire—was unveiled with sacrilegious pomp and ceremony on the high altar of Notre Dame in Paris. Every sinner by going against the light of reason and revelation substitutes for the worship of God the idolatrous worship of the creature, that is to say, of his own self or some other created object, animate or inanimate, gold or flesh or dirt. Like the devil, he desires something more than the mystical union with God, and that something more, alas, is found to be infinitely less and horribly degrading.

THE MYSTICAL ORDER OF THE UNIVERSE.

From the survey in the preceding chapter of the common characteristic of sin in its every manifestation we have a right to say that the supernatural order might as well be called the mystical order.

The purchase of true religion being no other than to bring man to a perfect union of love with God, in which truly consists the mystical life, we arrive at the remarkable conclusion that the whole question of the supernatural is really one of mysticism.

The question put first to the angels and afterwards to Adam and now to each one of us individually is this: Will you accept the mystical union of love with God or will you not? Sin is a flat refusal, regardless of consequences, to embrace or sustain this mystical union with God.

Tepidity, on the other hand, is (as we have seen) a sort of dangerous benumbing of the mystical faculties, a paralysis verging on the confines of spiritual death. Alone the avowed and uncompromising mystic is safe. "*Mystici in tuto*," we might say, using a phrase of Bossuet in a somewhat different way from him. Alone the mystic embraces the supernatural with all its consequences, in all its bearings upon human life, as summed up in the commandment: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and with thy whole soul, and with thy whole mind." Now one who so wholly and perfectly loves God loves also himself wisely, and cannot but love his neighbor in a chaste and generous spirit and in a manner wholly supernatural. Only mystics can love thus, that is to say in such a manner that their union with God is not hampered by their love of any person or thing created.

But we will go a step further and prove that all things whatever

are mystical, each in its proper place and degree (the sinner and his sin of course excepted.) Not only the things of religion, such as Holy Mass, the Sacraments, the Divine Scriptures, persons and things consecrated to God and the pious acts of Christians in their different states of life, are mystical, but the whole material universe also. The firmament bedecked with millions of stars, the earth with its varied productions and inhabitants, the mighty ocean, the laws of nature, the elements, the seasons, the lengthening out of time in days and months and years and centuries—each separate system of things and each creature individually, from the constellation in the remotest depths of space to the infinitesimally small, invisible speck of a being, situated seemingly on the very verge of nothingness—all these and man, poised as it were between two immensities, the one of greatness above him, the other of smallness below him—all these, I say, are mystical. They are mystical not only by their value as demonstrations of God's existence, His transcendence and infinite perfections, or again by their symbolical and allegorical value which is so great—this all mystics delight in telling us; but, moreover, in themselves, in their proper substantial reality, as things sanctified in our Lord Jesus Christ and in a way united to Him. Not only is God naturally and necessarily implied in the existence of all things, He being present in each one by His divine immanence; not only does God maintain and support them by a continual putting forth of His creative energy; but it has pleased Him, moreover, gratuitously to establish between them and His Divine Son made Man a relation of an incomparably higher order, to give them a share now in the sanctifying of souls and the perfecting of the elect, and hereafter to assume them into the realm of His Infinite Glory.

We distinguish, for the sake of convenience, the different orders in the scheme of the universe—the order of nature, the order of grace and the order of glory, but we must not speak of these as if they were separate and independent of one another: in Christ Jesus they are integral parts of one grand order, which, if I must call it by a comprehensive name, I would make bold to style “the Mystical Order.”

That the order of nature is not isolated from that of grace and that both are destined to be together transmuted into the order of glory in Christ Jesus is evident as far as man is concerned. The two elements, nature and grace, are as the warp and woof of our present state, necessary one to the other, upholding one another and coming to naught if separated. It takes a man to make a Christian, as it requires a pure spirit to make a blessed angel. On the other hand, take away the supernatural element from either man

or angel and this noble being is shattered and becomes respectively a devil or a reprobate. Then both the good angel and the Christian were from the first predestined to be raised to glory. And not only they, but the whole material universe along with them.

We shall be repaid for our trouble if we examine thoroughly this proposition: that the whole material universe, along with men and angels, is involved in the mystical order. We have been so accustomed in this infidel age to look upon the whole world of creation with secularized intellects, if I may use the expression, and to think of it all as a set of things upon which sinner and saint alike have common right of dominion, whilst the truth is that the whole order of nature should be viewed only in the light of God, Who made it, and of the purpose for which He made it, which is the fulfilling of Christ; and that the sinner, precisely *because he has broken with God*, has forfeited all right over the things of this world. If he is allowed for a brief space to use them freely, it is only on sufferance and to give him time to return to a better frame of mind. "Knowest thou not (oh, man) that the benignity of God leadeth thee to penance?" (Rom. xi., 4.)

Everything that is, whether animate or inanimate, is of God, and is in God, and is for God and His Christ and His saints and for them only.

The material world is a divine parable of the love of God for man. Heaven, Earth, Sea and Hell itself witness with a million voices the secret which is the sole felicity of man: the love of God—how many alas, refuse to hear! Each single creature is a fragment of the great created mirror of God, Nature; and each fragment reflects in its tiny compass what the whole mirror reveals upon a more magnificent scale. Everything that is reflects in its own way the Power, Wisdom, Goodness and above all the Love of our Heavenly Father. God is love; all love; all love in Himself, all love in His operations *ad extra*, all love in the necessary relation of all things to His divine goodness, and all love in the gratuitous supernatural relations. He has introduced into the world through His Son Jesus Christ. Thus everything that is, is steeped in the divine, steeped in love, made part and parcel of a grand mystical order and manifests it in Christ.

Reason alone unaided by divine revelation might discern much of this. But oh! how much more light is thrown on the subject when we hear of the mystery of the Incarnation! The Martyrology on the 25th of December opens out with this sublime announcement: "Jesus Christus, aeternus Deus, aeternique Dei filius, *mundum volens adventu suo piissimo consecrare*, de Spiritu Sancto conceptus, nascitur ex Maria Virgine factus homo." The whole universe

of things created is consecrated and sanctified in the Sacred Humanity of Our Lord, and in Its turn the Sacred Humanity consecrates and sanctifies the world by being made from it and part of it and its crowning glory.

The whole world was already sacramental, leading to God, vibrating with the glory of its Maker and quivering with unspoken desire to enter into the mystical union of love with Him through man. The whole world was already aflame with God's love for us and groaning and travailing in its desire to render love for love. It was left to man to make or mar the happiness of the inferior world; and man was alas! failing its expectations when, lo, there comes down upon it one of the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity, the Son of God. He takes His stand in the midst of things created, making Himself one of them and the centre of the universe of all things visible or invisible! He gathers into His hands the threads of nature and holds everything fast to His own divine Self, all in love. Shall we say now that the world is not mystical?

We may consider the Universe as the book of God, written by the finger of God, in which God narrates His infinite perfections and sums them all up in one word: Love! stupendous Love! And in this book the readers themselves, angels and men, are some of the most beautiful chapters; yet the last and crowning one of all, the summary, the triumphant conclusion to which the rest lead up, is Jesus Christ. We have already seen (*supra*, Ch. XII.) how the different species of beings in the whole range of inferior nature are as so many steps towards the fulfilment of the Incarnation: Our Lord in His human nature being the end of all the works of God *ad extra*. He is not only the Last Chapter, but the First as well; "Christ, the image of the invisible God, the first born of every creature." (Coloss. i., 15.) "In the head of the book it is written of Me." (Heb. x., 7.) "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end! I am the first and the last." (Apoc. i., 8-17.) Therefore nothing can escape the mystical grasp of the Son of God made Man. Jesus must be named in all the chapters of the book of creation, for indeed they speak of Him, be it in the faintest accents or the most obscure terms. We must spell out His sacred name from every page and read everything in its light, under pain of not understanding what we read. But the misfortune of our infidel modern scientists, even as it is that of the fallen angels, is precisely that they do not read the Book of God thus and their science stands self-condemned. It is not *cognitio matutina*, nor *vespertina*, it is *nocturna*: it is all darkness, Jesus is not in it, He Who is the all in all of this world and the next!

"The Father loveth the Son and He hath given all things into

His hand." (John iii., 35.) "All things are delivered to Me by My Father." (Mat. xi., 27.) "He hath subjected all things under His feet." (Jo. i., 22.)

With fine scorn did the great Bishop of Tulle, Mgr. Berteaud, in his pastoral of 1864, rail the men of his time who would have ousted God from the world and claimed the nineteenth century for their own. "Is anything their own?" he asks. "Is time theirs? Is the world theirs? Who gave it to them?" He goes on to show that God has given all things to His Christ, and that if the present world is still preserved in existence, they may thank the Church of Christ, which they are persecuting, for its preservation. For as the Father does everything for the sake of His Christ, so Jesus Christ in His turn orders everything for the sake of His mystical Bride, the Church of the elect. The present world will not endure one moment longer than is necessary for the making of the last of the saints.

Hear the inspired accents of the King-Prophet, celebrating these mysteries: "Why have the nations raged and the people devised vain things? The kings of the earth stood up and the princes met together against the Lord and against His Christ (saying): Let us break their bonds asunder, and let us cast away their yoke from us. He that dwelleth in heaven shall laugh at them, and the Lord shall deride them. Then shall He speak to them in His anger, and trouble them in His rage: but I am appointed King by Him over Sion, His holy mountain, preaching His commandment. The Lord hath said to Me: Thou art My Son; this day have I begotten Thee. Ask of Me and I will give Thee the Gentiles for Thy inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for Thy possession. Thou shalt rule them with a rod of iron, and shalt break them in pieces like a potter's vessel." (Ps. xi., 1-9.)

Mysticism, therefore, far from being something exceptional, an overgrowth or an outgrowth of religion, is the very breath of it: it is the whole of religion; nay, it is the great law of all the world in its every department; it is the force of attraction which goes out from the Sacred Humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ to all things created, consecrating and illuminating all. In violently wrenching themselves, as far as in them lay, from this all pervading and powerful attraction of the mystical order of things, the sinner and the reprobate do but give greater evidence to this law of the universe, as we shall see in the next chapter.

"THE SECOND DEATH" IN THE LIGHT OF MYSTICISM.

"God spared not the angels that sinned, but delivered them, drawn down by infernal ropes to the lower hell, unto torments, to be re-

served unto judgment." (II. Pet. xi., 4.) "But the fearful, and unbelieving and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, they shall have their portion in the pool burning with fire and brimstone, which is the second death." (Apoc. xxi., 8.) "And His zeal will take armor, and He will arm the creature for the revenge of his enemies." (Wisd. v., 18.)

"Then He shall say to them also that shall be on His left hand: Depart from Me, you cursed, into everlasting fire, which was prepared for the devil and his angels." (Mat. xxv., 41.) "The smoke of their torments shall ascend up for ever and ever." (Apoc. xiv., 11.)

Sin being what it is, the very worst kind of disorder, a disorder of the spirit—as we have now considered at some length—the ineffable sanctity of God cannot allow it to pass unnoticed, to go for ever unrepressed, or at any rate, unpunished. To the immaculate law of love and of mystical union of the reasonable creature with its Creator there needs must be a sanction, a ratification by which God makes it valid. This sanction must have been sufficiently promulgated, that is to say, denounced beforehand, that it might act as a deterrent and a providential safeguard to the would-be evil doer. Then, if sin be committed, this sanction must in God's good time immediately and with lightning-like rapidity for the rebel angels, with merciful delays in the case of man, be sternly applied, that the balance of right order in the sweet universe of God be not permanently disturbed.

This sanction by the very nature of the case can be no other essentially than the irrevocable separation from God, who is the life of the spirit—the being cast away by Him in this life and in the next. "Depart from Me, you that work iniquity." (Mat. vii., 23.) "Depart from Me, you cursed, into everlasting fire." (Mat. xxv., 41.)

The sinner on earth makes light enough of being cast away from the grace and the love of God. Mystical union with the Sovereign Good has for him no allurements, nor has actual excommunication from the mystical order thus far any terror. Only the formidable perspective of the hell of the damned can make any impression on the wretch. Nay, even that, if he still continues in his sin, may fail at last to rouse him to a sense of his guilt and of his awful danger—even when his sin has already spoiled his life on earth to the extent of making it a sort of anticipated hell.

"In what day soever thou shalt eat of it, thou shalt die the death." (Gen. xi., 17.) Thus spoke God to Adam when He notified to him upon what condition he was to hold the tenure of his present happy state and earn the future eternal bliss of heaven.

The mind of the first man, at once ancestor and representative of the whole human race, being then in all its pristine vigor fresh

from the hands of God and from his first entrancing intercourse with Him, with the light of reason and revelation shining full upon him in all its splendor, there can be no doubt but that he caught the full import of these words of God. There can be no doubt, either, though the Scriptures are silent on the subject, that all the angels at the time of their probation were fully informed beforehand of the secrets of eternal life, that is to say, of heaven and hell as alternative sanctions to the goodness or perverseness of their own free acts. Only in the state of primal innocence neither the angels first nor man afterwards knew experimentally what the threat of death could mean. But this placed them under no disadvantage whatsoever. Speculative knowledge, coupled with the love of God, ought to have been quite enough to have saved them from committing sin. A man does not need to go through the process of breaking his neck before he can make up his mind to enjoy life rather than throw himself down a precipice.

Hell is at the same time a place and a state.

It is the final state of those who have failed in the great business of making themselves fit for divine union, a state of unredeemable wickedness. The first chastisement of sin, persevered in to the end of one's life on earth, is that it remains what it is. It remains sin, that is to say, a disorder, a painful and monstrous disorder, and it will be such from henceforth and for evermore. Only the grace of God could have changed the sinner into a penitent and a saint during the days of his probation. He refused grace, put it away, obstinately, perseveringly, to the very end until death supervening, made him radically incapable of receiving any more. The sinner now can change himself no more than a dead carrion carcass can change itself into a living body. By his own act he has become for ever a dead thing, a corrupt and stinking corpse (whether of human or of angelic nature,) an abomination before God and His blessed angels and saints.

Of course, a monstrous thing like this cannot be allowed to remain for ever in the open, to disgrace the fair face of creation. Of a necessity it has to be swept out of sight and dumped into the great pit, into the awful great sink of hell, which was dug out by the just wrath of God for the fallen angels on the morning of creation, and for sanitary purposes, so to speak, filled with fire and brimstone. For, indeed, such unsavory things have to be seasoned with the salt of divine chastisement, else even from the depths of hell they would infect the universe.

There is in these degenerate days of ours a great deal of wasted sentimentality over the hard case of the damned. But the damned are not interesting in the least; not any more, indeed far less,

infinitely less, than dead dogs or cats or rotten fruit thrown on the refuse heap at the back door. There is no element of pathos in their case, as there would be if they had wanted at last to come back to God and had been debarred from doing so. Their evil plight, when we come to view it rightly, cannot possibly appeal to any reasonable person or make one conceive for them other feelings than those of a rightful indignation and an insurmountable revulsion.

Some pious people cherish the fond imagination that if a lost soul were set free from hell and allowed to return to earth for ever so short a time, it would appall the world by the rigor of its penance in its efforts to make its peace with God. This cannot be maintained theologically. In the face of the serene and admirably reasoned out doctrine of St. Thomas (Ia, II^a, 9, 84-87) I take it that such a soul would rather appall the world by its absolute recklessness and obstinacy in sin. I take it that if, through a singular permission of God, the experiment were repeated not once, but ten times, a hundred or a thousand times, the lost soul returning to earth would each time refuse penance and resume its life of sin ten times, or a hundred, or a thousand times, clearly and openly manifesting that its case is absolutely hopeless, and that there is no alternative but to intern such a maniac where his presence could do no harm. "Deep calleth on deep, at the noise of thy flood-gates." (Ps. xxxi., 8.) The abysmal wickedness of the reprobate calls for the abysmal punishment of hell. Our Lord in the Apocalypse, (xi., 24,) speaks of "the depths of Satan." There are also the depths of all the other reprobates.

In our silly, superficial way of looking at this dread mystery of eternal damnation we are inclined sometimes to find that God is very severe to the unrepentant sinner, and that hell is perhaps too great a punishment. But there was no other way left to God. The sinner refused to be wholesome; he chose to be rotten: he must be got rid of, cast away with a curse to endure his penalty of eternal fire. Rotten fruit or meat is thrown away in disgust, but not in anger; there is no blame attached to its condition, but rotten, putrid angelic natures and human souls are guilty of their own evil.

Hell is thus the final resort, where day by day, generation after generation, century after century, from the beginning of the world till the day of the last judgment, all the filth and rottenness of spoiled angelic natures and human individuals meet and intermingle and accumulate filth and rottenness, moral, not material, of the spirit, not of the flesh. O Lucifer, proud rebellious spirit without love, here is thy kingdom, worthy of thee; thou art the prince over all

this immense and deep world of unspeakable filth. And you, sinner, my brother, do you realize that this is the goal to which you are tending and running with all your might, even as a river hastens its course to lose itself in the ocean? Can it be that you wish to dwell in that pool of filth and fire, with all those miscreants, for all eternity? Then indeed it will be "The second death," that death from which there is no possible resurrection!

Hell then is at one and the same time a state and a place, just as heaven itself is a state and a place. The two things in either case cannot be separated. The special state calls for the particular place and vice versa. Heaven is the place or, better, the Kingdom of the glory of God, and at the same time it calls on its inhabitants for a state of perfect and inadmissible charity.

If, supposing an impossibility, a devil or a reprobate were admitted into paradise, he would be in the realm of glory, but because he would not be in the state of charity, the splendor surrounding him would burn him with shame more fiercely than the very flames of hell. Hell itself is a mercy for the damned compared with what paradise would be.

On the other hand, if a saint, whether from among the blessed angels or the Christians, one in whom the love of God was confirmed, were cast into hell, hell itself would not be to him the place of torment which it is to the reprobates, because he would love the very torments inflicted on him as coming from the hands of the One he loved above all things. In other words, he would not be in the state of soul which makes hell what it is; he would be in the place of damnation, but not in the state of damnation. Now hell is simultaneously the state and the place of damnation.

This may help us in some measure to realize what it will be for the damned to appear at the last judgment, naked, unclean and monstrously deformed as they are, in the midst of the splendor of the blessed angels and saints and to face our Blessed Lord in all the majesty of His dignity of God made Man and of Saviour of the world and of Supreme Judge of the living and the dead. This will prove so unbearable a torment to them that they will cry out to the mountains and the rocks: "Fall upon us and hide us from the face of Him that sitteth upon the Throne and from the wrath of the Lamb. . . for the great day of their wrath is come, and who shall be able to stand?" (Apoc. vi., 17.)

Hell has its place in the mystical order of which we spoke in the preceding chapter.

The state of the reprobate is due to the act of sin, and it is true that by sin the reprobate has taken himself, as far as in him lay, out of the mystical order. But the place of the reprobate, the hell

of the damned, is not of his making. It is due to the direct intervention of God; like all the other works of God, it shows forth His wisdom, His goodness and His sanctity. It forces the reprobate, in spite of himself, to fall back into the harmony of the universe and of the mystical order.

If there were no hell, God would be overcome by the sinner, good would be defeated by evil. There must be hell. Given the free will of angel and man and the wilful guilt of angel and man and the final impenitence of angel and man, hell is as unavoidable a necessity as heaven itself for the reward of the faithful mystic, angel or man. Hell is a part of the mystical order of the universe.

There is yet another aspect under which hell appears in the mystical order; I mean as a real demonstration of the extent of the love of God. All these reprobates will stand for ever as so many monuments of the unspeakable love of God. God has loved each one of these fallen spirits, each one of these reprobate men, with a personal love, most tender and strong and delicate. He has loved them from all eternity, and it was because He loved them that He created them. He made them in love, loving them and yearning to love them for all eternity, and that they also might love Him and be happy with the very happiness of God. This is proclaimed by their whole shattered being.

Just as a pitiful and yet maestic ruin, as, for instance, that of the Cathedral of Rheims to-day, proclaims through its broken arches and noble pillars still standing erect and mutilated statues and fragments of mouldings the vastness and magnificence of the building when it stood in its integrity and the skill and love with which its architect had planned and built and adorned it, so the incorruptible essence of the pure spirits and of the human souls of the reprobates and the persevering keenness of their intellects and the unbending strength of their wills and the nobility of their incorruptible bodies after the resurrection—all will bear witness to the splendid uses to which God in His love had destined them, having made them first to His own image and likeness and given them in His grace the means of intensifying this their likeness to God, to an untold degree, until at last they would have been assumed into the very glory of God and made a part of it.

THE NUPTIALS OF THE LAMB.

The Nuptials of the Lamb as they will be inaugurated after the last Judgment are to be the final stage in the marvelous evolution of mystical life.

Arrived at this point of the task I have mapped out for myself, I am like a mountaineer whose courage flags at the foot of the last

and sublimest, but most dizzy and difficult peak. The temptation is strong to abandon the attempt, and good reasons would not be wanting to justify such a course.

The questions shape themselves in my mind: Why should I try to say something on so difficult and inaccessible a subject? Whoever before tried to tell what will follow for the blessed upon the last judgment? Is it not madness and presumption for me to dare such a climb? Am I not courting disaster?

Again: Why not leave this to the secret teaching of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of the mystics, very few in number, who care to look forward so far into the mysterious future? Does it not baffle description? Does it not set at naught the possibilities of human language? Does it not defy even pure spiritual conceptions of the kind which are accessible to us in our pilgrimage? Fain would I cry out: O my brothers who have followed me thus far, do not press me to go on; I am but a man like you and a worse sinner, and have never gazed upon the divine realities on the other side of the veil. One who was so favored once even during his pilgrimage days could only stammer about it: "Eye hath not seen nor ear heard, nor the heart of man tasted, the things which God hath prepared for those who love Him." Not even now from what they see and experience could the blessed in Paradise give a description of the bliss that is to come after the present order of things has been abolished altogether and superseded by the pure Order of Glory at its highest. Is it not remarkable that the divine Revelation of Holy Scriptures, which tells us so much of what will happen between now and the last sentence of the Divine Judge, does not enter into details as to what will follow the words of Christ: "Come ye, the blessed of My Father, and possess the kingdom that has been prepared for you from the beginning of the world?" Might not I, then, for the purpose of this chapter content myself with saying:

It is simply ineffable?

And yet, somehow, this would not be satisfactory. It would seem little short of treason not to indicate at least in a few words the final stage of the wonderful mystical evolution. I have not led my reader so far and so high along the paths of the mystical doctrine to abandon him before reaching the most desired spot, before, at least, like Moses dying, casting a glance from afar upon the Promised Land not only of the actual bliss of the saints in heaven as it is now, but further at that of the after-judgment-Nuptials of the Lamb; just as Moses dying was given a view of the material Promised Land, and in it a further revelation of the king-

dom of Christ, the Catholic Church, of which the first was only the image and the prelude and a sort of faint beginning.

When what we call the end of the world shall have been accomplished, when the cursed ones shall have been banished for ever to their fiery prison and the blessed shall have been assumed into glory, are we to consider that the last stage of the grand evolution has been reached? We may if we like, still we must not call it an end, but rather a beginning. All that has gone before will appear then in its true light but as a preparation, a grand preparation indeed, but of infinitely magnificent realities, which are to last for ever. The mysteries of time had to be consummated ere the mysteries of eternity, the as yet unrevealed mysteries, could begin. These are all summed up in those entrancing words: The Nuptials of the Lamb.

"And I saw," says St. John in the Apocalypse, "a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth were gone, and the sea was now no more. And I, John, saw the holy city, the New Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. And I heard a great voice from the throne saying: Behold the tabernacle of God with men, and He will dwell with them, and they shall be His people, and God Himself shall be their God. And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and death shall be no more, nor mourning, nor crying, nor sorrow shall be any more, for the former things are passed away. And He that sat on the Throne said: Behold I make all things new." (Apoc. xxi., 1-5.)

Jesus, the Heavenly Bridegroom, will not be fulfilled until after the general resurrection and last judgment. Only then will the Church, His mystical Bride, come at last to the fulness of her charms. Only then also will each one of the blessed mystics be all that God wishes him to be. Till then the mystical body of Christ and every individual member of it is in the making. Till then Christ is not fulfilled, and the real feast cannot begin. Creation goes on as long as men are to be born. Incarnation has to be extended to every Christian that will be to the very end of the world. Redemption will have worked out its full and final effect only when death has been overcome in the resurrection of all flesh. And only when all the blessed shall have received their reward in soul and body, according to their works and the after-effects thereof, will sanctification shine in its full splendor.

The Church as it is now, even the Triumphant Church of the angels and saints, is yet but as a little maid compared to the perfect Bride God the Father desires her to become for the delights of His Son. "*Soror nostra parva*," says the chorus in the mystical

love drama of the Canticle of Canticles, "*Soror nostra parva et ubera non habet.*" This is equally true of the whole Church and of every individual predestined, whether already in heaven or yet on earth, whether of angelic or human nature; each one in regard to the Heavenly Bridegroom is at present but as a little maid, dearly loved indeed and very happy in his love, but not yet come to the rounded fulness of her charms, which are to give joy to the Beloved, nor to the fulness of her capacity for enjoyment of His mystical divine embraces. This twofold perfection will be realized in the Church as the mystical body of Christ and in each separate saint only after the winding up of the affairs of time by the grand assizes of the last judgment, not only because then each one will receive according to his works, but also because each one will then be assigned his definitive place in the eternal hierarchy of perfect charity. This could not have been done before.

The capacity for enjoyment of the blessed in heaven, angels and saints, immense as it is and immensely gratified, is far from having reached its utmost limit. It is not known to the blessed themselves; it will come to them as a revelation. Indeed they may take for themselves the words of St. Paul addressed to us: "*Nondum apparuit quid erimus.*" Even the angels of God each in his own capacity will receive, after the last judgment, an ineffable increase of personal nobility, brightness and joy, resulting from the fulfilment of Jesus in the Church and from the perfect loveliness of His Bride, for whom they employed themselves so diligently whilst time lasted and she was a pilgrim on earth.

It seems to me it would be wrong indeed to imagine that the joy of the blessed, even the essential joy of the Beatific Vision, as they now taste it, cannot be increased. It all depends on whether their capacity for knowing God and loving Him is susceptible of increase. We must remember that God is the Master of the feast yet to come of the eternal Nuptials of the Lamb. God is the Maker both of feast and guests, and He will fit them, the former to the latter and vice versa, by giving the finishing touch of His omnipotent hand to each one of the blessed on the occasion of the last judgment. There is a great difference between the lovely apple blossom in early spring and the full ripe fruit in russet autumn, the first fair promise and early token and then the glorious fulfilment. Thus the blessed as they are now and as they will be at the end of the world.

The Nuptials of the Lamb will not be barren. This Virginal marriage of the Son of God made Man, with His Predestined Bride, the Church of the blessed, will bear a fruit inferior only to that of the mystic marriage of the Virgin Mary with the Holy Ghost, which

was Christ Himself. This is the fruit it shall bring forth: *the perfect praise of the Creator.*

And this marvelous new birth will be of a begetting proper to God eternal, eternal not only in its endless duration, but eternal in its very mode. Eternally does God the Father say to His Son: "Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te;" eternally also and with infinite rapture of joy will the Lamb of God and His Bride, the Church of the predestined, say to the Perfect Praise of God: "Thou art my child; this day have I begotten thee."

In this chapter I have been greatly daring. O my God, Thou knowest what I have done, I have done for Thy dear love. Who could speak well of these mysteries, being as yet but dust and ashes! I prostrate myself in my nothingness and crave pardon for all my shortcomings, through Jesus Christ, my Lord and Saviour, the Bridegroom of the Church and of my soul and of every soul of good will. To whom be glory for ever!

CONCLUSION OF THE FIRST PART.

We are now arrived at the end of the First Part of my *Outlines of the Doctrine of the Mystical Life.*

This first part has been taken up with Preliminaries.

Before I could begin to treat of the two great occupations of the Mystical Life, which are Divine Contemplation and Sainly Action, the ground had to be cleared and the right notion itself of the Mystical Life vindicated. This I have now done at some length, more by way of statement and development of the traditional idea of mystical life than by way of controversy, trusting that the splendor of this traditional view will win back to itself many minds which have been led astray by more modern but narrow and unsatisfactory definitions. I do not think there is one of the thirty-nine foregoing chapters presenting some special aspect of the traditional notion which is not calculated to help to a more thorough and practical understanding of the workings of mystical life.

We ought now to be quite convinced that mystical life is simply life with God, conscious, sustained, loving attention to God, or the life of a fervent soul, with God, under the veil of faith, in the sanctuary of its own heart; in other words, the intercourse of mutual love between God and the fervent Christian.

I make bold to assert that only when thus understood in the light of the traditional notion of mysticism will the religion of Christ and the Catholic Church receive its true import. Alone traditional mysticism does justice to the idea of God to the idea of man, as these are presented to us in Divine Revelation. Alone, the mystic does full justice to his Christianity.

"*Hominem quæro*," "I seek a man," said the old cynic Diogenes, groping in full daylight with his lantern. He sought and sought in vain; he could never find a man until he found a true servant of God and there was none at Athens in his day, though it was the proud boast of that city that she was then the Queen of Intellectualism.

The mystic alone is worthy of the name of man, because he alone grasps the divine purpose of life. The others are simply beasts of burden, or beasts of prey, or beasts of pleasure, or beasts of pride, as we have seen.

The world is in labor of a definitive order which will be all mystical, all supernatural, all glorious and divinely blissful. The present world is in labor of the Heavenly Jerusalem, which is to receive all the predestined of God and to embrace one day within its precincts all this material universe. As man is a creature in the making, so is Heaven, and so also, for that matter, is hell. We are called upon to help. This material world of our probation is the workshop. We are pressed into the service of one side or the other, and none but the infant or the idiot is allowed to remain neutral. If one is not with Jesus, one is against Him. He, therefore, who shall not fit himself ultimately for mystical life in paradise will be a reprobate.

The mystic is really the only man on earth who knows how to enjoy himself and make the best of the present life. The others enjoy *death*, not life; for what they call life is death. God is life and the mystic alone is wise enough to enjoy God.

O that all men might become true mystics! O that it might be given me to allure them to this, the only true life, more and more, in displaying to their gaze the splendors of Divine Contemplation and the supernatural charms of Saintly Action, as I hope to do, with the help of God, in the second and third parts of these Outlines!

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GENOA'S CITY OF THE DEAD—FLORENCE AND ITS
CATHEDRAL.

ONE bright summer's day an ancient pedagogue set out on a trip to Europe in quest of observation lessons. He visited many commercial centres and art centres; wandered among the shrine-towns of the Swiss Jura; climbed to the top of the statue of Notre Dame de la Garde, at Marseilles, wherein he looked down on the city, the countless *bastides* (white villas) on the surrounding hills, the harbor and the barren group of islands at the entrance with the Chateau d'If, where Mirabeau was one time confined, and then he looked out on that part of the Mediterranean visible from where he stood. He served Mass in the famous basilica at Lourdes as well as in the crypt under the main altar in St. Peter's, in Rome; he wandered through the catacombs of St. Cecilia's and St. Calixtus and contemplated the almost interminable Via Appia lined on either side with its venerable and historical ruins. He sat under the Leaning Tower at Pisa, admired the beautiful pulpit by Pisano, in the famous baptistry, and listened with pleasure to the wonderful echo to be heard in that famous building, and he looked with admiration at the swinging bronze lamp in the Cathedral, the swaying of which is said to have suggested to Galileo the idea of the pendulum. The Campo Santo, made up of fifty-three shiploads of earth brought from Mount Calvary to afford a resting place to the Crusaders, was also visited and the heroic deeds of the devoted men reposing there were brought to mind. But it would take a large volume to describe all these things and to dwell upon the lessons they teach. We shall have to confine ourselves to two cities—Genoa and Florence.

Leaving Marseilles by the 7.35 A. M. train, the tourist passes through one of the most delightful and picturesque portions of Southern Europe and arrives at Genoa at about 10.30 P. M. The railroad winds along the coast of the Mediterranean, and but for the too numerous tunnels through which it passes, and which mar the vision always at the wrong time, it would be one of the most pleasant journeys that could be made. The carriage road is therefore often preferred by persons having the time and going from Nice to Genoa. It runs in sight of the railroad most of the way and it has the advantage of affording the tourist a better opportunity of enjoying the magnificent scenery, which in some places displays a beautiful succession of bold and lofty promontories, deeply wooded hills and richly cultivated plains along the coast. In others the road passes through tall cliffs, which rise up from the surf of the Mediterranean and are topped with the ruins of venerable towers

erected long ago when the adjacent waters were infested with pirates. Along the road, too, are extensive olive plantations, with their dark green foliage. Here, too, may be seen luxuriant growths of figs, vines, citrons, oranges, oleanders, myrtles and, in the vicinity of San Remo, even palms are occasionally seen. Indeed, the journey is a rapid and continuous transition from cultivated fields, vineyards and orchards to the wildest and most picturesque scenes, with here and there a cottage or a chapel which seems to peek out from behind some tall cliff, at the foot of which the waters of the sea dash at times in foaming billows and with relentless fury. As we pass through Monaco we cast a hasty glance at the Casino, with its attractive *tapis vert*, often so fatal to the seeker after fortunes, and we are lost in admiration of the beautiful grounds by which that Casino is surrounded.

On reaching Genoa the first thing that strikes the visitor on emerging from the railroad station is the statue of Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of America. It was erected in 1862 and stands on a pedestal adorned with the prows of ships and laurel wreaths. The figure of the great discoverer, clad in the costume of the scholars of his time, stands upon an anchor and at his feet kneels the figure of America. At the four corners of the pedestal are allegorical figures of Religion, Geography, Strength and Wisdom, in sitting posture. Between these are four *bassi-relievi* of scenes from the life of Columbus. On the base of the monument two flying genii support a tablet with the inscription of dedication: *A Cristoforo Columbo, la Patria*.

The writer of this article lost no time in "doing" Genoa "la Superba"—the city of palaces. It is in the form of an amphitheatre, and upon the sides of the mountains which rise behind it are beautiful suburban palaces, villas and gardens. It has a population estimated at about 150,000, and is a place of much trade carried on with England, France and America. It is surrounded by a series of fortifications; the streets in the lower part of the city are generally very narrow and in days gone by were traversed almost exclusively by sedan chairs, but the new thoroughfares have a breadth sufficient to admit the passage of carriages. Some of them are very fine.

The palaces of Genoa, which have been too often described to require anything further from us, are really magnificent. They are all built of marble, with grand entrances, spacious arcades and staircases and lofty colonnades, and contain many superb galleries of paintings. To the student of art, the Renaissance palaces are of the greatest interest, as they are said to surpass in magnificence those of any other city of Italy.

From our hotel window we look out upon a lofty wall, with arcades, which surrounds the central part of the harbor. The marble platform of this wall, called the *Terrazzo di Marmo*, which one of the employes of the hotel tells us is *Venti passi di larghezza* (twenty paces in width), is a promenade much resorted to, especially in the early morning. We have no time to wander along its inviting walks, and we inquire at the hotel office for the "objects and palaces" of greatest interest to tourists who want to see everything in a few hours. We are directed to the public buildings, which are very fine, and a description of them can be found in any guide book. We want something that everybody has not seen or has overlooked. Our friends at the hotel are particularly anxious for us to visit the Campo Santo. At first the idea of visiting a cemetery when there were so many other places to see seemed like a loss of time, and then one has a feeling that he will be there long enough some day. Yielding, however, to the repeated importunities of our friends, we consented and have since thanked them more than once for the pleasure and surprise that was in store for us.

One of the most beautiful cemeteries in Europe and perhaps in the world is situated about a mile and a half from the city of Genoa on a slope of the valley of the Bisagno. It was founded or laid out in 1867, and contains one of the finest collections of monumental marble to be found anywhere. The Campo Santo, or *Cemetero di Staglieno*, consists of a quadrilateral structure inclosing an area of ground larger than Washington Square, Philadelphia, or Madison Square, New York. The ground thus enclosed is laid out in single graves, such as may be found in any churchyard, all of which are surmounted by neat marble crosses bearing simple inscriptions. In the centre of this enclosure is a colossal statue of Religion bearing the cross of salvation. The structure above referred to consists of two long galleries extending along the four sides of the cemetery. The external gallery is filled on either side with niches, in which bodies are placed laterally, after the manner of the old Roman Catacombs, and closed in by slabs bearing inscriptions and ornamented with wreaths of black beadwork or of immortelles, or both. The inner gallery, opening out upon the graveyard and composed of a series of arcades, is flanked on either side by works of art, which must be the work of Genoese sculptors and erected within four years after the purchase of the vault. Directly opposite the main entrance and on the upper side of the enclosure is the rotunda. The chapel is on the upper tier of the rotunda (for this structure has an upper and a lower tier). The rotunda is supported by sixteen monolithic columns of black marble, eight metres in length by three and a half in circumference. Around the walls in the interior

of the chapel are statues, one of Adam, by Grengo, bearing the inscription, "*Sol per mia colpa qui la morte impera*" ("Through my fault alone death reigns here"); another of Eve, by Villa, and others of Ezekiel, Moses, Daniel, the Immaculate Conception, St. John the Evangelist and St. Michael. Each of these statues is three metres high. In the centre of the chapel, which is sixty metres in circumference, is a magnificent altar; there are besides this four lateral altars. Three Masses are celebrated here every morning. The echo in this chapel is only equaled by that in the baptistry at Pisa. The chapel is lighted from above, and the light is softened by beautiful stained glass windows.

The façade of the chapel consists of a portico, supported by six marble columns, from which a noble flight of steps leads down to the terrace, forming the roof of the lower tier, which is laid out in attractive flower-beds. From here another broad flight of steps, flanked on either side by colossal allegorical statues, leads down to the graveyard already described, at the bottom of which are two slender columns, surmounted by urns resting on Corinthian capitals.

At the upper end of one of the inner galleries is the tomb of Mazzini, who died in 1872. It is embellished by a fine statue of the great Italian agitator. As a work of art it commands admiration. Near it is a lifelike statue of a little girl, some twelve or thirteen years of age, the idol of her parents. She is arrayed as when living and stands upon a pedestal, which bears an inscription so touching as to draw tears from the eyes of the beholder.

Among the monuments that have attracted the most attention may be mentioned that of the "Marchese Andrea Luigi Taliacarne, Italian Minister to the Court of Portugal." Upon a broad base stands an angel with upturned face, one hand resting on a medallion bearing a bust in relief of the dead marquis. Besides the medallion is an owl and near it a plinth. Back of the angel and rising above it is a broken column partially draped by a mantle.

The R. Piaggio monument is one of F. Fabrini's finest works. It represents the Angel of Faith and Resurrection floating upon a cloud which rests upon the tomb. The admirable poise of these two figures, their exquisitely wrought faces, their correct anatomy and graceful attitudes, are objects of universal admiration.

The E. Piaggio monument is an entirely different conception. Sitting at the door of the vault is a figure of Time, his bare and brawny arms folded upon his breast, his head bowed in deep meditation and his ample wings folded about him. The face is evidently intended for a likeness of the deceased. Nearby at the base of the statue is a death head.

The Ghighione monument is a work into which the sculptor, Varni,

seems to have thrown his whole soul. An imposing marble sarcophagus, beautifully decorated on the sides and surmounted by a wreath of leaves, exquisitely cut, rests upon a block of granite. Kneeling by the side, with clasped hands and upturned face full of sorrow, tempered by religion, is the widow, with head uncovered. Her dress is plain and purely modern and hangs in graceful folds. Behind her, with one hand resting on the tomb, is her son. His dress is that of the young man of the day. In his left hand he holds a soft hat, the dent in the crown, caused by the manner in which it is held, being clearly discernible. I could stand for hours looking at it; it was so natural, so everyday.

Directly across from the tomb just described is the monument of Carlo di Casella. The form of the deceased lies on a sumptuous bier covered with a pall. Soaring above it is the half-draped figure of an angel, with outstretched wings and in the act of placing the trumpet of resurrection to its lips. The ribbon around an exquisitely wrought bouquet of flowers bears the touching inscription: "*A mio Murito. R. I. P.*"

The Pienovi monument executed by G. P. Villa in 1879 tells a story of the deepest sorrow and evidently of sudden death. Upon a sofa covered with a sheet lies the figure of the husband and father. The wife stands beside it in the act of raising the sheet and revealing the face of her dead husband. The look of terror upon her own countenance as she realizes her bereavement is more eloquent than words can express. A lighted torch burns at the head and foot of the couch. Raffaele Pienovi was "a prosperous merchant."

The Gati monument is another beautiful work of art. A marble vault, the iron door of which is reached by three steps, flanked by a pair of sepulchral lamps of beautiful design and sculptured with the figure of the butterfly, representing the escape of the soul, is ornamented with wreaths and garlands suspended on the walls on both sides of the door. The most striking features of the monument are two female figures (life-sized), one standing at the door, with clasped hands and downcast head; her hair hangs loosely down her back and her face wears an expression of the deepest sorrow. Sitting on the steps at her feet is another disconsolate figure, perhaps her mother. Her feet, like those of the standing figure, are bare; a veil hangs loosely from the back of her head, covering one shoulder and arm. The other arm, covered by a short sleeve, lies listlessly upon the lap, and the woe-begone face and bowed position of the body tell too plainly of the broken heart that beats within. Upon the walls enclosing the monument hang wreaths and other tokens of affection, one bearing the words "*A mio Padre,*" the other the simple word "*Ricordo.*"

Another monument bearing the inscription "*Famiglia di Lazzaro Patrone*" commands the attention of the passerby. Over the door of the vault are two medallion portraits of the father and mother of the family, supported by allegorical figures. Seated on the steps leading to the door of the vault is the disconsolate daughter, barefooted, her long hair flowing down her back and her dress in disorder. She supports herself by resting one hand on the upper step; her left arm is around a little babe that looks up into its mother's face, unconscious of the sorrow that reigns within her bosom. Behind her, leaning against the vault, is a little girl, some four or five years of age; her little hands are clasped under her chin and her sorrowful eyes, like those of her mother, are looking up at the Angel of Consolation, standing at the other side of the vault door and pointing to the only home where true happiness is to be found.

The monument of Ludovico Pierano (No. 5,161) consists of four figures grouped upon the steps of the vault. With one foot resting on the ground and the other upon the first step to the right stands the figure of a young man clad in the old Roman toga, so arranged as to display the artist's knowledge of anatomy. One step higher, but on the left, is a beautiful female figure, evidently his sister, going up to deposit a wreath of immortelles upon the tomb of her father. Just above the young man is the figure of his mother, her entire form, like that of her daughter, enveloped in a Roman mantle. She is in the attitude of supplication, her hands clasped and her face turned upwards to the central figure of the group, the Angel of Hope, who is pointing heavenward. The lifelike faces of the figures, their natural positions and the graceful folds of their drapery, are highly creditable to the artist. It would be useless to attempt to describe the many admirable works of art which adorn these galleries. There is such a variety of design that one wonders how the artists have been able to express the same idea—death—in so many ways. The Da Costa monument, by Sacomanno, represents an adopted son standing by the tomb of his dead preceptor. The Venzano monument represents a weeping daughter kneeling at the altar beneath which her father sleeps his last sleep, and at the foot of which she is in the act of depositing a wreath of immortelles in token of her affectionate remembrance. The Paggio monument is a group of seven figures gathered around the death-bed of a father. The eldest son is leading the grief-stricken mother out of the room; three daughters and one son are at one side of the bed looking tearfully into the face of the dead father, while a fourth daughter sits in an armchair on the other side of the bed, her head resting upon her hand and weeping in silence. The effect of this group is very impressive.

But by far the finest work of art in this beautiful collection of mortuary marble is Varni's masterpiece, the Tomati monument. The recess in which it is situated is in the form of a chapel. Upon a marble tomb is a magnificent catafalque, richly decorated with doves with angels' heads. Upon the catafalque lies the effigy of Cristoforo Tomati, his head resting on a pillow. Kneeling upon the steps leading up to the sarcophagus is the figure of his pious daughter in the attitude of prayer. Her hands are clasped, her slender figure bends towards the middle of the tomb, where, standing upon a cloud, with both hands outstretched, one over the dead, the other over the living, appears the divine form of the risen Saviour, Christ the Comforter. Beneath His feet is the inscription: "*A Cristoforo Tomati la Figlia fidando in Dio Consolatore.*" Over the whole rises a dome, supported by pillars and pilasters with ornamental capitals. Above these pillars, on a band encircling the dome, are the words: "*Ego sum resurrectis et vita.*" The expression on the faces of the figures, their easy and graceful attitudes and the delicately chiseled work upon the flowers and upon the ruffles and lace of the lady's dress are worthy of admiration.

It is a matter of surprise that tourists rarely mention this beautiful cemetery, and that guide-books, when they do refer to it, do so in such a manner as to deter rather than invite the tourist. Among the artists whose works attract the most attention in this Campo Santo may be mentioned Varni, Villa, Benetti, Rubalto, Saccomano and Paernio. It would be an endless task to attempt to describe the many beautiful monuments which abound in this magnificent city of the dead or to dwell upon the touching inscriptions through which the Italians expressed their deep sorrow for the dead and implore the prayers of the living for their eternal repose.

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From Genoa one takes a run to Florence—"Tirrenze da Bella," as its inhabitants love to call it, and with much justice, too, as it is one of the most delightful cities in Italy. It is situated on both sides of the Arno. A short walk through the quaint streets carries you back four hundred years; a stroll on *Lung Arno* (along the Arno) and you are *dans le mouvement*. In one street one is startled by confronting the spot where once stood the house of Amerigo Vespucci; in another he jostles against the *élite* out for a refreshing promenade. The styles of dress do not seem to have changed much from the days of Dante and continued down to our own days, and even in our American cities. In his *Purgatorio* (Canto xxiii.) he says:

"When from the pulpits shall be loudly warned
The unblushing dames of Florence, lest they bare

Unkerchef'd bosoms to the common gaze.
What savage women hath the world e'er seen,
What Saracens, for whom there needed scourge
Of spiritual or other discipline,
To force them walk with covering on their limbs."

But this does not mean that *all* modesty had disappeared either in Florence or in New York.

Florence is noted for its beautiful and priceless art treasures and its historical associations. How the lover of art is delighted by the sight of paintings by Michael Angelo, Raphael, Titian, Andrea del Sarto, Correggio and the inimitable terra-cotta works of Lucca della Robbia!

As we wander through the streets of Florence we see numerous statues of great men, notably that of Cosimo I., by Giovanni di Bologna, with figures of Justice and Power, by Danti, and that of Dante, by Pazzi. If one takes a view of the city from San Miniato about sunset, one shall see the Val d'Arno bathed with mellow golden light; a dreamy vapor softens the outlines of the distant Apennines; the sparkling Arno may be traced through the green meadows far away to the westward, whilst immediately before us lies the city, with its countless towers and spires and domes, all glittering with the glory of the setting sun. Prominent among these latter are the domes of the Cathedral and the Campanile, the former rising to a height of 387 feet and the latter to a height of 292 feet.

It is to this magnificent Cathedral that we shall confine ourselves for the present, for we are just in time to witness and to participate in the ceremonies of the fifth centenary of Donatello and the inauguration of the façade of the church which was only unveiled and blessed on May 12, 1887.

The inauguration of the façade of the Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore (so called from the lily which figures in the arms of Florence), the most grandiose work commenced, continued and completed since the political *renaissance* of the country, is the triumphant realization of the desire of centuries. To Florence this metropolitan church is not only the greatest temple erected by the faith and zeal of its former inhabitants, but it is, moreover, a page in its history recorded in marble. The transformation of the ancient Church of the Santa Reparata into the present Cathedral was the constant desire of those charged with this department of public works. Giovanni Villani relates that during the year 1294 the Florentines decided to "renovate the chief church of Florence; to enlarge it, to build it all of marble and with carved figures." The Guelphs

were in the ascendancy at the time, and the Ghibellines, with Dante Allighieri on their side, had been discomfited at Compaldino, and the victors devoted themselves to the extension of commerce, the encouragement of progress and the cultivation of the arts.

It appears certain that the corner-stone of the renovated temple was laid in 1296 in the presence of Cardinal Pietro Valeriani, sent expressly for this occasion by Pope Boniface VIII., and of Bishop Francesco Monaldeschi. The models and designs for the restoration of the church were given by Arnolfo di Cambio, "capo-maestro" of the "commune," and were returned to him with the injunction to "put all possible magnificence into the work." For the first few years after the beginning of the work it was pushed forward with much vigor, a fund having been created to meet the necessary expenses, but the death of Arnolfo, in 1310, for a time suspended operations. It was resumed and carried on expeditiously from 1318 to 1319, when it was again suspended, either for want of the necessary funds or because of the political troubles between the factions of the Neri (the Blacks or Guelphs) and the Bianchi (or Ghibellines), which in that year drenched the city with blood through the hostilities of their powerful families, the Cerchi and the Donati. In 1331 the work was once more resumed.

On April 12, 1334, Giotto di Bondone da Vespignano was named master of the works upon the church, which was still called Santa Reparata. Giotto, who was born in 1265, was already sixty-nine years of age when he assumed the task begun by Arnolfo. In July, 1334, he laid the foundations of the Campanile that was completed after his death by Gaddi. But poor Giotto had not many years left him to devote to the great work entrusted to him. In 1337, at the age of seventy-two, he passed away and operations were again interrupted. In 1355 Francesco Talenti became the architect, and Arnolfo's original conception was expanded, and the nave, with its spacious vaulting, as well as the choir apse, were begun from Talenti's designs. The exterior was also further ornamented in harmony with the original details. For some years following the work dragged along so slowly that Talenti was replaced by Giovanni di Lappo Ghini. This was about 1363.

The erection of this magnificent structure dragged along for years, under one architect and then another, until it grew in proportion and in artistic wonders. Marble and bronze and paint successively added their beauties until, in 1432, the older name of Santa Reparata gave way to the present name of Santa Maria del Fiore. In 1408 the name of Donatello appears for the first time upon the records of the church as being engaged upon the statue of King David. In 1428, the renovated temple having sufficiently

advanced, the central tribune was dedicated to San Zanobius, Bishop and patron of the city, and it was decided that his remains, found in 1330, be placed in a tomb, to be executed by Lorenzo di Bartoluccio. The translation of the body of San Zanobius from the catacomb in which it had been deposited in 1330 to Brunelleschi's new subterranean chapel was accomplished with great solemnity in May, 1439. It happened that in the same year Pope Eugenius IV. had called a council in Florence to consider the union of the Greek and Latin churches, and among those who attended the council was John Palæologus, Emperor of Constantinople. The ceremony of the translation was consequently honored by the Pope, the brother of the Emperor, the Fathers of the Council, the Patriarch of Jerusalem and of Grado, and by a large number of Greek and Latin Bishops, who were welcomed to Florence on this occasion. Six Bishops carried the casket containing the remains. The bronze shrine in which they were placed was finished in 1441 and was the work of Lorenzo Ghiberti, and consists of three scenes in basso-relievo. The centre one represents the raising from the dead of the child of a French lady said to have been effected by the saint in a village of the Albizzi. Of those on each side, one represents the resurrection of a man crushed under a car, and the other, a man carrying a relic of San Zanobius, sent by St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan.

In August, 1417, attention was given to the cupola, and the plans called for were presented on December 12; there were sixteen. Preference was given to those of Filippo di Ser Brunelleschi and Lorenzo Ghiberti. It appears that another meeting to decide upon the plans was called in 1418, when the work was given to Brunelleschi, who, after a third submission of plans, was permitted to begin the work. In 1432 Brunelleschi was authorized to prepare the designs for the lantern, and on August 30, 1436, the cupola was finished and blessed by the Bishop of Fiesole. The first stone of the lantern was placed in 1445, but when the work was completed to a goodly height, Brunelleschi fell sick and died on April 16, 1446, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and asking it as a great favor not only by word of mouth, but in his will, that no change whatsoever be made in his plans in the completion of the structure.

On January 27, 1600, the lantern was struck by lightning and it was hurled down into the Via de Servi with such noise and confusion that the inhabitants thought the world had come to an end. It was replaced in 1602 on a much larger scale by Bernardo Berontenti. This dome is the largest in the world; it is 300 feet high, with the lantern 352 feet. The ascent is very interesting, as, besides the fine view afforded from the top, a very good idea of the con-

struction may be obtained. After climbing 463 steps, the tourist, if at all venturesome, may go up 57 steps more to the cross on the summit.

Let us say a word or two about the Campanile, that wonderful structure which rests beside the Cathedral and which forms such a harmonious *ensemble* with it. We have said that it was begun by Giotto on July 28, 1334, and that he died soon after in 1336. Andrea Pisano next took charge of the work, but it soon languished and finally ceased entirely, and it was not until 1351, when, under the direction of Francesco Talenti, it was resumed and carried on in accordance with the original designs of Giotto. In 1387 it was under roof, and finally, in 1437, the great Campanile was completed. Besides the model for the Campanile, Giotto left the design of all the historical scenes in marble which adorn the lower part. Some of these sculptures are by Pisano and five are by Lucca della Robbia. At the corners may be seen a number of statues, the works of Nicola d'Arezzo, Andrea Pisano and Lucca della Robbia. Three figures of the Prophets, by Donatello, are on the side toward San Giovanni.

The Campanile terminates with a terrace surrounded by a marble parapet. On the last of the five stories into which it is divided by architectural lines there is a large tri-formed window which is surmounted by a cusp and enriched with beautiful tracery in the Italian Gothic style. The height of the Campanile is 292 feet, and it is regarded as one of the finest works of its kind in existence. All the five stories of which it consists are beautifully and richly decorated with marble blocks of various colors. On the west side are four statues, the first three of which are by Donatello. They represent St. Matthew, David, the celebrated "Zuccone," or baldhead, and Solomon. The fourth, Obediah, is the work of Nanni di Bartolo (1420). On the side are Habakkuk, Abraham and Isaac, by Rosseo and Donatello, and two Patriarchs, by Nicolo d'Arezzo. On the north side are Sybils and Prophets. Further down on the sides of the tower we come to the *bassi-relievi* of Giotto, Pisano and Lucca della Robbia, representing the Seven Cardinal Virtues, the Seven Corporal Works of Mercy and the Seven Sacraments. In the lower series is a curious representation of the development of the human race from the Creation to the climax of Greek science. Among these may be seen the creation of Eve, Adam and Eve at Work, Dwellers in Tents, Astronomers, a Rider, Weaving, Navigation, Agriculture, etc., while the liberal arts are represented by figures of Phidias, Apellis, Donatus, Orpheus, Plato, Aristotle, Ptolemy, Euclid and a Musician. The ascent to the top of the Campanile is by 414 steps, and the view obtained of the surrounding coun-

try, studded with beautiful villas, amply repays the tourist for his trouble. Here, too, may be seen the pillars on which, according to Giotto, it was proposed to raise a spire 100 feet high, but the project was abandoned by Gaddi. So great an impression did the splendor of this Campanile produce upon the Emperor Charles V. that he declared that it should be preserved under a covering of glass.

The new façade of the Duomo, as has been already stated, was uncovered in May, 1887, a month that will be memorable in the history of "beautiful Florence" because of the celebrations which seemed to cluster around the crowning glory of Florentine art, namely, the commemoration of the fifth centenary of Donatello and the reinterment of Rossini,¹ the well-known composer of operas. The glory of Santa Maria and Fiore had occupied the minds of the Italian people for many months. After the lapse of *five centuries* it was indeed a great event to have completed the noble design of Brunelleschi.

From the day of its foundation, at the close of the thirteenth century, the grand Cathedral has had a special hold upon the people of Italy, and contributions for its completion have poured in from all parts and from all sorts and conditions of people. Far back, in the year 1294, Arnolfo del Cambio, who superintended the work down to 1310, the time of his death, was authorized, as we have already seen, to make a design that would "harmonize with the opinion of many wise men." On a bright May morning in 1887 the people of Florence saw the fulfillment of this command. Three great curtains slowly slid down on their ropes, uncovering, strip by strip, the mass of delicately carved and inlaid marbles, the multitude of statues, the gold and the mosaics, until the whole of the magnificent work stood shining in the sunlight. While the richest and most delicately tinted marbles have been used, great care has been taken to keep the new work in harmony with the other walls of the Cathedral. To insure this it became necessary to remove many of the old slabs of the *intersiata*, where the marble had been worn away by decay or damaged by the action of the weather. It may be judged by this partial renovation how admirable was the effect of the whole when the coverings were removed. There was exposed to the enthusiastic and admiring masses the *banoro di poesia*, a vast marble tracery of fruits, flowers, garlands, wreaths, mingled with lovely faces, the work of innumerable sculptors and artists, all of whom undertook it as a labor of love, many of them, like Settignano, accepting only their daily expenses. Nor was this disinterestedness limited to the noble army of workmen. The beau-

¹ The remains of Rossini had previously been interred in the Cemetery of Père la Chaise, Paris.

tiful, rich, variegated marbles of Senavezza, Sienna and Prato were presented as gifts and in many instances their transportation was paid. Florence had made every preparation for the great occasion and the City of the Lily was rendered still more attractive by the variety of costumes which may still be seen in the remote provinces. From the wooded glens of the Apennines, from the Alban hills and rugged Calabria came pilgrims to gladden their hearts by the sight of the crowning glory of Florence—the completion of the Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore.

But before we undertake to describe the grand rejoicings, which lasted some two weeks, let us inquire a little into the history of the façades.

Arnolfo del Cambio, when renovating the Church of Santa Reparata, doubtless intended to decorate it with a façade of becoming architectural magnificence. A rectangular fragment of a green-and-white marble incrustation was found at a comparatively recent date, and from it the modern architect was enabled to determine the character of Arnolfo's work and to complete it. A *facciata*, subsequent to Arnolfo's and embellished with numerous statues and erroneously attributed to Giotto, is minutely described by Rondinelli. In 1588 the façade was removed with a view to replacing it with a new one, but the project was not carried out. The Cathedral was thus left without a façade and was then decorated and frescoed by way of supplying the defect. On April 22, 1860, King Victor Emmanuel laid the foundation stone of the new façade. It was blessed by the Archbishop and a vast concourse of people joined in the hymn of thanksgiving, but the work was not begun in earnest until the fall of 1875. Emilio di Fabris became the architect, his designs having been accepted over those of thirty-three others. It is to be regretted that, like nearly all the architects of the Middle Ages, and of the great artists who have worked on Santa Maria del Fiore, he did not live to see the completion of his work. He labored with zeal and intelligence, and year after year the walls of the new façade grew in proportion and in beauty.

On December 28, 1879, at the desire of the committee in charge, that portion of the work in the Via de Martelli which had been covered with exquisitely chiseled marble was exposed to view, with the models of the projected statuary, and the delight of the Florentine authorities and of the people in general was manifested in the praise bestowed upon architect and builder. In the following year Professor Augusto Conti had perfected his models for the sculptured decorations, statues and bas-reliefs, which were intrusted to competent hands. The uncovering of this section of the façade created the greatest eagerness for the completion of the work, and great

efforts were made to secure funds for its vigorous and uninterrupted prosecution. De Fabris was delighted with the success of the financial arrangements and he redoubled his efforts with a will. He completed his designs to the most minute details and wrote out full directions as to what he desired to have done. This was very fortunate and was perhaps due to a presentiment that his end was not far off. Be it as it may, the unfortunate De Fabris died on June 28, 1883, but not before the work had reached such a point as to preclude the necessity for designs from other architects and thus rob him of the fame he had so justly acquired.

Before his death De Fabris had sought the coöperation of an artist possessed of heart and intelligence, and these qualities he found in Professor Luigi del Moro, to whom was now intrusted the prosecution of the work. On December 6, 1883, the façade, now covered with marble up to the crowning-point, was exhibited to the public with solemn ceremonies in the presence of Prince Eugenio di Savoia Carignano, President of the Deputation, of all the ecclesiastical and civil authorities and of the citizens in general. At a signal from the Prince the veil dropped to the sound of martial music.

In 1885 the architectural work was completed. In August, 1886, the tabernacle² and the central bas-reliefs were placed in position and in October the mosaic of the lunetta. The work was now entirely finished. The inauguration, which it was intended to have celebrated that autumn, was postponed until spring, so as to join with it two other grand events which the people of that beautiful city were anxious to celebrate and to which we shall refer further on.

It is hardly necessary to go into an architectural description of the new façade of Santa Maria del Fiore; we shall therefore confine ourselves to a brief reference to the decorations which Professor Augusto Conti, at the invitation of the architect De Fabris, executed in a symbolic manner, in accordance with the title of the church. Conti designed the fundamental theme of the sculptures as follows: The Old and the New Testament, the Church, Christian Civilization, Letters, the Fine Arts, the Useful Arts, the Sciences, Italy, and especially Florence. All were to do homage to the Mother of Our Redeemer. This conception was approved by the Archbishop as to its religious aspects, and by Professor Nicolo Barabino with regard to the artistic.

Prominent among the works of art, and in keeping with the name of the church, is a statue by Tito Sarrocchi of the Madonna, *Regina*

² Tabernacle, in architecture, is an ornamental recess or structure of ornamental character sheltering, enclosing, surmounting and surrounding something.

Apostolorum, with the Infant Saviour, which may be seen on the tabernacle over the central door. The Twelve Apostles are disposed of as follows: On the right of the Madonna, St. Peter, by Emilio Gallori; on the left is St. John, by C. Trocchi; then, again on the right, we find St. Bartholomew, by C. Fantacchiotti, and on the left St. James the Less, by A. Bortone; the other Apostles, by celebrated artists, follow in regular order. Directly under the tabernacle and still over the central door is a grand bas-relief, the work of Professor A. Passaglia, representing the Blessed Virgin as the Protectress of Christianity, the country and the people, surrounded by figures recalling historical events; the Gonfaloniere, the Priors of the Florentine Republic who organized the Trustees of Santa Maria and del Fiore; Pope Calixtus III., who preached the Crusade; Christopher Columbus, who discovered America; St. Catharine of Sienna, who persuaded Gregory XI. to return to Rome and leave the See of Avignon; Pius V., who formed the league against the Turks which resulted in the naval victory at Lepanto. Below these figures is an altar on which rests the Immaculate Lamb, and on each side of the altar are the figures of Queen Esther and the Prophetess Deborah. At the lower corner of the bas-relief are sculptured figures of Jacob and Judah, from whose lineage, according to Scripture, came Jesus and Mary. Immediately outside of the triangular framework enclosing this scene there are three sculptures on one side and four on the other in bas-relief, by Giovanni Giovanetti, representing the Seven Priests who sounded the trumpet through Jericho, and which, according to Conti, are symbolical of the fervent prayer and faith of priests and people. On the final pinnacles of the two pilasters are the statues of Leo the Great, by R. Romanelli, and of Pope Gregory VII., by Fumagalli—the former dear to all Christians for having arrested Attila under the walls of Rome, and the other for his persevering and victorious defense of the liberty of the Church. The four statues of Pope Calixtus I., Celestine I., St. Jerome and St. Bonaventure, on the corner columns of the pilasters, and sculptured by Dante Soldini, are expressive of the doctrines of the Church in all times.

Moses, David, Solomon and Isaiah, sculptured in bas-relief on four medallions, two on the right and two on the left, represent the four principal Prophets who foretold the birth of the Blessed Virgin.

The mosaic of the lunette of the principal or central portal, and designed by Professor Nicolo Barabino, represents Our Saviour crowned King—*Rex Regum et Dominus Dominantium*—with the Madonna and St. John the Baptist, St. Ann, St. Lawrence, St. Mary Magdalene de Pazzi, St. Juliana Falconieri and the Blessed Juliana de Cerchi, all protectors of Florence, and in the attitude of prayer.

The half-figure in bas-relief in the architrave near the lunette represents St. Joseph, the Spouse of Our Blessed Lady, and is the work of Passaglia, as are also those in the seven medallions in the archway, representing St. Andrew Corsini, the Blessed Hippolitus Galantica, St. Philip Benizzi, San Miniato, St. John Gualberto, St. Philip Neri and St. Romuold, all Florentines.

On the summit of the pointed archway over the side door on the right is a statue of Aaron as High Priest, by G. B. Tassara. In the archway is a sculpture in bas-relief, *Ecce Homo*, by Passaglia. In the triangles on the front is a bas-relief, with angels and the symbols of the Passion, by Giovanni Paganucci. In the tabernacle, on the pillars, are two statues, Adam and Eve, by Torelli. The lunette designed by Nicolo Barabino represents the Triumph of Christianity, and portraits of the men most prominently associated with charitable works in Florence may be recognized.

The statue on the front of the left portal, by Tassara, represents Samuel, the ancestor of Mary. The *Mater Dolorosa* in the centre is by Gallori; the angels with flowers, in the triangles, are by Trocchi; the statues of Abraham, Sarah and Isaac, symbolizing obedience and sacrifice, were modeled by Cecioni; the mosaic in the lunetta of this portal, and designed by Barabino, represents the triumph of faith and the sanctification of labor, and other figures representing the mechanical and fine arts. A prominent figure at the extreme right of the building and nearly over the side door is that of Cardinal Valeriani, who blessed the foundations of the Duomo on September 8, 1296. Near it are the statues of Bishop Agostino Tinacci, who blessed the first pilaster on July 5, 1357; Pope Eugenius IV., who blessed the Duomo in which the Ecumenical Council of Florence, whence emanated the decree for the union of the Greek and Latin Churches, on July 6, 1439, and St. Anthony, Archbishop of Florence, who blessed the old façade about the year 1446. In the fourteen apartments of the upper zone are figures in bas-relief by Cimabue, Fra Angelico, Andrea del Sarto, Fra Bartolomeo, Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci, Francia, Andrea Pisano, Mino da Fiesole, Onagagna, Lucca della Robbia, Donatello, Michael Angelo and Civitali. On the architrave of the main door are the arms of Pope Pius IX., who gave 3,000 lire and a valuable mosaic, which was sold for the benefit of the church, and made in all 12,666 lire (or \$2,533). The bronze doors were designed by Luigi del Moro.

It would be an endless task for us to attempt to describe every work of art to be found on this marvelously beautiful façade, or to do justice to the merits of the master minds whose genius and generous impulses found expression in the mighty work they undertook. Religion, patriotism, genius and generosity all combined to

perfect plans conceived and designed two hundred years before the discovery of America by Columbus, and completed only towards the close of the nineteenth century. It was no wonder, then, that Florence was beside itself with joy when this work of centuries was ready to be unveiled. No wonder her citizens were anxious to associate with their celebration of this event the translation of the remains of Rossini and the fifth century of Donatello. Happy is it for a nation when its people possess a heart which beats quicker at sight of the trophies and triumphs, not of war, but of peace.

As we looked out upon the scene before us, we could not help thinking of the effect of this celebration on the American mind. It was a singular combination—the unveiling of the façade, the fifth century of Donatello, a grand historical procession and ball and a reproduction of a fourteenth century tournament, varied by such nineteenth century features as bicycle races, stenographic meetings and hygienic congresses.

The committee of arrangements had decided that the procession should represent the reception by the authorities of the Commonwealth of Amadeus of Savoy, who visited Florence in 1367, on his way back from the East, after defeating the Bulgarians and reinstating John Palæologus in Constantinople. The part of Amadeus VI., the "Green Count," was offered to one of the princes of the blood. The magnificent pageant will remain in the minds of the Florentine people despite the little historical blunders noticeable here and there. But it was not, after all, a mere splendid masquerade, for it contained an element of reality, of spontaneity, which gave it a power over the imagination which the most successful dramatic display would fail to awaken. Looking down the lists of the guilds, of the town authorities, and even of those of some of the invited guests at the ball, one had, on seeing the names of Strozzi, Pucci, Ridolfi, Pazzi, Altoviti, etc., the feeling that these might really be genuine Florentine merchants and nobles who stood on the dais before the Palace of the Signori and were marshaled in the great square, a brilliant mass of colors, with their horsemen in mail, their trumpeters and heralds, and thus marched along, standards waving and piccoli shrieking under the windows of old houses, hung as of yore with banners and garlands and brocades. This strange effect, almost dreamlike and magical because of its curious mixture of reality and fiction, was even greater when the scene was taken in detail.

The captain of the Light Horse of the Commonwealth was a Strozzi. The gonfaloniere bore the same name as the great historian, Francesco Guicciardini. The captain of the people was a descendant of that Caponi who said to Charles VIII., "If you sound your trumpets, we shall ring our bells." The Podesta, chosen

now as then, among foreigners, and riding in cloth-of-gold, with his page and his shield-bearer by his side, was the representative of that family of Carraras of Padua whom the Venetians did to death. The three splendid horsemen, two in armor, with high-figured crests like those of the Scaligiere at Verona, and one in a rose-colored cloak embroidered with heraldic devices and rose-colored shovel-hat surrounded by a coronet, were three Gherardesas, whose prototypes, three brothers like themselves, could not have looked grander at the real coming of Amadeus VI., five hundred years ago. Again, one of the most striking figures of the pageant, who looked in his exquisite dress like one of the beautiful young villians—half Prince Charming, half Bluebeard—of Matarano's Chronicles, was Prince Belgiojoso d'Este, in the character of his ancestor, Alberigo da Barbiano.

The procession showed to great advantage on May 17, the last day of the festivities at the Torneo, or Tournament, at the Porta alla Croce, when youth and beauty contemplated deeds of valor with all the interest and delight which it did centuries ago.

One leaves Florence with the greatest regret. The fact that it was the foster-mother of art, the centre of the Renaissance; that within her sheltering walls were born Dante, Benvenuto Cellini, Cimabue, Giotto, Boticelli, Donatello, Gaddi, Fra Filippo Lippi, Andrea della Robbia and a host of other great men, makes one feel loath to leave a place so beautiful, though historical and so full of Old World legends.

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WAR AND THE PRAYER OF PETITION.

WE know the case only too well—the downcast soul suffering from the disappointment of unanswered prayer. It is no monopoly of wartime. Every experienced pastor has had to deal with it frequently. But wartime has enhanced the difficulty and brought it out into clearer and more poignant articulation. The desolation of homes, the loss of fathers, sons, husbands and brothers, and the bereavement of widows and parents—all this has served to make the question acute. And the pastor is called upon to examine his own position in the situation. Is he ready with the right and opportune word?

Let us begin with a few concrete instances.

A young man has just finished his collegiate course and entered upon his first appointment in the teaching profession. Soon afterwards he discovers that he has contracted the disease of phthisis. The specialist tells him that, with proper treatment, it can be completely arrested. A cure is effected, but after six months' work he breaks down again. And so his case goes on, alternate improvements and relapses, until he despairs of all medical treatment and betakes himself to prayer and supernatural remedies. Once again it is the same story of alternate improvements and relapses. He concludes that God does nothing for him, takes no interest in him, and consequently he gives up his prayers altogether.

Again, a young girl is engaged to an officer in the army. He is ordered to the front and her anxiety begins. She prays every day and many times a day that her beloved may be kept safe. He spends months in the trenches and writes to her regularly. Yes, God hears her prayer. A battle takes place, in which his regiment is almost wiped out, but he escapes without a scratch. That is conclusive proof that God answers her prayers and intends to bring the loved one safe home again. A few days later a shot from a sniper spoils everything. A short telegram from the War Office tells the poor girl that the worst has happened. What does God mean? What purpose could He have in taking away one who was so necessary? God is cruel and does not answer prayers.

Or to take a more philosophical soul. A young religious wants to be sent to the university. He appeals in all faith to St. Anthony, and in due time his superiors are inspired to fulfill his wish. This experiential knowledge of answered prayer gives him great confidence, and he tells everybody how true it is that, if only you have faith enough, you can get anything you ask for. The time at length comes for him to take his final degree. It is the crown of his labors and the evidence to his superiors that he has spent his time at the

university well. He has more faith than ever in St. Anthony. And, believing, he prays. But he has been overworking, and as a consequence of a tired head, he comes to grief in the examination. He is too pious to suggest that God has not heard his prayers. So he concludes that you cannot tell from the result whether your prayer is answered or not.

When we come to think of it, it is those who have been taught to pray most who feel the difficulty keenest. But then the question arises whether there has not been a want of proportion in the matter of their religious instruction. It would seem that one important precept concerning prayer—perhaps the most important—has been inculcated at the expense of others. "Ask and you shall receive, seek and you shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you"—this is the precept of which everybody has need. But then there are other precepts which ought to supplement this, and it is precisely these that are now wanted for the enlightenment and consolation of those who think that their prayers have been unheard.

I say deliberately "enlightenment and consolation"—enlightenment first and consolation afterwards. In dealing with this difficulty we are up against the ultimates of life and experience. A kindly shake of the hand will be very welcome in its way. A gift in money or kind would be a wonderful consolation to many. A recommendation to submit to God's decrees would do some good. But if there is to be anything more than a superficial or temporary palliative, there must be an appeal to reason. Man is an emotional animal, an animal capable of giving and receiving love, but above all things, he is a rational animal. And in a matter which enters so deeply into his soul, his reason must be sufficiently enlightened. True, he cannot fathom the depths of the divine counsels, but he can be made to see the fallacies of objections against them.

We begin, then, with an ultimate—the supremacy of God's will. The only hope of finding any meaning in life at all is by looking towards the final goal. That is found to be the praise and glory of God. That is what God ultimately wills. Whatever happens in the whole of creation, whether by God's direct action or by His permission, tends towards His final praise and glory. He allows men to have a certain choice as to how that glory will be attained. He says in effect: "You may serve Me lovingly, in which case you will enjoy heaven and manifest My mercy; or you may serve Me unlovingly, going to perdition, but nevertheless manifesting My justice. I created you for a given purpose. Whichever way you take it, My will is accomplished."

The very first step in our intellectual as well as in our moral salvation is an acknowledgment that, with regard to God, we are here to serve Him. Let any other thesis creep into our minds unawares,

let us just once get hold of the idea that somehow we come first and God second—that, for instance, He ought to ask us whether we will be created or not—and at once the solution of the problem has been rendered impossible. We are beginning with insufficient premises. The absolute supremacy of God's will is the foundation of all clear thinking in this matter.

And although this is an ultimate truth, yet it is not very far removed from the difficulty which is at hand. Our Lord Himself prayed for His own agony to be removed, but He prayed in this wise: "My Father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass from Me. Nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou."

The second ultimate which we have to recognize is the absolute goodness of God. Here again we may not be content with merely saying that God is absolutely good. We must enter into the truth somewhat and see what it implies. It implies that all goodness outside God is an overflow from the divine abundance. There can be no possible inflow of goodness to God from without, no accession of perfection to Him. Therefore, if we find in ourselves tender thoughts for others, gentle judgments with regard to the weak and erring, a sense of indignation at wrong committed and a strong desire to put things right, we must acknowledge that all these fine feelings exist in God, too, but in a more eminent way than in us. He that hath made the ear, shall He not hear, and He that hath made the eye, shall He not see?

Closely allied to this ultimate there are the further facts that God is absolute truth and absolute beauty. Being absolute truth, there can be no possible contradiction in him. If He seems to answer the Germans who pray for one thing and also the British who pray for the opposite, the seeming contradiction is only seeming. So also is it with the divine beauty. Our reason tells us that since God has every possible perfection, He must be supremely beautiful. If therefore at times God seems to show an ugly side to His character, we must rationally conclude that it is only seeming and that the defect is due to our limited vision.

When the mind has been enlightened to these truths, the next thing is to train the will to act in conformity with them. And the act by which this is most efficiently wrought is the prayer of adoration. The first purpose of all sacrifice is adoration. It is an acknowledgment to God that He is what He is—absolute Creator and Master of all things. But in order that the act shall be prompt, spontaneous and frequent, we adore God's dominion together with His goodness. We see Him not only powerful to bring rain and sunshine as He wills, but also good and kind to arrange the details for our higher interests.

Moreover, by thus placing God's dominion and goodness before

us as objects of adoration and praise, we cultivate a habit of mind which will be extremely practical and useful when we come to concrete difficulties. We are only too apt to judge God's actions by the standard of our own, whereas the right way is to judge our own by the standard of God's. And this can only be done effectually and fruitfully when the habit has been formed of adoring God's dominion and goodness.

Thus we should ever regard the prayer of adoration as important as the prayer of petition. It would be well if every prayer of petition were preceded by a prayer of adoration. That would seem to be the method taught by Our Lord when He said: "Thus therefore shall you pray, 'Our Father Who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name.'" The revelation of God's fatherhood is a revelation of all the goodness and kindness that the human mind could ever dream about. The revelation of God's home in heaven, symbolized as distant beyond the stars, is a revelation of God's absolute transcendence. We are inclined to say the "Our Father" too glibly, passing over the tremendous significance of the opening sentences. But try the experiment. Let the soul who has lost confidence in prayer resolve to say the "Our Father" once—slowly—and as never before. I have known some very gratifying results from this simple remedy.

Having insisted on the ultimates, we may next descend to the proximates. Let us take the more widespread difficulty first—the case of those who have asked so often for specific things and have invariably met with disappointment.

The adoration of God's dominion, together with His goodness, will have strengthened the conviction that somehow all God's ordinances are good. But that is largely a matter of faith, and faith seeks to understand. Very well. God wills the salvation of every man. He gives graces to every man sufficient for his salvation. He would give him nothing which positively hindered it. Consequently no man ought to ask for anything except under the condition that it helps to save his soul. Thus all prayer is conditional. Whatever we ask for we do so under the condition that it is spiritually good for us. God in this matter is like a good physician. He knows far better than the sick man what is good for him, and consequently some of our petitions are mercifully heard, but sometimes they are mercifully unheard.

In practice, then, it will be a great help towards acquiring the right attitude of mind with regard to prayer if we pray for spiritual things rather than for temporal. By keeping spiritual things uppermost we shall gradually form the habit of looking upon temporal needs in relationship and in subordination to spiritual. If I pray for a fine day to-morrow in order that I may go to town and it turns out a pouring wet day, then I ought to have some spiritual excuse

ready for it—perhaps I have been saved from a grievous temptation, or perhaps from a railway accident which might have meant death at an inopportune moment.

Nevertheless, the petition for spiritual things has to be kept conditioned, even as the petition for temporal things. It is not every spiritual good which is good for *me*. The rich banquet of God's graces is not all for me. Only that is given which is suitable. Surely it was a worthy prayer of St. Paul to be delivered from the sting of the flesh. Thrice he besought God that it might depart from him. Yet the only answer he received was: "My grace is sufficient for thee: for power is made perfect in infirmity."

The most wonderful of all unanswered prayers, however, is that of Our Lord in the garden of Gethsemani: "My Father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass from Me." Let us remember that He Who made the prayer is the same Person Who said: "Whatsoever you shall ask of the Father in My name, He will give it to you." Now He asks in His own name that He may be spared the awful sufferings of His passion. Moreover, He asks for it with the full knowledge that by His sufferings He is going to redeem the world. Whether we have regard to His divine knowledge by which He knew all that the Father knew, or whether we have regard to His human knowledge, by which He knew everything that was possible to a human intellect, it seems strange that the incarnate Christ should be making such a prayer..

Let us grant that it was His natural feelings shrinking from the awful torments which He foresaw. Nevertheless, those feelings were under the complete control of His intelligent will. If He allowed His feelings to shrink from suffering, therefore He did so deliberately and with a purpose. And surely the purpose was this—to show to us that we need not be afraid to ask tremendous things of the divine power. So many great things were to be wrought by prayer that we must set no limit to them. Our need is God's opportunity. So the Saviour of the world gave us the example—in His great need, in His great desolation, He besought His Father that the chalice might pass from Him.

But if tremendous things were to be asked for in prayer, tremendous things were also to be refused. Why? Because something still more tremendous was waiting to happen—something weighted by the choice of the Heavenly Father's will. Therefore Our Lord adds immediately: "Nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou." He clearly saw that the salvation of the world could be fittingly brought about by His passion and crucifixion. But He saw, too, that it could be brought about by a mere sigh or a tear. Perhaps He was praying for it to be realized in some other way from that which was

imminent. But He wanted to impress upon us that the divine will was supreme, and that if it will choose for us something opposed to our wills, it was all in accord with the divine goodness seeking out our higher good. On the one hand, therefore, we are bidden to ask for what we like, but on the other hand we are bidden to abide by God's choice. Whichever way He decides, it is a means of drawing us closer to Him and of increasing His glory and praise.

When once this point is clearly seen, there is no difficulty whatever in the case of two nations or two individuals asking for the same thing which can only be given to one of them. The souls which have to be influenced by the victories of Germany or the victories of England, by the devastation of Poland or the devastation of Belgium, are individual souls. Under the Christian dispensation it is not the British nation, nor the German nor the American as such which is called to salvation. It is the individual Briton, German or American who is redeemed, and it depends on how he bears himself with regard to the divine will whether or not the redemption is fruitful in his soul.

Frequently, however, the difficulty is not one of mere disappointment. The disappointment gives rise to reflection and a reasoned out excuse is sought for the justification of a rebellious frame of mind. Granting, says this bold logician, that everything you have already said is true, granting that God arranges what is best for our eternal salvation, yet even so I see no reason for prayer. The victory for my side in the war is either good for my salvation or it is not. If it is not good for me, God will not give it, in which case my prayer is useless. If it is good for me, God will give it, in which case my prayer is superfluous.

Or perhaps the disappointed one knows something of science, and consequently formulates his difficulty in scientific language. Do you suppose that God once set the world going according to certain physical laws and then afterwards found he had made mistakes, putting the wet days and the fine days in the wrong places, and then, in answer to our requests, had to keep stepping in to put things right? And if He did have to change matters in deference to the free will of man, what becomes of His unchangeableness? Does not the unchangeableness of God imply that He cannot change His mind?

So the pastor has to find a method of exposition which on the one hand shall not be so popular as to evade the difficulty, and which on the other shall not be so theological as to remove the subject from the realm of popular realities. Either would be fatal to encouragement in prayer.

The pastor then recalls his theology. God is a pure act. The very fullness and perfection of His activity excludes any real distinction

between God's acts. They are all identically one. But if we must speak of God at all, we must adopt human ways of speaking about Him. So whilst always remembering that His acts are not distinct in themselves, we treat them as if they were—they are distinct in our own minds for practical purposes. In this way the various transitory things of the world can be related to God's action. We can think of God arranging first a fine day, then a wet day; here a victory for the Germans, there a victory for the French; this year a failure in an examination, next year a pass.

And it is precisely in the wrong use of this principle that the pitfall occurs. The mind is muddled with a little dangerous theology and the attempt is made to think of God as acting in eternity and man as acting in time. The two actions are set on different planes, with the result that no working relationship can be established between them. We forget, for the time being, that we can only speak of God in terms of human analogies, and thus try to speak in the same breath of God as He is in His real order and of man as he is in his real order. But not until we have the light of glory shall we be able to see God in this way.

No. We must either think of God as acting in time and dealing successively with the successive things of time, or think of the world as existing in eternity, being taken into consideration in the eternal mind of God. Whenever God acts outside Himself, His actions are said to be formally immanent and virtually transient. It is the virtual transience which we think of when we imagine God acting successively in time.

Now take up the difficulties. Let us suppose that God has decided that victory for your side, be it British, German, French or Russian, is good for your salvation and that your side shall have victory. It does not therefore follow that your prayer for victory is superfluous. The armies of the nations, the counsels of the rulers, you and your sins and your virtues all existed in the mind of God from eternity. It is there where they must be related to God's will. God willed that victory should happen to your side, but He also willed that it should happen as a consequence of your prayers. You do not know at present whether victory will be yours or not. What you do know is that your prayers may be one of its conditions. So you had better go down on your knees. Prayer is a lifting up of the heart and mind to God, and this is one of the wonderful ways in which God draws the heart and mind of man to Himself.

Or, again, let us take the prayer for a fine day. Here you may imagine the descent of all eternity into the bright sunshine of an April morning. God blows His winds, the gentle zephyrs of the southwest. But they bear rain with them, and you do not want rain,

for you are taking your children for an outing. You pray and you ask the children to pray. God sends more zephyrs and blows the clouds away. But God never changed His mind. He merely arranged that the clouds should come to prompt your prayers and that your prayers should come to banish the clouds. You think of God not as stepping in to put things right, but as ever present, overruling all things according to His wisdom, correlating the prayers of the faithful with the government of the universe, Himself acting as first cause, but adjusting untold secondary causes to the attainment of His great design.

"But," you will say, "suppose I did not pray? God would arrange what was good for my salvation." Yes, but even your salvation has only been arranged conditionally. You will not be saved without your own coöperation. And it may be that this prayer for a fine day is one of the numerous coöperative acts which will lead to your salvation. You can never tell, because you cannot see the universe of time and space as God sees it. God is outside time and space. Past, present and future are spread out like a picture before His gaze—He sees all things at one glance. He not only sees your prayer, but He sees also your refusal to pray. And that refusal to pray He has also taken into account in His ordering of the universe.

The scientist Pasteur said that all his scientific discoveries had left him with the faith of the Breton peasant, and that if he had to go through all again, they would leave him with the faith of a Breton peasant's wife. So is it with any expert knowledge of the inexorable laws of science. They leave prayer practically just where it is in any peasant's mind. The peasant thinks of God in human terms; nor can the scientist do otherwise, for the scientist is only a human being after all.

Our Lord indeed anticipated both the simple knowledge of the peasant and the complex knowledge of the scientist when He said: "Your Father knoweth what is needful for you before you ask Him." Which being interpreted to the scientist is: "Your Father arranged the sequence of the seasons, the laws of molecular attraction and gravity, the orbits of the planets and the activity of the ions, arranging all for the use of man, and through man His own praise." And which being interpreted to the peasant is: "Your Father is aware that your garden wants rain and sunshine, that you cannot afford to be ill, that it takes you all your time to provide frugal food for your family." Alike to both He says: "Thus therefore shall you pray: 'Our Father . . . Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. . . . Give us this day our daily bread.'"

Thus we come to the root significance of the prayer of petition. It is an interpretation of our desires for God and God's gifts. It

is essentially an act of religion, a means of rebinding man to God. It is not a means of conveying information to God, for God knows everything—knows our smallest needs before we ask Him. Its purpose is to produce a change in man, not a change in God. Petition, of its very nature, implies dependence. And as religion was meant to rebind man to God after rebellion, petition was instituted as one of the chief acts of religion. Just as an earthly father likes to hear his child say "Please," so the heavenly Father likes to hear His children say "We pray Thee," "We ask of Thee." It is psychology applied to its highest and noblest purpose.

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WHOSE SON IS HE?

IT WAS census-taking time in Palestine. Joseph went up from Galilee with Mary, his espoused wife, who was with Child, to be enrolled at Bethlehem. The hostleries were crowded; they sought shelter in a cattle cave, and there the Virgin Mother brought forth her first-born Son and laid Him in a manger. Thirty-three years later Roman soldiers stripped that Child of His garments and hammered Him to a cross. The captain of the guard, seeing in what manner he had given up the ghost, glorified God, saying, "Indeed this man was the Son of God." Whose Son was He?

His name is heaven-sent, Jesus. He is Mary's son, for she gave Him birth; His fellow-townsmen called Him the carpenter's son; the common people cried Him out the Son of David; the demons, Son of God; a voice from heaven twice named him "My Beloved Son," while He was wont to call Himself the Son of Man. Whose Son was He?

There are extant four inspired accounts of His life. We presuppose them authentic and substantially correct. We shall seek our answer in only those passages of the first three Gospels in which the idea of sonship is predominant, and this because the synoptic narrative is often said by rationalists to have obscured the divine nature of the Messiah.

St. Luke has told us of the Child's conception: an angel is speaking with a maiden; would she consent to become the mother of a Son who should be called the Son of the Most High, to Whom the Lord would give the throne of David, His father? She knew not man. But the Holy Ghost would come upon her, therefore the Holy One that should be born of Her would be called the Son of God. The maid consented, and when she folded that wondrous Babe to her breast, she knew that It had no earthly father; but she knew more, mysteriously more.

The Boy of twelve remained in Jerusalem without His mother's knowledge. Found at last and questioned, "Son, why hast Thou done so to us? Behold, Thy father and I have sought Thee sorrowing," He made answer before the doctors acknowledging Mary's motherhood, but gently pointing out that Joseph, since he did not know the business He had been about, could not be His father. Joseph had learned as much already. He, too, had spoken with angels.

At thirty Jesus rose to read in the synagogue at Nazareth. The villagers were in admiration of His doctrine, and they said: "Is not this the son of Joseph, the carpenter's son? Whence, then, hath

he all these things?" Jesus wondered because of their unbelief. He was not the carpenter's son.

Existing from all eternity as Son of the Eternal Father, in time He assumed human nature, and from the first moment of His conception was fully aware in His twofold consciousness that He as God and as Man was the natural Son of God. How could others be brought to this same knowledge?

The Jews were in a fever of expectancy. They knew the promises, they knew the prophecies. Daniel's weeks were now accomplished. It was time the Messiah, the Expected of Nations, should appear. Names they had many for him; dearest and most widely known was Son of David.

As such was Jesus spoken of by the angel of the Incarnation, as such the two blind men at Capharnaum and later on at Jericho implored His pity, as such the woman Syrophenician born begged Him to have mercy on her daughter; when he cured a man possessed of a devil, blind and dumb, the multitude was amazed and cried aloud, "Is not this the Son of David?" Faith in Jesus' messiahship was growing. The Pharisees were quick to crush its first beginnings, Jesus was just as quick to show their wickedness.

Only once did He deign to enjoy a triumph that measured up in some degree to Jewish fancy. It was the Sunday before He was crucified. In fulfillment of the prophecy, He, the King, came to the daughter of Sion, meek and sitting upon an ass. The whole city was moved; some spread their garments on the roadway, others cut down boughs and strewed them on the streets, while others still shouted songs of joy. Then "Hosannah to the Son of David!" rang through the city; the children in the temple took up the cry, nor would Jesus silence them, and if the elders of these little ones had been still, the very stones would have cried out, "Hosannah!" so clear had it become that Jesus was the Messiah.

Two days later He put a direct question to the men who were plotting His death: "What think you of Christ? Whose Son is He?" Their answer was precise, "David's." So far they were correct. But He was more, and they should have known it. Therefore He said to them: "How, then, doth David call Him Lord, saying, 'The Lord said to my Lord, Sit thou at My right hand till I make thy enemies thy footstool?' If David called Him Lord, say is He his son?" No man was able to answer Him a word.

Did their minds go back and recall how the Messiah was to share the power and dignity of Jahweh himself and thus be God, since no one but God can share the attributes of God? It was an easy inference and they could have drawn it had not passion blinded reason.

There can be no doubt that the Messiah had been foretold as

God. In the prophecies the truth lies written, but just as now, the one true Church, though visible and bearing four great marks, is not recognized as such by many, or, if recognized, is not acknowledged, or, if acknowledged, is not accepted, so, of old, many either did not know, or, knowing, would not believe that God would be the Messiah and that the Messiah would be God.

Little wonder that another Messianic name, the very one by which Jesus was wont to call Himself, was little used by the Jews. We read it some thirty times in Matthew, thirteen times in Mark and twenty-five in Luke, yet the apostles never thus addressed the Master, the Jews never thus spoke of the Messiah, neither has the name passed over into our liturgy.

Son of Man—what does it mean? Rationalists, in an endeavor to explain away a fact the logical consequence of which they do not wish to admit, have attempted to show that Son of Man is synonymous with "man" or "one," "some one," "I," "myself." Their very disagreement serves to refute them. Neither does the term imply, primarily at least, sonship of Mary, of David, of Abraham, nor "the most perfect man," nor even the form of a servant which the Word assumed to work out our salvation. It is a Messianic name, a synonym for Messiah, well known, but little used, with a direct reference to Daniel's prophecy: "I beheld therefore in the vision of the night, and lo! one like the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven." In this sense did Jesus use it when He said: "You shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of the power of God and coming in the clouds of heaven." All other interpretations therefore are at best derived or secondary.

Jesus had a twofold revelation to make to a people little disposed to receive either—He was to reveal Himself as Son of God and as Messiah.

Had He heralded Himself Son of David, had He come with fanfare and trumpet, had He proclaimed His Kingdom with cymbal and song, the Jews would have rallied round Him in a frantic effort to throw off the foreign yoke. Then there would have been rebellion and slaughter and Romans riding roughshod over all Judea. Yet such was the Messiah the people expected; they had set their hearts on temporal greatness, they had forgotten or ignored all foretelling of a suffering Messiah, of a meek and patient Messiah, Who would not contend nor cry out, Who would not break the bruised reed nor quench the smoking flax. Of such a Messiah they had no thought. Their concept of a Messiah had therefore to be corrected. To correct it and at the same time to reveal Himself as the Expected One, was the reason why Jesus ever called Himself the Son of Man.

Jesus was at Capharnaum when first He is recorded to have used

this title. Crowds pressed close about Him, Pharisees sat near Him; down through the broken roof He saw a sick man lowered at His feet. He bade him rise, that those who thought evil in their hearts might know "that the Son of Man had power on earth to forgive sin." Then in quick succession on the mountain, in the valley, along the seashore, in public, in private, even at His trial, He calls Himself the Son of Man, coupling with the name honor and disgrace, shame and glory, love and hate, insult and triumph, weakness and power, life and death.

Lord of the Sabbath, He will be mocked; greater than Jonas, He must be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights; greater than Solomon, He will be spat upon and scourged; greater than the temple, He will be delivered to the Gentiles. Transfigured on Thabor, the apostles must tell no one till the Son of Man be risen from the dead (for He must suffer many things and be despised by those who had done all they had a mind to do to Elias). He has a kingdom, yet He is not come to be ministered unto, but to minister; a word spoken against Him will be forgiven, yet it were better for His betrayer if he had never been born. All power is given Him, and, in fuller manifestation of that power, His sign will appear in the heavens, He will come like lightning in His own majesty and that of the Father, His chosen twelve will take their seats, His angels will be ranged about Him, and as the shepherd separates the goats from the sheep, so will He separate all the nations of the earth whom His angels will have gathered from the four winds; some He will send into everlasting punishment, others He will call into everlasting life; and yet, though He have all judgment, of that day and hour no one knoweth, neither the angels in heaven nor the Son, but the Father, and He, the Judge of all, will Himself be condemned to death and rejected by His own nation and its priests.

Thus in season and out of season did He strive to impress upon all that the Messiah must be a man of sorrows before He could be a King of glory; how hardly his lesson was taken we may gather from this that on the day He rose from the dead, two were disconsolate on the road to Emmaus, because they had hoped that He it was Who would have redeemed Israel.

Artists of old, Daniel, Isaias, David, Micheas and others, had each left fragments of a strange mosaic; some tesserae were glorious, others full of shame, some vague and ill-defined, others clear and sharp—all portrayed the self-same Man. Given in keeping to the chosen people, guarded and treasured by them through the ages, as centuries sped along, bits that were displeasing were laid aside and then forgotten; features more glorious were given greater

prominence and served to keep alive the Messianic expectations. Then the Master Artist came and gathered all the fragments, fitting them in wondrous wise—bright stones He set beside dark stones of shame, marbles red with blood were set round with golden glory, stones wet with tears were mingled with stones rejected long ago, and when the whole was done, He set it in His Blood.

The work was such as could not be appreciated in any one light; in sunshine it seemed an image of a God, in darkness but a man; only when light and shadow played on it in due proportion, only when the brightness of Thabor was dulled by the gloom of Calvary, only when one had knelt long and prayerfully and gazed on it with eyes of faith—only then was the whole revealed to be the image of a God-made Man.

This, then, was Jesus' purpose in calling Himself the Son of Man—to correct a long-standing misconception of the Messianic character, to establish His own Messianic personality, and thus by an easy deduction, based on the prophecies, lead men to see that He was God.

This latter revelation was, if the term be allowed, even more shocking to the Jewish mind than the former. To have their fondest Messianic hopes declared ill-founded was trying indeed, but to learn that the One God, beside Whom they had been taught there was no other, was at least twofold in personality, to be told that a Man coming as Jesus came and not as they had fancied God would come, a Man Whom they had seen eating, sleeping, tired and hungry, was the great Jahweh, Whose very name no one dare utter—this was testing faith almost to the breaking point.

Yet this was the task to which Jesus addressed Himself, how considerately, humanly speaking; how successfully pedagogically, how logically, too, since He demanded a reasonable service; how sweetly, since He won all hearts, one need but glance at the Catholic Church in all its history to realize.

Son of Man, Son of God—these are the two poles round which the mystery turns.

None were wont to call Him Son of Man; many called Him Son of God; but yet it is not admitted by all that every text that names Him Son of God gives proof conclusive of His divinity.

To see the reason for this we must first determine the meaning of son and then of Son of God as used in Scripture.

Son, in Biblical language, has not the narrow sense it has to-day. "Any close relation, physical or moral; every intimate connection of origin, dependence or affection analogous to the relation between a father and a son," was expressed as sonship.

The arrow is a son of the bow; the spark, a daughter of the

flame; corn is a son of the flower; disciples of prophets are their sons, wicked men are sons of Belial, Judas is a son of perdition and we are sons of God.

A son of God was one beloved of God, specially favored, more closely united to, an elect of God, one endowed with singular power, a holy, righteous soul, an adopted son of God.

Hence it is that some are unwilling to conclude that whenever or wherever Jesus is addressed as Son of God, there was intended to express that natural sonship, both as God and as Man, which the Church has ever taught.

Rationalists advance a twofold theory in explanation of the use of the term, maintaining either that Son of God is nothing more than a mere synonym for Messiah, or that in no text does it imply aught else than sonship by adoption, such as might be attributed to any Israelite.

Pius X. has condemned the following proposition: "In all Gospel texts the name Son of God is merely an equivalent of Messiah, nor does it by any means signify that Christ is the true and natural Son of God." Wherefore there is at least some one text in which Son of God is more than a mere synonym for Messiah, some one text in which Son of God implies natural sonship.

On other grounds, however, it may be maintained as certain that Son of God is no synonym for Messiah, while, part from traditional interpretation, a brief analysis of several texts will show that the true and natural sonship of Christ is recorded in the synoptic narrative.

In the Old Testament men and angels are called sons of God, not by an extrinsic denomination by reason of God's special protection or favor, but because of sanctifying grace, which made them sons of God. Yet the use of the term is peculiar; it occurs some fifty times, generally in the plural; if used in the singular at all, then either no definite individual is specified or the name is a collective one. There seems to be an exception to this in the text, "I will be to him a Father and he shall be to Me a son," but St. Paul teaches us that here the expression is applied to Solomon only in so far as the latter is a prototype of Christ.

In the synoptics, on the contrary, Jesus calls Himself and is called Son of God by His Heavenly Father, by angels, demons, apostles and disciples in a way opposed to all previous Scriptural usage—in a way in which no one determined person except His prototype was ever named. Therefore He must be a natural Son, for the opposition in the use of the terms would be meaningless were there no opposition in the thing signified, and the obvious opposite of adoptive is natural sonship.

Such a name could not have been a Messianic title, else some one of the demagogues who rose up at various intervals and proclaimed themselves Messiah would surely have chosen the name. When the Messiah is spoken of, He is called Son of David or prophet or King of Israel or Christ, but never Son of God. When Jesus called Himself the Son of God, He was accused of blasphemy.

Bearing these two facts in mind, it becomes of interest to see what of natural sonship is expressed in those synoptic texts in which Jesus is called or said to be the Son of God.

Mark begins his Gospel with a statement that seems but an echo of St. Peter's confession by the shores of Genesareth: "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God." There can be no cavil here. Mark is writing principally for converted pagans, free from the trammels of Jewish thought. A son is a natural son; God is God and Christ is His Messiah. (Matthew had not been as bold. Writing for the Hebrews and intent on shewing forth the Messianic character of Jesus, he began his gospel: "The Book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David.")

It was winter and John was baptizing; Jesus asked for baptism, and, coming out of the waters, "beheld a voice from heaven, saying, 'This is My Beloved Son, in Whom I am well pleased.'" Beloved is the equivalent of only, only-begotten; adopted sons are not only begotten; the sonship implied is natural, as in the psalm, "Thou art My Son; this day have I begotten Thee."

Hell is forced to echo heaven; in the desert the tempter whispers, "If Thou be the Son of God," do this, do that. Later at Capernaum and when driven from possessed, the devils went out crying, "Thou art the Son of God;" they knew that He was Christ; they knew, too, for it was clear to all, that He was favored of God; therefore their cry was a confession of His Divinity.

In the spring of the second year of His ministry Jesus walked the waters, stilled the storm, stretched out His hand to the drowning Peter and speeded the boat to the shore. They that were in the ship worshipped Him, saying, "Thou art truly the Son of God." They could have called Him Son of God, with never a thought of His Divinity, but under the circumstances the growing faith of years seems to have passed beyond the human and reached out to the divine. This is confirmed not so much by their adoration, for prostration is a common way of paying reverence in the Orient, as by Jesus' acceptance of the honor paid Him. He was ever quick to refuse tributes; here He allows an act that might have a religious signification, and this because He was really worthy of all that the act might imply or connote.

Some would weaken the strength of this argument by appealing

to the excitement of the moment; psychic forces were at play and the impressionable fishermen made an exclamation the full import of which they neither understood nor intended.

Then take another scene. It is summer of that same year. Jesus is alone with His disciples on the roadway near Cæsarea Philippi. Quietly He puts a question to them, "Whom do men say the Son of Man is?" Here Son of Man, as noted before, is synonymous with Messiah and was understood as such. Opinions differed—He was John the Baptist, Elias, Jeremias, one of the prophets. Then Jesus said, "Whom do you say that I am?—(surely His voice lingered on the YOU!)—after all you have heard from Me, seen of Me, Whom do you say that I am?" Simon Peter answering said, "Thou art Christ, the Son of the Living God." Thou art Christ—this was no answer to Jesus' question. He had not asked whether or no He were the Messiah; that He was, was implied in His question. What He had asked was this: "Who (i. e., of what nature) is the Messiah?" "Son of the Living God"—this is the answer, understood not in any figurative, but in its obvious sense—natural son. Peter had answered well, therefore Jesus said to him, "Blessed art thou, Simon, because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but My Father Who is in heaven."

No revelation would have been needed to know that Jesus was all that adoptive sonship implied, but revelation was needed to know that He was the natural Son of God.

Soon indeed, rejoicing in the Holy Ghost, Jesus would exclaim, "No one knoweth Who the Father is but the Son, and to whom the Son will reveal Him; no one knoweth Who the Son is but the Father." Parallelism is wanting here, or rather it is incomplete. Jesus had already completed it by anticipation when He said to Peter, "My Father hath revealed it to thee."

It were hard to determine whether this confession of St. Peter or Jesus' own avowal at His trial were more explicit acknowledgment of the Divinity; the latter at least was more tremendous in its setting, more disastrous in its consequences.

Jesus had been arrested, cuffed, reviled, slapped, dragged along the streets to the palace of the High Priest. There He stands before the Sanhedrim; lying witnesses cannot agree; Caiphas is beside himself; the Man must die; He is in the way; He is not of their mind; He opposed them everywhere, tore down the whitened walls and revealed the rottenness within; He had proved Himself the Messiah and they knew it, but He was not such a Messiah as they had expected; therefore, away with Him; crucify Him. That would end His Messiahship. No Jew would accept a crucified Messiah.

With all the fury of hell in his heart and all the hypocrisy of hell on his face, he rose and called down to Jesus, "I adjure Thee by the Living God that Thou tell us if Thou be the Christ, the Son of God."

Matthew has condensed the question into one. Really, as Luke shows, there were two distinct questions, "If Thou be the Christ, tell us." They had shown themselves unwilling scholars in an easy school, hence Jesus answered them, "If I shall tell you, you will not believe; nevertheless I say to you, hereafter you shall see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of the power of God and coming in the clouds of heaven." Once again He identifies Himself with the Son of Man as featured by Daniel; they understand His Messianic claim; they understand that He is laying claim to equality with God. Therefore the second question asked in fiendish expectancy, "Art Thou the Son of God?" The second answer, "You say that I am." The shout of delight, "He hath blasphemed; He is guilty of death." Jesus could not have blasphemed had He claimed merely adoptive Sonship. He could not have blasphemed had He not made Himself the equal of God. They should have adored Him. They crucified Him.

Such, then, is Jesus' Sonship as expressed in the synoptics.

He is Son of Mary, and this is His sweetest title; He is Son of David, by blood, because of Mary; by law, because of Joseph; by right, because of His Messiahship, and this is His most regal title; He is Son of Man, and this is a Messianic name of mingled shame and glory; He is the Son of God not by adoption, but by nature, both as Man and as God, and this is His most adorable title, and as such we worship Him, Jesus Christ, the same, yesterday, to-day and forever.

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Book Reviews

LIFE OF FATHER DE SMET, S. J. By *Father E. Lavette, S. J.* Authorized Translation. By *Marian Lindsay.* Introduction by *Charles Coppens, S. J.* Frontispiece Portrait, Five Illustrations and Map. Pp. 420, 8vo. cloth, gilt top, net \$2.75. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

This book is not only the biography of a good man, a holy priest and a zealous missionary, but it is the history of the North American Indian, his wars, his conflicts, his conversion, his perversion, his persecution and his extinction. It is a history of exploration in the great Northwest, with vivid descriptions of the beauties of nature and valuable contributions to botany, ethnology and other sciences. It is a record of the spread of God's kingdom on earth, for it tells us of the preaching of the Gospel in new fields and to a strange people, as well as of the foundation of new churches, new institutions of learning and new ecclesiastical provinces. And all this is told not second hand or third hand, not from records of doubtful origin or authenticity, not by prejudiced witnesses, but by the man of God himself, *disinterested, unselfish, unprejudiced*, by his own hand, and all for the greater honor and glory of God and the salvation of souls. The announcement of the book well says:

"Few personages gifted with talents so versatile as Peter John De Smet have trodden the stage of American history. Explorer, geographer, ethnologist, linguist, author and missionary, he proved himself besides a diplomatist of the highest rank in the most difficult of missions—that of mediator between races differing in ideals, culture and color. Through his personal influence with the Indians the United States Government was enabled to avert several bloody wars after all other means had been employed in vain.

"Nowhere better than in the description of Father De Smet's travels do we find reflected the true picture of the great Middle West at the time of the coming of the white. The romance of Old America permeates every page. Father De Smet himself was one of the richest contributors to our authentic knowledge of the Indian languages, customs, religion and traditions. And the study of his life is of the first importance for all who are interested in the introduction and gradual extension of civilization in the West."

Rev. Charles Coppens, S. J., in the introduction to this volume, shows a keen appreciation of its merits. He approaches the subject with that sympathy which is necessary, though rare, and which is most natural in a brother priest and brother Jesuit. He says:

"One of the brightest glories of the Catholic Church shines forth

in the zeal she has ever displayed for the propagation of the Gospel. From the time when Christ said to His apostles, 'Go ye into the whole world and preach the Gospel to every creature,' they and their successors, the missionaries of every age, have bravely carried on the sacred task entrusted to them without any interruption whatsoever; and they are seen to-day, as they have been seen all along in every known portion of the earth, extending the kingdom of Christ and preparing numberless souls for the enjoyment of heavenly bliss.

"In the United States in particular the Church has nobly performed this divine mission. She has sent her heroic sons, Bishops and priests, in large numbers to every tribe of the aboriginal population, baptizing, teaching and civilizing its scattered millions, successful in converting and sanctifying large portions of them, notwithstanding the active opposition of false religionists.

"Many of the most glowing pages of the great Protestant historian of the United States, George Bancroft, contain magnificent descriptions of the devoted labors of our Catholic missionaries, whose wonderful exploits he narrates with all the brilliancy and interest which attach to the writings of Prescott in his records of the Conquest of Mexico by Hernando Cortez. But every Christian feels while reading such works how far the sacred purpose and the self-sacrifice of the missionaries among the Indians surpass in nobility the dauntless courage of the steel-clad warriors.

"It is gratifying to see that the learned world, even outside of the Catholic Church, has shown a high appreciation of the gigantic labors of our missionaries, as is evidenced by the publication in this country of a most expensive work, in seventy-three large octavo volumes, styled "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites. But though this valuable collection is found on the shelves of nearly all the great libraries in the United States, its volumes are not frequently seen in the hands of the general reader, Catholic or Protestant. To enlighten him on the grandeur of our missions and missionaries we need briefer and more popular works, which, while conveying the same information, afford more impressive and interesting reading and communicate desirable knowledge in the charming language of lighter literature.

"That is the secret of the popularity of a Prescott in his volumes on Mexico and Peru and of a Washington Irving in his lives of Washington and Columbus. The same is an attractive quality of the life of Father De Smet, by Father E. Laveille, S. J., of which the present volume is a translation.

"The French original was received in Belgium and France with marked enthusiasm. In three months the first edition was exhausted. The *Belgian Messenger of the Sacred Heart* said of it:

'In the history of the Catholic apostolate few careers have been so glorious as that of the Rev. Father De Smet. We rejoice that the author has given us a clear, definite history of the man and his work.' The French journal, *La Croix*, stated: 'The life of Father De Smet reads like a novel, but one so realistic, so thrilling with interest, that you cannot tear yourself away from it.'

"The appreciation of the book by *Le Bien Public* calls for a more extended quotation. It says: 'From the moment that you have cut its first pages you will not lay it aside until you have read the whole volume. And all along his career you will follow the hero, the apostle of the Rocky Mountains, with a passionate interest, with an ever-growing admiration, as when Fenimore Cooper, Mayne Reid and Daniel Defoe first charmed your youthful imagination. Especially this reading will strengthen your faith and your hope; it will show you in its divine splendor the civilizing influence of religion, transforming by a miracle of grace savage natures and raising up saints among them.'

"What has added much to the interest of the story and the reliability of the events narrated is the fact that the author had at his disposal a vast amount of material to select from. There is probably not a single one among the numerous holy and able men whose names grace the annals of the American missions on whose labors such copious information exists as on those of the subject of this biography. In particular I may mention that most remarkable work in which two Protestant gentlemen, Messrs. Hiram Martin Chittenden, major, corps of engineers, U. S. A., and Alfred Talbot Richardson, testifying to the greatness of Father De Smet's achievements, have filled four large volumes with accounts drawn from the original sources of his life, letters and extensive travels.

"At that time young De Smet and eight companions, all aspirants to the missionary career, were leaving their native land without the permission of their parents, as the Holy Child Jesus had left His Blessed Mother and St. Joseph to be about His heavenly Father's business. Their reason was that they had no doubt of their holy vocation, and they well knew that permission to follow it would have been refused; their future flight would have become impossible once their parents had learned of their design. They felt convinced besides that the plan they had decided to follow would be approved when members of their pious families learned they had gone.

"Shortly after they had reached the Jesuit novitiate in Maryland an earnest request of Monsignor Rosati, then Bishop of Louisiana, arrived there asking for several Jesuits to come and work in his extensive Western diocese. Two men who had lately come from

Europe, Peter De Smet among them, were to go and establish a new novitiate in the Far West. They were delighted with the prospect of thus coming into the closer vicinity of the Indian tribes, among which they eagerly desired to spend their zealous lives. They traversed the country, mostly on foot, for a distance of some fifteen hundred miles, till they came to the little town of Florissant, near the confluence of the Mississippi and the Missouri rivers. There in a couple of log huts they established the new novitiate, centre of future Jesuit activity for the Western States. They felled the trees of the forest primeval—a welcome task to the sturdy young Belgians—and in a few months built a solid edifice. But it was done amid the pangs of poverty and all manner of privations. There on October 10, 1823, the six novices were allowed to pronounce their first religious vows and make their consecration to the Lord lifelong and irrevocable. From that humble beginning has grown up the Jesuit Province of Missouri, which counts to-day 397 priests, 306 scholastics, 174 lay Brothers—a total of 877 members. Very soon a school was opened for Indian boys, with seven or eight tribes represented among its pupils. While teaching these the young religious pursued their philosophical and theological studies, and on September 23, 1827, the holy priesthood was conferred on Peter John De Smet and some of his companions. Then his missionary work began in right earnest, to be continued during forty-three years. The graphic account of these labors is given in the present volume. Here we read of numerous visits to Indian tribes and the fruitful work done among them, of the missionary's travels in unexplored regions of our continent, of his voyages to and from Europe, of his exertions in favor of the Indians with the Government and with army officials of the United States, and of the services he rendered to the administration at Washington by aiding it to secure treaties of peace with the outraged savages. He traversed the Atlantic Ocean in the course of his missionary labors as many as nineteen times, and traveled by land, it is said, over 87,000 leagues, mostly before railroads had been multiplied in America, while large portions of the regions he chiefly frequented were pathless forests or deserts. The little band at Florissant had received a number of accessions, some very talented men, when, in 1828, they undertook, at the earnest request of Bishop Rosati, to establish a college at St. Louis. It opened with forty boys, boarders and day scholars, and four years later there were 150 students, a large proportion of whom were Protestants. Father De Smet was treasurer, disciplinarian and professor of English. The college soon became a university. But the principal charm of the volume here presented to the reader lies in the graphic sketches of the missionary's travels and labors

among the Indians. Of these it would be vain to attempt a general outline. Their beauties sparkle on every page; the whole book must be read to realize the magnificence of the scenery described, the grandeur of the achievements performed, the aroma of the virtues practiced and the noble sentiments exhibited not only by the missionary himself and his heroic associates, but also by many of the red-skinned warriors and their wives and children, when once their wild natures had been subdued by the gospel of peace and their souls sanctified by the waters of baptism.

"Father De Smet loved his Indians warmly not only because so good a man necessarily pitied their benighted condition and longed to make them children of God, but also because he found in large numbers of them truly noble characters, as unselfish and sincere and faithful to their friends as they were brave and fearless in battle. He found them also hospitable to strangers and compassionate to all unfortunates who were not their traditional enemies. They were far less savage, he used to say, than those whites who, in trading with them, would cheat them out of their furs and horses and give them trifles or fire-water in exchange. The Indians, on their part, revered and warmly loved the Black Robes—Father De Smet and any of his associates—in whom they knew they could always confide. He, as they often expressed it, was the only white man that did not speak with a forked tongue. That was the reason why they trusted him as mediator between them and the civil and military authorities of the United States. Thus he succeeded on various occasions in preventing a bold revenge on their part, when they had been grievously wronged, and in obtaining from the supreme Government a proper protection for their rights. It cruelly tore his heart when, notwithstanding all his efforts to protect the red men, he saw them, as he often did, grievously outraged in their dearest interests, as when whole tribes, evangelized for many years by Catholic missionaries and partly converted to the faith, were arbitrarily handed over by the Government to the care of some Protestant sects. Another sad disappointment would come to him and to his fellow-laborers when, as happened in 1850 at the Flathead mission, the Indians themselves would rebel against God and plunge into terrible excesses of drunkenness and bloodshed, thus undoing in a few days all the success achieved by many years of devoted labors."

The "Life of Father De Smet" is indispensable to the student of the history of the Catholic Church and her missions; to the student of American history and exploration; to a right understanding of religious orders and their mission; to a true knowledge of the American Indian, and to a proper view of the handling of the In-

dian question. It is not always pleasant reading, but it is interesting, informing, necessary, and sometimes exciting and fascinating.

THE POPES AND SCIENCE. The history of the Papal relations to science. By *James J. Walsh, M. D., Ph. D., Litt. D., Sc. D. (Notre Dame), K. C. St. G.,* Professor of Physiological Psychology, Cathedral College, New York. Fordham University Press, 110 West Seventy-fourth street, New York. Price, \$2 net.

MAKERS OF MODERN MEDICINE. The lives of the men who made our present-day medicine. By the same author. Fordham University Press, 110 West Seventy-fourth street, New York. Price, \$2 net.

These two valuable books by Dr. Walsh are so well known and have won so secure a place in the literary world that it seems almost superfluous to do more than announce new and enlarged editions of them. And yet it is possible that the unwise habit of taking things for granted, which has tempted even Catholics to believe sometimes that there is opposition between faith and science which would account for the opposition of the Popes to science and the absence of scientific men from the Catholic, might also tempt them to think that there is no answer to this charge and to overlook this masterly refutation. We are notorious for forgetting and overlooking. This is probably due to some extent to faulty superficial education and to the rush habit and love for novelty which are characteristic of us as a people.

Therefore we shall do more than call attention to these new editions of valuable books—we shall call attention to their original merits. The author gives us this excellent introduction to "The Popes and Science":

"For years, as a student and physician, I listened to remarks from teachers and professional friends as to the opposition of the Popes to science, until finally, much against my will, I came to believe that there had been many Papal documents issued which intentionally or otherwise hampered the progress of science. Interest in the history of medicine led me to investigate the subject for myself. To my surprise I found that the supposed opposition to science was practically all founded on an exaggeration of the significance of the Galileo incident. As a matter of history, the Popes were as liberal patrons of science as of art. In the Renaissance period, when their patronage of Raphael and Michel Angelo and other great artists did so much for art, similar relations to Columbus, Eustachius and Cæsalpinus, and later to Steno and Malpighi, our greatest medical discoverers, had like results for science. The Papal Medical School was for centuries the greatest medical school in Europe, and its professors were the most distinguished medical scientists of the

time. This is a perfectly simple bit of history that any one may find for himself in any reliable history of medicine. The medical schools were the scientific departments of the universities practically down to the nineteenth century. The Popes, in fostering medical schools (there were four of them in the Papal dominions, and two of them, Bologna and Rome, were the greatest medical schools for several centuries), were acting as wise and beneficent patrons of science. Many of the greatest scientists of the middle ages were clergymen. Some of the greatest of them were canonized as saints. Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas were typical examples. At least one Pope has been a distinguished scientist before being elected to the Papacy. For seven centuries the Popes selected as their physicians the greatest medical scientists of the times, and the list of Papal physicians is the worthiest series of names connected by any bond in the history of medicine, far surpassing in scientific import even the roll of the faculty of any medical school.

"In a word, I failed to find any trace of Papal opposition to true science in any form. On the contrary, I found abundant evidence of their having been just as liberal and judicious patrons of science as they were of art and education in all forms. I found also that those who write most emphatically about Papal opposition to science know nothing at all of the history of science, and, above all, of medicine and of surgery during three very precious centuries. Because they know nothing about it, they think there was none and go out of their way to find a reason for its absence, while all the time there is a wondrous series of chapters of science for those who care to look for them. This is the story I have tried to tell in this book."

Dr. Walsh's experience was not singular nor exceptional. In spite of what he and others have written on this subject, the ignorant calumny is repeated not among uneducated people only, but by teachers of reputation, in schools of high standing and to students of pretention. The writer of this notice was told by a Catholic student in a prominent university that one of the professors had declared to his class recently that all the smart people of history were infidels. The class accepted the declaration for truth and thought the author of it was very bright. It is a pity that this book cannot be placed in the hands of such teachers and pupils. This new edition is much increased in value. Dr. Walsh has added 100 pages of appendices to it and has made it in nearly every way a complete storehouse of authoritative answers to all the objections raised against the Popes and the Church on the ground of supposed opposition to science.

One of the most prominent of English critical journals

said, speaking of the first edition, if Dr. Walsh had only added a series of appendix documents to this volume he would have made a monumental work in the literature of religious controversy and scientific history. Now a hundred pages of appendices are added. All the Church decrees supposed to prove a policy of Church opposition are quoted in full and the text shows that they have either been misrepresented or misunderstood by those who quoted them as documents in support of Papal or Church opposition to science.

The appendix on science in America demonstrates that the Catholic universities of Spanish America far outranked the universities of English America in their devotion to science up to the time when political troubles disturbed them. The appendix on Professor Draper's "Conflict Between Religion and Science" shows how dangerous a thing it is to air a little knowledge on the thesis of the opposition between religion and science. Dr. Walsh makes clear, above all, the utter lack of scholarship of a generation which accepted books like Draper's as representing real knowledge and supposed research, while Draper was all the time exhibiting an almost ridiculous ignorance not only of the history of science, but above all of the history of medicine, for though he was a professor in a medical school and a distinguished medical scientist, he knew literally nothing of the story of old time medical progress, though apparently he and his readers thought he knew all there was to know.

"Makers of Modern Medicine" was a natural sequence to "The Popes and Science." There is no contradiction between Faith and Science; the Popes were not the enemies of Science; faithful sons of the Church were scientists, as witness these distinguished men in the science of medicine.

It is appropriate and encouraging that the two books are increasing in circulation, that new editions of both are called for, and that the learned author is able to perfect each with valuable additional matter.

"Makers of Modern Medicine" is now offered in its third edition, with nearly 100 additional pages devoted to the life of Virchow.

Virchow was probably the greatest German scientist of the nineteenth century. He was the father of modern pathology, and pathology has meant more for progress in medical science than any other department of medicine. But Virchow was much more than a pathologist. It was said that when Virchow died the world of science lost not one, but four men. For, besides being a great pathologist, Virchow was a leader in anthropology, a distinguished original worker in sanitation, and above all a thoroughly practical man who

applied politically all his knowledge of the medical science for the benefit of the community in which he lived. He was for years prominent in the politics both of Prussia and of the German Empire. Everywhere he left his mark for good. We can scarcely think of a great scientist and busy professor in the medical department of a university as occupied deeply with legislative duties, but Virchow exemplified how this might be done.

He was besides thoroughly conservative in all of his opinions. He detested theorizing and insisted that fifty years of biology had been wasted to a great extent in the nineteenth century because of theoretic jumping to conclusions for which there was no justification in observed facts. He was the constant outspoken opponent of Haeckel and the school that insisted on tracing man's descent to the animals, and declared that there was not the slightest evidence for the exaggerated teaching of evolution which became so fashionable in the "silly seventies" of the nineteenth century. For a time, because of this conservatism, Virchow was distinctly unpopular among the younger German scientists, who were even inclined to think of him as an old fogey. The present generation, however, has come around to a similar conservatism that amply vindicates the great German pathologist as one of the well-balanced far-seeing minds of his time.

This is the story that Dr. Walsh, who was in Virchow's laboratory for over a year, has told as an addition to the "Makers of Modern Medicine," which contains sketches of Morgagni, Auenbrugger, Laennec, Theodor Schwann, Johannes Müller, Claude Bernard, the leaders of the Irish School of Medicine, Pasteur, and Joseph O'Dwyer, the American inventor of incubation. Virchow finds a very suitable niche beside these men, who were all deeply conservative in their philosophy of life, and indeed most of them, though that will surprise many who accept the traditions of Church opposition to science, faithful adherents of the Catholic Church.

FOLLOWING THE CONQUISTADORES THROUGH SOUTH AMERICA'S SOUTHLAND.
With an account of the Roosevelt Scientific Expedition to South America. By the Rev. J. A. Zahm, O. S. C. (H. J. Mozan). Sixty-five illustrations. 8vo., pp. 526. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

South America has attracted greater attention in recent years than ever before, and travelers to its shores are increasing rapidly. Ships in larger number are carrying passengers to its various ports of entry, and tourists are not only visiting its maritime cities, but are penetrating to the interior and studying its natural beauties and its rich resources. Books on the South American Continent are more in demand than usual, and a work on that country from one

who is an authority is sure to attract respectful attention. Such a one is Dr. Zahm. When he speaks on scientific subjects and travel, men listen, because his books are not mere itineraries or the observations of the untrained eye of the non-professional man; they are rather correct scientific records of the country through which the traveler passes and the people whom he meets.

The announcement of the publisher says:

"Dr. Zahm knows South America from the Isthmus to the Straits of Magellan. It was his experiences that first attracted Theodore Roosevelt, and when Colonel Roosevelt decided upon his scientific expedition, Dr. Zahm took a prominent part in organizing, equipping and managing the affair.

"Using the Roosevelt itinerary as a basis for his story, Dr. Zahm now gives to the world the third and last of his famous travel books, 'Following the Conquistadores,' and in it tells of the history, the romance and the present status of Brazil, the Argentine, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay. The book has the same literary charm as Dr. Zahm's previous books upon the other parts of South America, and gives besides a very vivid picture of the South American countries of most interest to Americans at the present time."

Dr. Zahm himself says of this book: "It is now three and thirty years since duty first led me to our sister Republic of Mexico. The interest which I have previously felt in the achievements of the Conquistadores was greatly enhanced by my sojourn among their descendants in the valley of Anahuac, and has since continued to grow with the passing years. Since this first visit to Mexico other duties, coupled with special research in the religious, educational and social conditions of the peoples of Latin America, have led to my following the footsteps of the Conquistadores from the Strait of Juan de Fuca to the arid plains of Patagonia, and from the source of the Amazon, in the Peruvian Cordillera, to its broad estuary 4,000 miles distant. An account of some of my long peregrinations has been given in my two previous books, 'Up the Orinoco and Down the Magdalena' and 'Along the Andes and Down the Amazon.' The present work completes the trilogy which I had in contemplation when, nearly a decade ago, I began the first volume of the series bearing the general title of 'Following the Conquistadores.' It was my good fortune, when about to start on my last journey to the Southern Continent, to be able to enlist Colonel Roosevelt's interest in the wilds of South America. In the first of the following chapters I have given a brief account of the origin and organization of our expedition—an expedition which gradually developed from a small band into a large company of nearly two-score persons, and which has since become known as 'The Roose-

velt Scientific Expedition to South America.' The scientific results of this expedition has been given by my distinguished associate in his interesting work, 'Through the Brazilian Wilderness.' For this reason I have in the present volume confined myself almost entirely to a narrative of the incidents of our journey and a description of the places which we visited together. In this, as in my preceding books on South America, I have had little to say of the material, political or economic conditions of the countries through which we journeyed. These subjects have frequently been discussed by statisticians and specialists. My interests have been rather in the history, the poetry and the romance of the places visited. For, with the exception of Spain, the motherland of the great explorers of and adventurers in so much of the Western Hemispheres, there is no land in the world which is so glamouring as that vast region which witnessed the brilliant feats of arms and the marvelous achievements of a Cortez, a Quesada, a Pizarro, a Valdivia, an Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca. Nor is there another land which casts such a spell on the traveler who has read the life story of these marvelous men whose ardent vitality and generous enthusiasm impelled them to undertake and to achieve what less courageous natures would have deemed impossible."

DICTIONARY OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH. Edited by *James Hastings, D. D.* With the assistance of John A. Selbie, D. D., and John C. Lambert, D. D. Volume I., Aaron-Lystra. Royal 8vo., pp. 729. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

"It has been said that the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* is of more practical value than the Dictionary of the Bible. From all parts of the world has come the request that what that Dictionary has done for the Gospels another should do for the rest of the New Testament. The Dictionary of the Apostolic Church is the answer. It carries the history of the Church as far as the end of the first century. Together with the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, it forms a complete and 'independent Dictionary of the New Testament.' " This quotation from the Preface gives an idea of the scope and purpose of the book. Those who are familiar with the previous work along the same lines will recognize this book at once and welcome it, because it follows the same order of excellence and is supplemental.

There can be no question as to the value of such a work. As soon as we admit the worth of a Dictionary of the Old Testament, and indeed the necessity for it, at the same time, by implication, we acknowledge the still greater value of a Dictionary of the New Testament. As the New Law has taken the place of the Old and is

the code by which we must shape our lives through time to eternity, so the explanation of that Law is of more practical value for us and a right understanding of it is more important.

The contributors to the Dictionary have been chosen because of their special fitness, irrespective of nationality and location. The articles are of a high order of excellence, showing learning, research and fairness in an eminent degree.

It is only fair to Catholic students to say that it is a Protestant Dictionary. By that we mean that the contributors are almost without exception—we have noticed only one Catholic among them—members of Protestant churches. Hence a failure to give due credit or proportion to the Catholic position, especially on doctrinal questions like the Eucharist. The "History of the Church of the First Century," by the Abbé Constant Fouard, gives a very different complexion to the teachings and practices of the Apostolic Church from that which one gets from this Dictionary.

We say this not in a controversial spirit at all, nor in a fault-finding spirit, but as a statement of fact which is fairer to all parties concerned.

LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF THE PAPAL CHANCERY DOWN TO THE TIME OF INNOCENT III. By *Reginald L. Poole*, Hon. Litt. D. 8vo., pp. 211. Cambridge: University Press.

This is an important study, but hardly a popular one. It will appeal to men of learning and to those engaged in this particular field, but the number of such persons must always be quite limited.

For that reason literature on the subject is meagre, and we are not surprised to learn that it has developed very slowly. And yet it is an important one. When we consider the variety of Papal documents, the value of them, especially in past times, when the Papacy was much more intimately connected with the rulers of the world, we can easily understand how important the correct interpretation of Papal documents really is.

There are but few works on the subject, and few writers equipped to deal with it. For this reason Mr. Poole's book is the rarer and more worthy of attention. The study of Papal documents has occupied him for many years. As far back as 1880 he began transcribing Bulls in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum. In 1897 he was called to give regular instruction in diplomatic at his own University at Oxford. Since then in most years he has given a course of lectures on the history of the Papal Chancery and on the characteristics of its literary productions. His election to the Birkbeck Lectures in Ecclesiastical History in 1912 gave him the opportunity to apply himself to the im-

provement and extension of his lectures, and this book is the result.

Besides being important, the subject can be made very interesting by an enthusiast for a willing student. Mr. Poole is an enthusiast. The book shows the conscientious care and patience of the true scholar on every page, and is altogether worthy of the subject. This applies equally to the make-up of the volume, which is dignified and correct in every particular.

The following sketch of the development of the subject is interesting:

The study of Papal as of other documents was founded in France. It is a part of the great learned tradition of the Benedictines of the congregation of St. Maur. The illustrious Jean Mabillon first laid down the principles of diplomatic with a sureness of grasp which has made his treatise the model on which all subsequent work has proceeded. He had an instinct of critical divination which seldom allowed him to go astray, and the little that he says about Papal documents is pregnant with suggestions which have been turned to account by later scholars.

Nearly a century passed before a notable landmark in the study of Papal documents was fixed in a Memoir on the Acts of Innocent Third, by Leopold Delisle, a true successor of Mabillon in a large part of his varied activity. This short article, published in 1858, stands as the pattern for the exposition of the system of the Chancery and of the diplomatic of the middle ages. His influence is apparent in the productions of the French School at Rome.

During the eighteenth century there was great and continuous activity in Italy in the publication of materials for history, and especially for ecclesiastical history, but less interest was shown in the criticism of documents. Pierluigi Galletti, in his book on the Primitivus, furnished a storehouse of evidence bearing upon the early organization of the Chancery, and in 1805 Gaetano Marini produced an invaluable collection of documents preserved, or once preserved, on papyrus. Until the archives were thrown open by Pope Leo XIII. in 1881 access to them was rarely permitted to any one outside the official staff. The exceptional facilities granted to the Danish historian, P. A. Munch, in 1860, resulted in the production of the first scientific treatise on the registers, but this was not published until many years after his death.

The French influence was slow in penetrating into Germany, where Papal documents had been for the most part left to antiquaries, who examined leaden seals, and to lawyers, who looked on the subject as a branch of mainly obsolete jurisprudence. While an immense service was done to history by Philipp Jaffe, himself a

Polish Jew, through the compilation of his great calendar of Papal documents down to 1198, his purpose was historical, not diplomatic. What he aimed at was to make as complete a list of the documents as was possible in order to provide materials for the historian; and however meritorious as a pioneer, his works suffered from the neglect of the great French tradition.

Meanwhile in the German Empire a movement was on foot which had a profound influence on the study. The greatest historical undertaking in that country, the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, was placed under the management of the Berlin Academy in 1872, and three years later its organization was reconstructed and the sphere of its operations extended. In 1876 it was determined to include the Letters of Gregory the Great; in 1880 and 1881 a selection of Papal Letters of the thirteenth century was arranged; a year later a proposal for the publication of all that remains of the Register of John Eighth was adopted; and then, by 1884, Theodor Mommsen had taken upon him to edit a fresh "*Liber Pontificalis*," which was at that very time passing through the press under the masterly editorship of the Abbè (now Monsignor) Louis Duchesne.

This enlargement of the work of the monuments, side by side with a vigorous activity of the Institute at Vienna, soon established the German lands in the front rank in the special study of Papal diplomatic which had previously been neglected there.

The great advantages which thus inured to learning were due not only to the fresh stimulus given to Papal diplomatic, but to the fact that the German and Austrian scholars brought to its criticism a long experience and an unsurpassed equipment in the analytical work which they or their teachers had done in connection with the *Monumenta* and with the exploration of imperial documents. On the one hand, there was the laborious collation of the manuscripts and tracing of their affinities; on the other, the palæographical examination of originals, the comparison of handwriting, the penetration of the structure of documents, the analysis of the formulæ, the establishment of Chancery rules. The principles of study were transplanted into a new field, and their results, if at times impaired by excess of refinement and an undue striving after originality, have in the past thirty years proved of remarkable value and importance.

SERMONS DOCTRINAL AND MORAL. By *Right Rev. Thaddæus Hogan, R. M.* 8vo., pp. 320. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

A book of sermons from a man of Monsignor Hogan's learning, experience and reputation should attract more than usual attention.

He brings to the task not only the training of every Catholic priest in faith and morals which he receives in Christian school and ecclesiastical seminary, but he also brings a mind capable of grasping the eternal truths clearly and a power of expression suited to setting them forth vigorously, joined to a ripe experience, which enables him to interpret them in a manner fitted to the capacity and needs of men here and now. If it be useful for preachers to have models placed before them which they may safely follow without fear of departing from the truth, how much more useful to have guides who cannot only assure them that what they say is true, but also that it is practical and that it has been tried and proved? This can truthfully be said of Monsignor Hogan and his sermons. He is a safe guide, and his sermons are practical and effective.

The collection is not made up of sermons for the Sundays of the year in order, but is divided into four parts—the first part on the Church, the second on Catholic Practice and Devotion, the third on Catholic Belief for Mixed Congregations, and the fourth consisting of Addresses. In the first part we find the Church—its Constitution, its Attributes, its Prerogatives, its Marks, its Authority, its Infallibility and kindred subjects treated.

In the second we have such subjects as Prayer, Penance, Death, the Passion, the Holy Name, the Blessed Virgin, Marriage and Christian Education.

In the third part there are sermons on Religious Indifference, the Priesthood, Indulgences, Socialism, Communism and similar subjects.

The fourth part includes addresses for St. Patrick's Day, the Laying of a Corner-stone, on Club Life and on Music.

ADDRESSES AT PATRIOTIC AND CIVIC OCCASIONS. By *Catholic Orators*. Two volumes. 8vo., pp. 295 and 312. New York: Joseph F. Wagner.

"The aim in publishing this collection of Addresses for Patriotic and Civic Occasions is chiefly to place at the disposal of Catholic readers valuable material for ascertaining the position of the Church in regard to momentous questions of modern times and for the vindication of the claims and the policy of the Church against absurd and fallacious charges of her antagonists."

Among the speakers we find Cardinals Gibbons, Farley and O'Connell, Archbishops Ireland and Glennon, Bishops Carroll, Dowling, Anderson and Gunn, and other distinguished ecclesiastics and laymen.

Among the subjects we notice Washington, Lincoln, Columbus, Labor Day, Memorial Day, the Flag, Education, Religious Free-

dom, Religious Bigotry and others equally interesting and important.

A glance at this partial list of subjects and speakers shows the importance of the collection. Here we have subjects treated which are constantly in demand, and which only a limited number of persons are competent to handle. We find them explained by masters who have brought their best thought to bear on them and have chosen weapons from armories not within the reach of all. Of course, they are not all of an equal order of excellence, as they are not all equally important, but taken as a whole they furnish information for the reader and material for the speaker, which is very much needed at the present time and which is not easily gotten.

THE "SUMMA THEOLOGICA" OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS. Part II. (First Part)
Literally Translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province.
Second Number (QQ., XLIX-LXXIX.). New York: Benziger Brothers.

This is a more than unusually interesting and practical volume of the "Summa," if it is permissible to speak of the work in that way. It is the "Treatise on Habits," divided into two parts, dealing with "Habits in General" and "Habits in Particular," the second part being divided again into "Good Habits," or "Virtues," and "Evil Habits," or "Vices." Under the first subdivision of the second part we find the Intellectual, the Cardinal and the Theological Virtues considered, and then follow chapters on the Beatitudes and the Fruits of the Holy Ghost. Under the second subdivision we find the following questions discussed: Distinction of Sins, Comparison of Sins, Internal and External Causes of Sin, Original Sin and its Effects, Venial Sin as Compared to Mortal Sin, and Venial Sin in Itself.

This outline indicates clearly the sense in which the word practical may be applied to this volume. Other parts of the "Summa" might not interest the lay reader, probably would not, but this part will appeal to any one of ordinary intelligence, and it is an excellent sample of the "Summa" to place before readers of English as distinguished from readers of Latin, in order to draw their attention to the great value of the work and induce them to study it.

PASTORAL LETTERS, ADDRESSES AND OTHER WRITINGS of the *Right Rev. James A. McFaul, D. D., LL. D.*, Bishop of Trenton. Edited by Rev. James J. Powers. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The four Pastorals furnish the foundation of this volume. They are entitled "The Christian Home," "The Christian School," "The Christian Church" and "Some Modern Problems." They occupy

over one hundred pages. They are comprehensive, comprehensible and instructive. They are addressed to the people, were read in the churches of the Trenton Diocese, and would make a very useful book for every family library.

The rest of the volume is made up of addresses, sermons, essays and controversies. The addresses are made to soldiers in camp, to Grand Army men on Memorial Day, to graduates on commencement day, and various other organizations in convention assembled. The sermons include funeral orations, blessing of bells, feasts of saints and investiture of Domestic Prelates. The controversies include Dr. Eliot and his new religion, and modern universities and infidelity.

This outline indicates the extent of the book. It is hardly necessary to speak of its excellence. Bishop McFaul is so well known as a public speaker and writer that the mere announcement of the publication will be sufficient. The public is already aware that he never approaches a subject without being well informed on it, and that he treats it with such vigor, confidence and clearness as to carry conviction to all fair-minded readers.

MEDITATIONS ON THE MYSTERIES OF OUR HOLY FAITH. Together with a Treatise on Mental Prayer, Based on the Work of the Venerable Father Louis de Ponte, S. J. By Rev C. W. Barraud, S. J. Two volumes, 12mo. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The announcement says: "This is an attempt to modernize the compendium of De Ponte for those who are accustomed to his arrangement. A distinctive feature is to be found in the collection of prayers and hymns to be used as colloquies, furnishing excellent matter for St. Ignatius' second method of prayer."

To one who did not know it might seem that there is fashion in methods of meditation, as in other things. The truth is that methods of meditation vary according to the capacity, the needs and the opportunities of those who follow them. They all, of course, agree fundamentally, but they differ much as to method. Formerly and under circumstances which gave the creature more time for prayer, and especially in religious communities, the longer, more elaborate and more detailed method was followed. In later times, and especially in busy communities like the United States, the shorter, simpler and more direct method has come into vogue. In the work before us we have a combination of the two.

The editor has taken one of the greatest exponents of the old school, whose work formerly filled several volumes, and, retaining all the unction and fervor of the original, he has reduced the book to a proportion that will make it suitable and acceptable to modern

needs. The result is admirable—we have all the beauty of the fuller meditation and all the utility of the briefer one.

PLAIN SERMONS BY PRACTICAL PREACHERS. Original Sermons on the Gospels and Epistles of all the Sundays and the Principal Feasts. Two volumes, 12mo., pp. 417 and 383. New York: Joseph F. Wagner.

These two volumes contain two complete sets of sermons for the year. Each volume is a complete course. They are not on the Gospels and Epistles in the strict sense, because they do not treat the Gospel and Epistle of each Sunday in a complete manner. They are, however, suited to the occasion, and not attached to it only.

They are by different authors, but not every one. Some authors appear several times. The most distinguished are Right Rev. Bishop Alexander McDonald, Right Rev. Bishop J. S. Vaughan and Right Rev. James Bellord. The most frequent are Rev. William Graham, Rev. H. G. Hughes, Rev. Thomas J. Gerrard, Rev. John H. Stapleton and Rev. A. B. Sharpe.

In addition to these there are several sermons by Dr. Hugh T. Henry, Dr. Charles Bruehl and others.

All of the contributors are already well known, and their ability and reliability are generally recognized. The sermons are unusually various in style, coming from so many sources. If a preacher were to use them as they are written, he might surprise his hearers by his wonderful versatility. This can easily be avoided by careful adaptation.

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

"Contributors to the *QUARTERLY* will be allowed all proper freedom in the expression of their thoughts outside the domain of defined doctrines, the *REVIEW* not holding itself responsible for the individual opinions of its contributors."

(Extract from *Sanctuary*, July, 1890.)

VOL. XLI.—JULY, 1916—NO. 163

THE SEA-DIVIDED AND SELF-DIVIDED GAEL.

WHEN the eminent Irish historian, Mr. Lecky, was beginning to collect materials for his invaluable history on the English in Ireland, he found little difficulty in discovering the source of nearly all its national and social woes. In the fruits of the Anglo-Norman invasion he discerned the poison that rankled like a spearhead in the unfortunate "emerald gem" of the North Atlantic. The axiom of statesmanship upon which the astute Norman intruders always relied was borrowed from the policy of the conquering Romans, "Divide et impera." As the bands of mercenary auxiliaries in the wars of the Middle Ages were noted for the sagacity which inspired their movements usually, in picking out the side most likely to win, so the crafty Plantagenets selected the most powerful chiefs whether in Wales or Ireland, irrespective of the question of morality or guilt, and flung their swords into the scale, altogether heedless of the ethical law. The men who sold their swords to William of Normandy and his successors gave as little heed to the claims of God as the chief who told a weak but pious French King that he would send him tall Norman spears for wax candles on the altars of Notre Dame, if he did not comply with his demands as to territory and recognition. Still the English royal standard displays the legend "Dieu et mon droit," even though the crown which tops the shield has been acquired by a rigid adherence to the older motto of the Latin Cæsars, with its frank cynicism.

From the time that the Norman adventurers under the lead of Strongbow landed in Ireland until the present day, the policy of division has been steadily pursued toward Ireland by "the predomi-

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nant partner." The enforced union of the two isles, effected by William Pitt in the year 1800 A. D. gave it a bitterly sarcastic meaning. They called it union, but it meant greater dissension. The cunning arrangements for the perpetuation of such discords between the inhabitants of the North of Ireland and those of the South and West, by means of the plantation of Ulster with men and women from Scotland and Great Britain, have proved as effective for the purpose of preventing fusion, as the most deadly racial hatred or the most insuperable natural barriers. In the process of time, after the upas tree of the Reformation had empoisoned the atmosphere of all the known world, the virus of religious rancor came to aggravate the manifold miseries under which the beautiful island of destiny (as Ireland was styled from the period of the Milesians) labored and struggled. Devotion to the faith taught by St. Patrick and St. Columba was the peculiar characteristic of the emotional and warm-hearted Western Gaels. The phlegmatic Anglo-Saxons and Anglo-Normans yielded up the faith quite tamely, under the merciless pressure of the Tudors; and even in Ireland a few of the native landholders, to save their patrimony, bent the knee to Baal and became persecutors of their faithful fellow-countrymen—MacWilliam Burke (Clanricarde) and Murrough O'Brien (Lord Inchiquin). "Murrough of the Burnings" was so called because he had burned the sainted shrines of Cashel and several hundred clergy who had taken shelter within its walls on the approach of the army. The cold-blooded policy of the English monarchs and statesmen found how easy it made the function of ruling to have the ruled pitted against each other by reason of the odium theologicum, and every opportunity was taken that the circumstances of each succeeding age afforded in order to foster and encourage the spirit of sectarian animosity among the people of Ireland especially.

The lengths to which this awful system of state finesse were carried almost surpass the power of belief, so vile were some of the machinations used to accomplish the most wicked ends. For instance, if a Catholic landowner had several sons, besides the eldest one, to whom the property would go by law, on the father's death, the penal statutes passed by the Tudors enabled the second eldest to claim and get the birthright if he went to a magistrate and intimated his desire to "conform"—that is, to join the Established Church. Whenever a Catholic landowner took up arms to defend his possessions, he was attainted, sent to the scaffold and proclaimed a traitor whose property became forfeit to the Crown, and was bestowed on some favorite of the opposite faith—mayhap the false friend who had informed on his trusting neighbor and put the blood-

hounds of the law on his scent. At one time, when the great Earl of Desmond was betrayed and slain by English troops, as he was hiding in the lowly sheeling of a faithful peasant, five hundred thousand acres of the finest land in the South passed into possession of the Crown, and was parcelled out among the adherents of the Reformation. Lutherans were brought over from Germany to colonize the forfeited lands of the Romanists, in Limerick County and Tipperary. The borough of Bandon Bridge was created by King James II. out of the forfeited possessions of the McCarthys, Kings of Munster. Settlers were brought from England and given possession of the town to hold it for the King and "the Protestant interest." In Limerick County also a large number of settlers from Germany—the Palatinates they were called—were settled some time subsequent to the surrender of Limerick. Settlers were, of course, non-Catholics. To bring over such settlers and deliberately plant them in the midst of populations altogether Catholic, and furnish them with arms, while the Catholics were not permitted to possess even the lock of an old pistol, was to lay the seed for racial hatred and sectarian trouble, and lay it deep and perdurable. In the cities of Cork and Dublin there were settlements of Orangemen, whose invariable custom it was to celebrate the victory of the Boyne and the shutting of the gates at Derry by noisy demonstrations and the display of flaunting banners and beating of drums and firing off of cannon and the delivery of insulting orations about "Pope and Popery, brass money and wooden shoes" by frenzied half-drunken demagogues. There was every year, on the Boyne anniversary, a grand parade around the statue of King William the Third, on College Green, Dublin, by a body called the Aldermen of Skinners' Alley (an Orange society). This annual event was marked by much rioting and bad blood between the different elements of the population, for the quay laborers—a very numerous and able-bodied set of workers—were often goaded into attacking the roystering celebrants, and much rioting and often loss of life marked those insulting celebrations. It should be noted that all this nefarious course of conduct was part of a settled policy which had its origin in the design to prevent the fusion of the people into a homogeneous whole and hamstringing their power of action and organization for their civic betterment and national progress.

It may be thought an overstatement of the case to charge that any government of the importance and dignity of one of the great powers of the world, as the British one undoubtedly was at that time, could be capable of using such means of maintaining her empire as to set class against class deliberately and cultivate the spirit of sectarian discord. Yet it cannot be forgotten that the

terrible Indian Mutiny in 1857 flamed out because some high ones in the military councils of India had caused the cartridges which were served out to the Indian troops to be smeared with the fat of swine, to touch which is an abomination, under the religious system of the Sikhs and Sepoys. To discharge his piece the Hindu soldier was compelled to bite the top off a cartridge, and thus to violate a stringent tenet of his religion. Such an outrage was deliberately resolved on and deliberately carried out. When the Sepoys began to shoot down their officers in Delhi, Cawnpore and other military centres, the world had its first intimation that the mild Hindu was capable of losing his serenity and acting like a ferocious beast of the jungle when insulted on his tenderest spot, his religious feelings. The British Government in Ireland had been acting toward the Catholics of that country just as cruelly and insanely as the British military authorities in India had toward the Sepoy troops. A very singular feature of the Indian problem, at the period of the Mutiny, was that while the native Hindus who professed the old Brahman creed were insulted and persecuted, those who belonged to the Mahometan faith were favored and encouraged to join the army. The Sikhs had revolted, and were put down, but not until they had nearly flung off the British yoke. They put up so brave a fight that a deep respect for their prowess took the place of the sentiment which the Government at Calcutta had formerly entertained for the warriors of the Punjab. Moreover, it was the aim of Britain to conciliate the tribes of the Afghan hills and valleys, who were largely, as to religion, much like the Sikhs. Mahometan was the predominant one at Cabul and Candahar, and the followers of the Prophet had shown what those inspired by his teachings could do when in the Khyber Pass they left but one man out of an army corps sent against them from Jellalabad, in the war against Dost Mahommed, to return and tell the story of its annihilation.

The most surprising fact in the world's history, it may well be conceded, is the rise of Ireland from the miserable condition which befell her after the overthrow of the Stuarts and the Hanoverian yoke was substituted. To find the people, a hundred years after the surrender of Limerick, able to rise from their abject position and shake off the intolerable incubus that was worse than Egyptian bondage, was indeed to realize the truth of Disraeli's axiom as to political fluctuations, that it is the unexpected that always happens. Though the Protestant party had everything its own way for the greater part of three hundred years, the extremists in that party were not able to maintain a policy of hate and ostracism against the vanquished Catholics—as preached by the Bishop of Meath

from the pulpit of Christ Church, after the surrender of Limerick. As long as there were men like Swift and Frederick Lucas and William Molyneux to feel inspired to rise up and preach resistance to brutal oppression, and practical men like Grattan and Flood and Charlemont to organize for national right, under cover of organizing for national defense, there never could be danger of a total submersion of the national spirit. Ireland's opportunity arose when England's extremity, under the menace of a French invasion, came with the revolving years. Limerick might have been avenged by Hoche or Bonaparte had not the drum of Charlemont's Volunteers aroused the national spirit of the minority and penetrated even the despairing thoughts of the abject minority, so as to cause them to bestir themselves to prepare for a great emergency. The spectacle of Catholic communities banding together, when the law denied them the right of public meeting for the discussion of grievances, for the necessary purpose of defending the soil against a foreign invader, and subscribing funds for the arming and equipment of Protestant regiments of Volunteers, never had a precedent in all the long centuries of recorded history. It was a symptom of a political reincarnation that astonished the English plotters against Irish liberty. It moved the Machiavellian mind of William Pitt, the archconspirator, to cast about for some potent poisonous charm wherewith to combat the new danger which an Irish rapprochement conjured up to menace the security of British supremacy of trade, in political power, in the arts of governing. All these things, and more, had been revealed in the marvellous results of eighteen years of Irish Parliamentary independence. Irish arts, Irish industries, Irish genius in every field, had sprung up as if at the touch of an enchanter's wand, since Grattan had said, "Hail! Esto perpetua," to an Irish Parliament, wrung from a hostile German King and a hostile English House of Lords and House of Commons. The same spirit of avaricious envy that prompted a request to King William of Orange to have him interpose with legislation so as to destroy the Irish wool trade, awoke to whisper into the ear of Pitt that England's safety demanded that Grattan's Parliament be destroyed, like Carthage of old for the safety of Rome. The only way that offered feasibility, in Pitt's mind, was to arouse the demon of dissension; and the only way to invoke that fiend was by the injection of the virus known as "odium theologicum." Ulster had shown the way to secure that deadly nostrum. In 1795 the first Orange lodge was opened in Ulster, and by the time that the Irish Rebellion, which "the profound dissembling mind" of Pitt was meanwhile hatching, planning, and shaping into diabolical form and effectiveness, was ready, in 1798, the Orange hydra was ready, too.

Lodges sprang up with the celerity of mushrooms all over the Northern Province, and arms for the members were furnished from the Castle of Dublin. Henry Grattan openly charged that the Ministry was "in league with abettors of the Orange Boys, and at war with the people." In the evidence given by Arthur O'Connor as to the causes of the rebellion of 1798, turning to Lord Castlereagh, one of the Commissioners, he said: "As one of the executive it came to my knowledge that considerable sums of money were expended throughout the nation in endeavoring to extend the Orange system, and that the oath of extermination (of Catholics) was administered. When these facts are coupled not only with general impunity, which has been uniformly extended toward the acts of this infernal association, but the marked encouragement which its members have received from Government, I find it impossible to exculpate the Government from being the parent and protector of these sworn extirpators."

Sir Thomas Verner, John Claudius Beresford, and several other Grand Masters of Dublin Lodges protested, in a published sheet, that the idea of injuring any one on account of his religious opinions never entered their hearts. But Mitchel's "History of Ireland" recalls the fact that immediately on the establishment of the first Orange lodges in Armagh County the members of those lodges did forthwith set themselves to the task of extirpating all their Catholic neighbors, solely because they were Catholics; and that in one year they had slain or driven from their homes fourteen hundred families, or seven thousand individuals. John Mitchel, who recorded these doings of the Northern Orangemen, was a Northern man himself, the son of a Unitarian minister, a scholar and a historian of the highest rank, who took no statements on hearsay, but sifted and weighed every averment of fact which he had to put on record.

It should be borne in mind that William Pitt, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, deliberately introduced this poisoned spearhead of religious rancor into Ireland for the Machiavellian purpose of destroying the Irish Parliament and bringing about the so-called Union of the two countries by the process of swallowing or absorbing the Irish Parliament by the English one. He expended six million pounds in buying the votes of the members of the Irish Legislature to commit that act of treason to their country and their constituencies. Lord Castlereagh and Lord Clare were the principal agents upon whom Pitt relied to carry out his policy in Ireland, and he made no mistake in his men. They were both statesmen of the highest reputation—must have been prodigies, to measure up to the standards of a man who was Prime Minister of England at the

age of 24. And yet one of them at least did not please his own fastidious self, for on the failure of the Walcheren expedition he incontinently cut his throat—a tragedy which his inveterate enemy, Lord Byron, seemed to regard as noble comedy, worthy his satiric pen, for he thus wrote of it in “The Age of Bronze”:

“And ne’er (enough) lamented Castlereagh,
Whose penknife slit a goosequill t’other day.”

His understrapper, Lord Clare—one of the Mount Shannon Fitzgeralds—was in every respect fitted for the office of smeller-out of treasons and weeder-out of disloyalty. As official “visitor” of Trinity College, Dublin, he had the right to summon before him and catechize all students of whom his spies advised him as of doubtful loyalty. We read that among those whom he put through a crucial grilling as to connection with Robert Emmet was Thomas Moore, the brave bard who afterwards wrote so feelingly about Emmet and his affianced sweetheart, Sarah Curran, in the poems entitled “She is Far from the Land,” and “Oh, Breathe Not His Name.” Moore was pressed repeatedly to tell what he knew of Emmet as a class-mate, but he steadfastly declined to give his truculent inquisitor any information. For this he got into trouble with the college authorities—for in those lamentable times that ill-omened foundation of Queen Elizabeth’s was heartily in keeping with the traditions of the source from whence it sprang—anti-Irish and anti-Catholic, and inimical to every sort of freedom save that for the Tory Ascendancy. The names of Provost Gifford, who was popularly referred to as “the dog in office,” and (later on) Dr. Patrick Duigenan (a renegade Catholic) are inextricably linked with the period when the seat of Protestant culture was converted into an instrument of tyrannical moral repression in the interests of the British Government in Ireland. The traditions of that period of shame to learning have been handed on with unfailing fidelity to the present generation, when the University is represented in Parliament by at least one member who is as deeply dyed in anti-Catholic and anti-Irish sentiment as any of the preceding members who achieved unenviable distinction in that regard. Not all of the series were animated with the same degree of partisan bias, but all possessed the taint in greater or less force. Sir Edward Carson held the position for many years: when he was given the post of Attorney-General (to reward him for his fidelity to the principle of revolution as illustrated in the dethronement of the Stuart King by his son-in-law, the Prince of Orange), he was succeeded as member for Trinity by Mr. H. J. Campbell, another lawyer equally virulent, but not equally dowered by nature with that gift which in Ireland is called the

"comether," but in other places was known as odic force or animal-magnetism. Carson had, as was often demonstrated a liberal infusion of that quality, at least for men who saw orange and blue, but were blind to green. The latest evidence of the efficacy of Pitt's anti-national medicine has been demonstrated in the tragic outcome of the Sinn Fein uprising. Still, there is such a factor in the equations of super-ambition as time's revenges and the character of Sir Giles Overreach in "A New Way to Pay Old Debts." Massinger's play is not seldom exemplified in the chequered careers of daring and unscrupulous statesmen of the Pitt and Talleyrand type. When the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Whateley, was appointed a Commissioner of National Education, he conceived a plan for eliminating the idea of Nationality in Ireland by burying it deep under the sea of total ignorance of Irish history and language and literature. This he succeeded in doing quite completely, by a very clever use of text-books that were intended to "kill two birds with the one stone"—to overthrow the Catholic Church and extinguish the vision of a revived Irish Nation. His Grace, the Logician, builded wiser than he knew. Out of his ban on the Gaelic idea sprang the movement for the Preservation of the Irish Language and the Gaelic League; and out of this again the martial idea of Sinn Fein, or "ourselves alone," whose flower was the ill-starred "Irish Republic" of 1916, drowned in its own blood shortly after the hour which witnessed its baptism.

From the statements which appeared in many newspapers as to the uprising in Dublin, it might seem that the suddenness of it took everybody by surprise, but the ample explanations given to the Commission by Mr. Birrell, the Chief Secretary, and Baron Wimborn, the Lord Lieutenant, a very different conclusion was derivable. The authorities in Dublin Castle were very well aware that preparations for an armed uprising were being carefully carried out, but an inexplicable paralysis, it would appear, overtook every one on whom responsibility for preventive action centred. There has been no satisfactory explanation of the phenomenal numbness or lethargy that befell "the Castle" at that fateful crisis: it might seem to the ready Irish imagination that such a spell as the ancient Druids were said to have been able to cast upon the counsels of invaders—as in the case of the coming of the Milesians from Spain when the magicians of the Tuatha de Danaan raised fogs and mists along the coasts so as to hide the harbors and landing places from the incoming strangers. A statement concerning the conditions which preceded the Sinn Fein outbreak, given out by Colonel Maurice Moore, Commander of the National Volunteers, contained these illuminative passages on this point:

"War was declared early in August, and it seemed impossible to carry on a foreign war with rebellion threatening at home. On the National side Mr. Redmond relieved the situation by making a public and unconditional offer of the services of the Volunteers for the defense of the country. As usual, the Government hesitated what course to pursue, and tried to do nothing. Day after day speculation was keener and controversy grew louder as to the signing of the Home Rule Bill. I was traveling all over the country reviewing Volunteers, and everywhere I found anxiety growing more intense. It was freely stated that Carson had made his bargain, and that Redmond had shown his cards and was being cheated by the Government. The Sinn Feiners took full advantage of these fears and preached the doctrine of 'perfidie Albion.' Lord Kitchener sent over an officer to raise an Irish Division, and the inclination of many people was to wait till the Government declared itself. The Sinn Feiners said: 'The English are humbugging us; they want our recruits, and when they have them safely bagged they will snap their fingers at us and tear up the Bill. That is how the English have always treated us.' It could not be denied that their history was true, and their forebodings had every appearance of being true also. Week after week passed by with no sign, only the call for more recruits. The time was agonizing, and nerves began to give way. I am confident that the week elapsing between the passing of the Bill and its signature by the King, coupled with the demand for recruits, estranged the people of Ireland as much as the Bill itself had conciliated them. When at last the Bill was signed the enthusiasm was gone, and the fact that it was not to be put in force till after the war, with the threat of an undefined Amending Bill, left the uncertainty as great as ever. Nobody believed in it."

Certainly the sequel to the Limerick Treaty of Surrender justified to the full the pessimism of the Sinn Feiners; so did the dissolution of Charlemont's Volunteers a century afterwards.

Mr. Birrell, who resigned his position as Chief Secretary on the outbreak of the Sinn Fein revolt, fully confirmed the view of the causes of the revolt given out by Colonel Moore. He said:

"There were a number of contributory causes which lately have created the utmost excitement of feeling among those ill-affected to constitutional methods and to increase their numbers:

"1. Growing doubts about the actual advent of Home Rule.—If the Home Rule Bill had not been placed on the Statute-book, there must have been, both in Ireland and the United States, a great and dangerous explosion of rage and disappointment, which, when the war broke out, would have assumed the most alarming proportions. In Ireland all (outside parts of Ulster) would have joined hands,

whilst our reports from Washington tell us what the effect in America would have been. Still, even with Home Rule on the Statute-book, the chance of its ever becoming a fact was so uncertain, the outstanding difficulty about Ulster was so obvious, and the details of the measure itself were so unattractive and difficult to transmute into telling platform phrases, that Home Rule, as an emotional flag, fell out of daily use in current Irish life. People left off talking about it or waving it in the air.

"2. The sneers of the O'Brienites and the daily 'naggings' in the Dublin 'Irish Independent' also contributed to the partial eclipse of Home Rule.

"3. The Ulster rebellion, gun-running at Larne, the Covenant, the Provisional Government, and its members, its plan of warfare in Belfast, its armed Volunteers and public drillings, and all the rest of the 'pomp and circumstance' of revolution had the most prodigious effect upon disloyalists elsewhere. There was no anger with the Ulster rebels. Catholic Ireland was very proud of them. 'What they are allowed to do, we can do.' This needs no elaboration from me."

All this, coming from the mouth of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, was the gravest indictment of that functionary's public conduct that the indignation of a political foe could have framed. Yet the Chief Secretary gave it out without any apparent qualm or consciousness of personal culpability. Then he went on to incriminate himself and his colleagues still further:

"The Coalition Government with Sir Edward Carson in it!—It is impossible to describe or overestimate the effect of this in Ireland. The fact that Mr. Redmond could, had he chosen to do so, have sat in the same Cabinet with Sir Edward Carson had no mollifying influence. If Mr. Redmond had consented he would *eo instante* have ceased to be an Irish leader. This step seemed to make an end of Home Rule and strengthened the Sinn Feiners enormously all over the country.

"The prolongation of the war and its dubious end: Irish criticism of the war and its chances was not of the optimistic cast that prevailed in Britain. Every event and result was put in the balance and weighed. The excitement was intense. So long as the war lasted (and it soon became obvious that it might last for years) there were not wholly unreasonable expectations of a German landing or landings in Ireland, and of partial risings in different parts of the country which, if timed so as to synchronize with a German bombardment of the English coasts, and hosts of Zeppelins flying over the North of England and the Midlands, would be quite enough (so it might well be thought by an Irish revolutionist) to secure a

fair chance of an immediate Irish success, which, were Germany ultimately victorious, could not but greatly damage British authority and rule in the future. German assistance was at the bottom of the outbreak. The war turned many heads and upset prudent calculations. To this in Dublin were added the hoarded passions of the labor disputes."

The Under-Secretary for Ireland is, or has been, practically the real governing force in the Castle, from almost the beginning of British rule. Sir Matthew Nathan was the official in charge at the time of the outbreak. He is a nephew of Signor Ernesto Nathan, who was Mayor of Rome some years ago, and distinguished himself not creditably by the delivery of some very exacerbate philippics against the Holy Father (Leo XIII.).

Questioned about the Sinn Fein movement, Sir Matthew said it was started in 1905, giving as its aim national self-development on the lines successfully adopted by the Hungarians in their struggle with Austria by a policy of Sinn Fein—"Ourselves alone." It was to deal with all movements originating within Ireland for the accomplishment of their aims. The members of the movement were generally known, but it would be very difficult to get at the number in Government service receiving public pay. If asked they would say, "We don't like England"; but a good many would not go beyond that. It was a matter of pious opinion with them that England had treated Ireland badly. The Gaelic League was formed for the study of Irish literature and language, and included people of all political opinions. Gradually those who were not anti-British dropped out, and afterwards the executive was practically captured by the leaders of the Irish Volunteers.

The Sinn Feiners in time revealed themselves as hostile to the idea of gaining Home Rule. It seems to have been the first time that the English press ever got a real glimpse of the situation which the system of Castle government had created in Ireland. Both Mr. Gladstone and Earl Spencer, on different occasions, confessed that although each occupied high position in the English governmental system, they had been in the dark as to the real feelings of the Irish people as to British rule until they came into actual contact with them on Irish soil. It was "the intensity of Fenianism," as Mr. Gladstone said, that convinced him that his first duty was to disestablish the English Church in Ireland. It was the same cause, as Earl Spencer explained, that converted him from the principles of Tory coercion to those of Home Rule for Ireland, to which he is steadfastly loyal still, so far as we can learn.

How did it happen that, once again, as in Mr. Gladstone's time, when the cup of peace and victory was being offered to Ireland's

lips, the hand of a seemingly sardonic Fate struck out suddenly to shatter the hope of the struggling nation? One of the poets of an earlier period of chagrin and bitterness tried to shift the blame from the responsible shoulders:

"'Twas Fate, they said—a wayward Fate
A web of discord wove,
That while our tyrants joined in hate
We never joined in love."

There is always a spirit of jealousy—political rivalry—in Irish political movements—a fact which, while it speaks strongly for the earnestness of the men engaged in them, gives evidence not less convincing that virtues when pursued too far may become vices and insurmountable barriers to the progress of a whole nation and people. Poetry and oratory are closely allied in the gifts of Nature: Ireland has always had a good representation in the professors of each graceful art. Along with these noble arts is always latent in Ireland a dangerous spirit that may be confidently relied on by any unscrupulous political gamester to further personal or dynastic ambitions. The poetic element in the Celtic character is a heritage of immemorial respectability. The bard in the twilight ages stood next in rank to the king, by official as well as by sentimental acclaim. Factionalism has always been a prominent element in the making of Ireland's checkered history. The fight against a peaceful settlement of the quarrel between England and Ireland on the lines of the Home Rule Bill was kept up by a strongly antagonistic faction in Ireland and another in the United States. The Argus eyes of Germany had taken the whole situation in and prepared to act upon its possibilities when the clock of Time had struck the fateful hour. The trial of Sir Roger Casement for high treason revealed the whole plot, and a proclamation purporting to emanate from the German Emperor gave evidence that a movement whose basic principle was purely republican and one of national self-reliance—as its very title and watchword indicated—did not shrink from accepting armed aid from abroad and coöperating with a foreign invader on Irish soil.

It was the discovery that William Pitt had made deliberate preparations for the repression of an armed uprising in Ireland, in order that he might be able to advance an overwhelming argument for the abolition of Grattan's Parliament and the introduction of his scheme of a Parliamentary Union, that covered his name with infamy. To drown an innocent country with blood and to overwhelm its people with a frightful, strangling load of taxation, as a result of his vile plot, seemed to even historians of British

rule too foul a crime to be ever entertained by a Prime Minister. Such squeamish apologists seemed to have forgotten that there was such a man as Machiavelli, and that he had written such a book as "The Prince," with the object of showing that a person called to rule as a Prince is excused before heaven for committing any infamy possible to human malignity so long as he does it for the good of his subjects and the State! The revelations made by Mr. Augustine Birrell and the Under Secretary, Sir Matthew Nathan, go to prove that the Castle had foreknowledge of an intended rising, and had made preparations to stamp it out in blood, as Pitt did, not moving a finger to arrest any of the leaders until the trap should have been filled with victims. But the Castle did not know how formidable the movement really was, and the ruins of Dublin city and the pile of drumhead court-martial victims attested the depth of their ignorance as well as their cold-blooded iniquity. The leading organs of public opinion in Great Britain, for the first time, are unanimous in proclaiming that there is no remedy for Ireland's dreadful wounds but the immediate instalment of Home Rule in the mistreated island. This "compunctious visiting" comes rather late in the day; it seems almost a deathbed repentance. Still, it is good to have lived long enough to see it—better even at the eleventh hour than never at all.

Just one hundred and sixteen years after the Act of Union was signed and the Union Jack was run up for the first time as an Imperial ensign, the Home Rule scheme for Ireland was published in all the London papers. This step was virtually a repeal of the Union—the fulfillment of Daniel O'Connell's great dream sixty-nine years after the grand old chief's death. The mills of politics grind slowly, as do the mills of God. Still a hundred and sixteen years is not too long a time in the history of nations for the undoing of a gigantic international wrong—the blotting out of an old nation's independence by an act of despotic power and the use of the debauchery of gold and pinchbeck titles of a new aristocracy to extinguish the constitutional rights of a people who had a native Parliament sitting in Tara several centuries before the Christian era began. The principal features of the new arrangement were these:

First—An Irish House of Commons to be constituted by the transference to the Irish Parliament of seventy-eight members now sitting in the English Commons for the twenty-six Home Rule counties. (The total Irish representation in the Imperial House of Commons is 103, of which 25 members sit for the six Ulster counties, provisionally excluded from Home Rule.)

Second—Of the seventy-eight members to be transferred to the

Irish House, seventy-six are Nationalists or Independents, while two are Unionists, namely, Sir Edward Carson and J. H. M. Campbell, Attorney General for Ireland. These two members represent Trinity College, Dublin. They have both consented to sit in the Home Rule Parliament, and on this fact some hopes are based for future amity.

Third—Members of the Irish Commons to retain their seats in the English House.

Fourth—Representation of the Unionist interests in the south and west of Ireland will be provided through the nomination of their representatives to the Irish Senate. It is proposed that the Senate sit and act with the Irish Commons during the temporary settlement, to safeguard the interests of the Unionists.

Fifth—The temporary settlement is to continue until one year after the termination of the war. At that time the whole arrangement will come under the review of the Great Imperial Conference, which is to be held to adjust the government of the Empire.

Sixth—The framework of Irish finance in the Home Rule Act will not be altered, but some increases will be made in the sum to be transferred to Irish revenues from the Imperial Treasury.

Seventh—A new Lord Lieutenant to be appointed as a preliminary to the adoption of the new arrangement.

Finality is not the law which governs human arrangements. Pitt thought to secure it when he contrived the settlement known as the Act of Union, but he was only chasing a soap bubble, metaphorically speaking. Emmet's rebellion, only three years after the Act of Union was signed, proved the futility of trying to dam up the flowing tides of Irish patriotism with parchment treaties and gilded titles. The settlement arrived at in the first week of July, 1916, is not to be the last word in the protracted parleying between the unconquerable conquered and the unvictorious victor.

Lord Lansdowne, the most implacable foe of the Irish people and their claims that sits in the assembly of irresponsible privilege, has taken a step which may mean the disruption of the Coalition Ministry (of which he is a leading member) and shattering the whole arrangement as to Home Rule. He has given notice of a resolution to oppose the setting up of an Irish Parliament while the war continues, and to employ coercion to quell any murmurings of the Irish people. He calls for an army of 40,000 soldiers, under General Maxwell, to carry out this old Tory panacea for popular discontent. Lord Hugh Cecil sustains the reputation of his distinguished relative, the late Marquis of Salisbury, by opposing point blank any concession to Irish sentiment as to national rights. In other words, he is for a tearing-up of the treaty of peace between

the two countries. Lord Selborne threw up his place in the Coalition Cabinet when he found that it was the resolve of the Prime Minister to establish an Irish Parliament during the continuance of the war. In addition to these Tory barricaders there are the objections raised by Cardinal Logue and the Northern Bishops—MacHugh, MacKenna, MacRory, Mahearn. In a letter to a Derry Alderman, Bishop MacHugh made these important declarations:

"The Bishops whose jurisdiction extends over the area in question are absolutely unanimous in their opposition to the Lloyd George proposals, and they adopt without reservation the view of His Eminence Cardinal Logue that it would be infinitely better to remain as we are for fifty years to come under English rule than to accept these proposals.

"What causes more alarm to the Bishops than the voluntary surrender of the national ideal is the perilous position in which religion and Catholic education would be placed were these proposals, so imperfectly understood by the public, reduced to practice."

Mr. Redmond's reply to these fierce blasts was not less decided or prompt. He demanded the production of the bill which is to give effect to the proposals offered by Mr. Lloyd George in the name of the British Cabinet and accepted by the Irish people. The demand was made not for the purpose of hastening the introduction of Home Rule, but of finding out whether the Coalition Cabinet is keeping faith. He was not left very long in doubt on that point. The official accounts of the negotiations showed that the phraseology of the negotiations had been altered so as to permit of a juggling of the terms on which an agreement had been arrived. Mr. Redmond denounced this duplicity in terms of deep indignation and sternly informed the Premier that the Irish party would no longer support the Ministry, but would oppose their measures, if they found them objectionable, regardless of the consequences to the Coalition. So stands the situation as we write. No man knoweth what may transpire to affect the fortunes of the Home Rule compact. The terrible tragedy of the Casement fiasco and the sanguinary stamping out of the Sinn Fein insurrection in Dublin and elsewhere have entirely altered the prospects of Ireland's regeneration through the working of a native Legislature, for the feeling toward Britain has become intensely embittered by the conduct of her statesmen and generals toward Ireland. Still we must not look at the situation too gloomily, but recall the truth of the old adage—"The hour that is darkest is the hour before day."

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THE HISTORICAL ROMAN CAMPAGNA.

LEAVING Pisa at an early hour in the morning, the railroad train skirts the Mediterranean and passes through Leghorn and in time reaches Civita Vecchia. From here, on its way to Rome, the train passes through quite a portion of the Roman Campagna.

The *Campagna di Roma*, or Roman Campagna, is a section of country lying immediately around the Eternal City, and for ages known all over the world as a region noted for an atmosphere so deadly to man, but in nowise injurious to the lower animals. "Its circumference," says Gregorius, "may be marked by a series of well-known points—Civita Vecchia, Tolfà, Ronciglione, Soracte, Tivoli, Palestrina, Albano and Ostia." Its extent is variously estimated at from seventy-one to ninety-one miles long, its area being nearly 1,400 square miles. Though now nearly destitute of inhabitants, it was once the richest and most populous region in the world and the seat of numerous cities. Its decay dates probably from the third and fourth centuries B. C., when the Roman aristocracy monopolized the vast plain for their large estates and banished the agricultural population. Its condition did not improve under the early Emperors and many parts of the plain became the pestilential marshes they are to-day. Claudius, Nerva and Trajan did much to improve the district, and in their time it became once more studded with the villas and summer residences of the Roman nobility; but the desolation of the Campagna was completed with the inroads of the barbarian hordes which followed the fall of the Empire. In the Middle Ages the baronial castles of the Orsini, the Colonna, the Savelli, the Conti and the Catani gave new life to this doomed region, but it was only for a time.

Being of distinctly volcanic formation, the surface of the Campagna is marked by gentle undulations, burrowed by little hills and low ground—"a humpy soil," as Montaigne calls it, "whose cavities are filled with water." They were once limpid lakes, but now they have become unhealthy pools, producing an *aria cattiva*, an injurious atmosphere, to the influence of which the learned Brocchi attributed the 'gloomy, violent and terrible temper of those who carry in their veins the germs of the fever of the Maremma.' In this respect the same influence is supposed by some authorities to be exerted upon all animals alike, for the buffaloes and oxen, with formidable horns, which wander about the Roman Campagna, are as savage as the herdsmen who tend them, and it is dangerous for strangers to venture within their reach.

In ancient times Italy was and still is a country of vast pastures, and the Roman Campagna to this day has its fierce shepherds, whose sports Virgil has described to us. Their great festival, the *Palilia*, was celebrated on the day of the foundation of Rome, April 21, and the royal hall of Romulus bore the name of the divinity (Palatine, from *pales*, a word derived from the root *pá*, which formed the verbs signifying "to pasture," in Greek, Latin and French). Ruminia, the foster mother, watched over the suckling of young cattle; hence the name of the Ruminial fig tree, beneath the shade of which the wolf had suckled the twins. Rubigo preserved the wheat from mildew; Vertumnus and Pomona caused the fruit to ripen in the orchard; Feronia appears less prodigal of useful favors, yet she was held in so great honor that Hannibal found a rich treasure to carry off from her temple at the foot of Mount Soracte. A coin bearing her image was struck, in the time of Augustus, by the monetary tribune, Petronius Turpilianus, who did not bestow much beauty upon this goddess, Feronia. But it is recorded that Roman artists, even at the time when they were under the influence of Greek art, did not seek their goddesses in the celestial regions, but preferred to take them from the Roman Campagna. The Minerva of the magnificent chest, of Præneste, known as the Ficorini, has the appearance of a *Contadina*.

From the legendary times when Latinus, Æneas and the rest of Virgil's heroes are supposed to have occupied the great plain of Latium down to the final settlement of the region by its subjection to Rome, B. C. 358, the Roman Campagna, as we have said, was peopled by communities living in towns. Latium, on the one side, and Etruria, on the other, contained confederacies of independent cities, with one or the other of which the Romans were continually at war, but they, one by one, gave way before the relentless power of the conqueror, until finally the character of the population of the Campagna underwent a complete change. In the second period of its history the towns were gradually reduced to mere villages, the small farms disappeared and gave place to the immense estates (*latifundia*) of rich proprietors, which were cultivated by hosts of slaves. This was the condition of the Campagna in the time of Cicero. The great villas, the ruins of which may be seen on all sides in the vicinity of Rome, were then constructed and were the seats of luxury and pleasure. So also the aqueducts, the ruined arches of which caught our eyes as we looked from the car windows on our way from Civita Vecchia to the city of the Cæsars. These aqueducts served not merely to supply the capital with water, but to irrigate the farms and country seats along the Campagna. During the later Republic and early Empire there seems to have been a constant ten-

dency to reduce the amount of arable land and to increase the extent of pasturage. This change affected the salubrity of the surrounding country and Rome became more dependent than ever upon foreign countries for her agricultural supplies.

The third and last phase of the Roman Campagna is the most melancholy. In the language of Pope Gregory the Great, "*Depopulati sunt agri, nullus in agris incola.*" The magnificent aqueducts were more or less injured by the Goths at the siege of Rome under Vitiges, A. D. 537, and the luxurious country seats of the Roman nobles and princes must have been devastated by the successive incursions upon the Roman territories during the fifth and sixth centuries, in which the Lombards played a conspicuous part. Agriculture was no longer encouraged, and the few villages and country houses that remained soon became uninhabitable during a great part of the year because of the malarious exhalations arising from the uncultivated soil and the lawless bands of ruffian marauders who infested the country. Indeed, after B. C. 338, the Campagna lost all historical interest. Its history belongs almost entirely to the early times of the Roman Republic.

• We have said that the Campagna is unhealthy. It is not difficult to see that its peculiar geological formation proves that without careful draining it is extremely deleterious to health. It is a region containing numerous closed valleys and depressions in the soil and without outlets for the water which naturally accumulates. The tufa of which the surface is composed seems, as a general thing, to take the form of isolated hills and irregular hollows between them so as to prevent the formation of regular water courses. Beneath this tufa is a quantity of marl and stiff clay, which retain the water after it has percolated through the tufa and sends it streaming out into the lower country, where it accumulates and, mingling with putrescent vegetable matter, taints the air. The mountain barriers by which the Campagna is surrounded produces a want of movement in the air and thus becomes another source of malaria. All these conditions suggest themselves to the eye of the tourist who has had any experience in "prospecting" or as a civil engineer.

It is a curious fact that the ancient inhabitants of Rome and the Campagna do not appear to have been affected by the baneful influences of the *aria cattiva*, or malaria, to the same extent as those of the present day. And yet when we remember that the waters of the Tiber frequently overflowed into the Velabrum and stagnated there; that the valley of the Circus Maximus was a marshy pool; that the Palus Caprea and the Stagna Terenti occupied a part of the Campus Martius, it is difficult for us to understand how the site of Rome could have been less pestilential than in our day. Since then

the level of the soil has been considerably raised by the accumulated rubbish of ruins and the Tiber now seldom overflows its banks. The volume of water carried by this river has also been decreased since the turning of the waters of the Chiana into the Arno, and the numerous forests which spread over the country in ancient times have all entirely disappeared. Lakes and lagoons, too, once scattered in various directions throughout the Campagna, have since been either dried up or drained. The Lake of Ragillus, which

"Bubbled with crimson foam
What time the thirty cities
Came forth to war with Rome,"

and the lakes of Gabii, of Juturna and of Turnus, with countless lagoons in the vicinity of Lavinium, Ardea and Laurentum, have been gradually absorbed by the sinking of the Tiber or by artificial draining. All these must have contributed to make the air less healthy in past times than it is now.

But what strikes us as most astonishing is that, from the early times of Rome down to the glorious Augustan age, we find the very sections of the Campagna, where human beings now dread to spend a single night for fear of the deadly atmosphere, then inhabited by a numerous population. In the second century of the city of Rome the population was estimated at 80,000, which would give 190 souls to the square mile of territory, and we can readily understand that the population increased from that time at a very rapid rate, until in the sixth century of Rome it amounted to 1,400,000. Under the first Emperors the whole number of Roman citizens, including those in the provinces, was 4,003,000. This would seem to indicate that the population of Rome and the Campagna was from 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 in imperial times. The population of Rome at the present day does not exceed 440,000, and that of the surrounding country may be set down roughly at about 140,000. These figures, of course, are mere approximations, and a few considerations, based on what is known of the towns in Latium, will explain in a manner the contrast between the density of population in ancient and in modern times.

Where Veii, Fidenæ and Gabii, the rivals and equals of ancient Rome, once stood, there is nothing but a few cattle sheds and their poverty-stricken herdsmen. Ardea, Laurentum, Lavinium and Ostia once enlivened the coast with their numerous population, but the Ostia of to-day is a paltry village. Ardea can boast of little over half a hundred inhabitants, while the sites of Laurentum and Lavinium are now marked by single towers. And yet time was when these pestilential regions were sought by the Roman nobility in

numbers equal to those now found at the most fashionable summer resorts of the world. Pliny the Younger describes these magnificent villas and towns placed at intervals along the beach, and even boasted of the salubrity and convenience of his own. Nay, more—he lived at his villa in the late autumn, winter and spring, as we may judge by his mention of cattle driven from the mountains. And yet the villa of Castel Fusano, now the site of Pliny's villa, is only occupied in the spring for a few weeks. Lalius and the valiant Scipio used to resort to the seaside of Laurentum and "amuse themselves there collecting shells."

But the wealthy Romans did not confine themselves to the seashore. On the Flaminian road, six miles from the capital, and on the site of Prima Porta was once the famous country seat of the Empress Livia. Parts of this villa have been excavated and it was found to have been beautifully decorated, as the splendid statue of Augustus and the busts of several members of the imperial family amply testify.

No wealthy Roman, we are told, would now consent to live on the site of Hadrian's stately villa, in the Campagna, near Tivoli. And even Tivoli itself, with its beautiful waterfall and its Temple of the Sybil, which Horace once hoped might be the retreat of his old age, and which was famous for its salubrity in Martial's time, has now lost its former reputation as a healthful resort and is known as

"Tivoli di mal conforto;
O piova, o tira vento, o suona a morto."

Strabo describes the now desolate district between Tusculum and Rome as having been in his day a most desirable place to live in.

The drainage of the Pontine Marshes has been undertaken from time to time with varied success. As early as 160 B. C. they were dried up, but only for a time. It was resumed with partial success during the pontificates of Boniface VIII., Martin V., Sixtus V. and Pius VI. In 1480 a law was enacted by Sixtus IV. severely punishing "any lay or clerical proprietor, baron, Bishop or Cardinal who forbade his tenants to sow the land and kept it under pasture." But the most beneficent improvements were effected under the orders of Popes Pius VI. and Pius VII., who endeavored by law to compel the cultivation of a large extent of land in the Campagna. This operated a manifest check on the fever and the health of the entire neighborhood was improved. The planting of the eucalyptus tree has also had a beneficial effect in certain quarters. A splendid monastery at the Tre Fontane, deserted for many years, was bestowed by Pope Pius IX. upon a community of French Trappists

in 1867. At first they only ventured to visit their new possession during certain hours of the day. One of the monks proposed planting eucalyptus trees around it. It was done, and in the course of time the monastery became habitable.

The roads that cross the Roman Campagna are well deserving a notice at our hands, for our attention was called to them in an especial manner by a gifted young priest attached to the Basilica of St. Cecilia.

In the days of Claudius, as Pliny the Elder tells us, the crowded streets of Rome extended over the vast circumference of seventy miles (Vopiscus says fifty); Rome had become the heart of the world, and the Triumphal and the Flaminian and the Prenestine and the Latin and the Appian Way beat like vast arteries with the ever-sounding pulses of the stream of life that went throbbing throughout Italy to the farthest boundaries of the world, supplying life and strength and energy to every part and bearing back upon its returning tide the wealth of a thousand provinces. On the Via Flaminia we now find the ruins of the Villa Livia, already referred to, and which brings to our minds the affection entertained by the Emperor Augustus for his wife, so beautifully expressed in his last words to her: "Preserve the remembrance of a husband who loved you tenderly." When asked how she contrived to retain this affection, Dion Cassius tells us she replied: "My secret is very simple. I have made it the study of my life to please him, and I have never manifested any indiscreet curiosity with regard to public or private affairs."

But the most interesting of all Roman roads is the Appian Way, laid down by Appius Claudius, the Censor, before the middle of the fifth century of Rome, and the great thoroughfare between Rome and Naples. What memories are awakened in the mind of the tourist as he pauses to contemplate it for the first time! He is carried back to his college days and his classical studies. He wakes up to the fact that it was along this road, at the season when vine and orange and fig, in flower and in fruit, scatter their fragrance on every side; it was along this road that proud patricians were wont to take their daily drives in their chariots for relaxation and amusement. It was along this same road, too, that toiled the worn and weary captives whose fathers had sacked the Eternal City, now hand-bound and conquered and surrounded by loads of spoils and standards and trophies; by lictors and priests and victims for the sacrifice; by clangor of trumpets and shouts of the populace; by eagles and garlands and crowns and incense—the successful commander in his triumphal car and all that went to make up a triumphal procession in the days of pagan Rome's proudest history. With

this in mind it is not difficult to understand why this magnificent way is lined on either side with mausoleums and monuments for the dead in the greatest variety of form and with such a wealth of talent and expenditure lavished upon them. It was along this road, too, that "on the fifteenth of the calends of February, in the year of the building of the city, DCCXCVI, Claudius Augustus for the third and Lucius Vitellius for the second time being Consuls," there journeyed toward the city two lonely wayfarers from Palestine. Unheralded and unadorned by pomp, jaded and travel-stained, a venerable old man and his reverential disciple pursued their way, barefooted and in silence. If heeded at all by the gorgeous multitude thronging the road to the vast capital, it was only to be scoffed at or eyed with contempt. St. Peter and his disciple, St. Mark, pursue their way to the accomplishment of their mission. The great apostle heeds not the voluptuous rites of Bacchus, whose votaries are reeling around his path; he pays no attention to the lascivious worship of the Cyprian goddess, the song of whose followers is ringing in his ears. He takes no heed of the tombs of the old Romans who carried the eagle triumphant through many a hard-fought battle, nor of the gorgeous palace, with its open bronze gates, on the summit of the "Coeli Montana." He came, the prince of the chosen twelve, to preach chastity, temperance, humility.

It was by this road, too, at a later period, that St. Paul entered the capital of the Cæsars, a culprit, bound and walking between his guards, not knowing what fate awaited him, and repeating his first Christian aspiration: "Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?"

The Via Ardentina branches off to the right of the Via Appia, and where the roads divide is the Church of the *Domine Quo Vadis*. The story goes that after the burning of Rome, Nero sought to throw the blame for this diabolical act upon the Christians. The converts besought St. Peter not to expose a life that meant so much to them. As he fled along the Appian Way he was met by a vision of his Divine Master journeying towards the city. Struck with amazement, he exclaimed, "Lord, whither goest Thou?" To which the Saviour, with a look of mild sadness in His eyes, replied, "I go to Rome to be crucified a second time," and vanished. St. Peter, taking this as a sign that he was to submit himself to the fate prepared for him, immediately turned back to the city and in time was crucified on the site now occupied by the Church of San Pietro, in Montorio. This story is attributed to St. Ambrose. It is perpetuated by Michael Angelo in his famous statue now in the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva (titular church of His Eminence Cardinal Farley, Archbishop of New York). It is supposed to represent Our Blessed Redeemer as He appeared to St. Peter on this

occasion. A replica of it is in the little Church of *Domine Quo Vadis*. This incident is also represented in one of the ancient tapestries in the Cathedral of Anagni. "It is surprising," writes Mrs. Jameson, "that this most beautiful, picturesque and, to my mind, sublime incident, has been so seldom treated, and never in a manner worthy of its capabilities and high significance. It is seldom that a story can be told by two figures, and these two figures placed in such grand and dramatic contrast—Christ, in His serene majesty and radiant with all the joy of beatitude, yet with an expression of gentle reproach; the apostle at His feet, arrested in his flight, amazed and yet filled with a trembling joy; and for the background the wide Campagna or towering walls of imperial Rome."

About two miles from the Porta San Sebastiano, the most southern gate of Rome, we come to a tomb with which every student of Roman history is familiar. It is:

"A stern round tower of other days,
Firm as a fortress, with its fence of stone,
Such as an army's baffled strength delays,
Standing with half its battlements alone.
* * * * * *

What was the tower of strength within its cave?
What treasure lay so locked, so hid?—a woman's grave!"

It is the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, daughter of Quintus Metellus, and was erected some 2,000 years ago by Crassus to the memory of his wife. The walls are twenty-seven feet thick. In the interior is a room fifteen feet in diameter which once contained a sarcophagus of white marble, since removed to the Farnese Palace.

At the Porta Capena the tourist is reminded that it was here that the survivors of the Horatii met his sister and slew her because she mourned the death of her lover who had fallen under the sword of her brother. Where the Via Appia crosses the brook of the Almo, now called Maranna, on the grounds of the Villa Celimontana, the tourist will be shown the spring which modern archæology has decided to be the Fountain of Egeria, where Numa Pompilius is said to have had his mysterious consultations with the nymph Egeria. This certainly carried us back to our old school days when we were delighted with Florian's *Numa Pompilio*.

A little beyond the Tomb of Cæcilia Metella, and still along the Via Appia, we cross to the Catacombs of St. Calixtus. For miles around the whole plain is undermined by dark and winding passages, forming such an extensive labyrinth that years of patient labor would not suffice to explore and determine their extent. Care was always taken by the miners to have a sufficient wall on either

side to support the arching roof above, so that these narrow passages often run parallel and near to one another. Here the hunted and proscribed and hated followers of Christ took refuge from the fury of their persecutors; and when the hatred of these became more intense and when in darkness and under the earth protection was sought in vain, the poor fugitive constructed intersecting passages through which they might escape pursuit. Here they excavated temples to their God, and from the crypts and catacombs, in darkness and in sorrow, "rose sweet incense," holier prayer and more acceptable sacrifice than the bleeding hecatombs, the flame of whose offering ascended from the gorgeous temples of the pagan gods of Rome.

The study of the Roman Campagna is full of interest, whether we consider it in its wealthy villages and populous cities in the days of the Cæsars or in the desolation of the present day. The modern tourist, passing through this region from June to October, will find it deserted by all who are able to move to the hills. No villages or cottages are now to be seen, but here and there at long intervals a dismal looking *casale*, or farmhouse, or rather a cattle ranch. As there is no fixed population on these plains, laborers are engaged during the farming season from the highlands of the Appennines, where a scanty soil, though under a healthy climate, does not furnish sufficient occupation for the native peasantry. These soon fall victims to the fell disease, and by the end of the harvest scarce half the original number remains. What becomes of these poor wretches? They return to the mountains. Some of them die on the road, while others reach home exhausted with illness and fatigue, to return, if they live, and go through the same ordeal next year.

The only stationary population in the Maremma consists of buffalo-keepers. These are always mounted and armed with a lance with which to keep in subjection the wild cows and fierce bulls that roam about this region. These keepers lead a life of freedom and comparative independence, like the Arab of the desert. They are paid yearly wages and they manage besides to raise cattle of their own, which are allowed to feed with the rest. During the heat of summer they retire to the shady forests which line the seashore and where the air is not so unhealthy as on the open plains.

The buffalo of the Campagna, originally from Southern Asia and Northern Africa, was introduced into Italy towards the close of the sixth century. It is an invaluable beast of burden in the marshy districts, where the great breadth of its feet—somewhat resembling in this respect those of the reindeer—give it a decided advantage over horses. It grazes in herds in the Pontine marshes and will lie

for hours immersed in water, with nothing but its head above the surface and often enveloping itself in mud as a protection against insects. The Roman ox, too, is a beautiful specimen—large and well proportioned, always of a mouse color, and such a pair of horns!—white, with dark bases and tips, starting from the brow and winding in a most perfect uniformity, with a graceful and really majestic spread to sometimes three feet apart at the points.

We have spoken of the peasants who come down from the mountains in the planting and harvest season to earn a few *lire* on the farms of the Campagna. Akin to these are the *Pifferari*, or pipers, who may be seen playing, singly or in groups upon a sort of clarionet very much after the fashion of the little German bands that have become so numerous in our large cities. Their garb, though tattered and worn, has a brigand air about it which never fails to attract attention and to secure a few *soldi* for the performers.

It may be asked whether the spiritual welfare of the peculiar inhabitants of the Campagna is looked after during their working season. Our "Chapel Car," which has done so much for the isolated Catholics in our Western country, is regarded as a great novelty, but to the inhabitants of the Roman Campagna it is an old story. True, their Mass Car is not as elaborately equipped as its American "sister," but it answers the purpose. Imagine a cumbersome and heavy two-wheeled wagon, the superstructure high enough for the priest to stand under, with its gabled roof, open at the front, and a small platform for a sanctuary. Under the gabled cover is an altar. At the appointed time for Mass the oxen that have drawn the car to its place on the plain are unharnessed and lie down beside it, quietly chewing their cud. The people, men and women, kneel in front of the open part of the car in full view of the priest at the altar, and thus assist at Mass and listen to his instructions and at stated times receive Holy Communion. It is a strange sight and one that never fails to impress its beholders.

The gates that open out from the Eternal City upon the Campagna are pregnant with historical associations, and to dwell upon them at any length would carry us far beyond the limits of a magazine article. Yet we cannot leave the Porta Capena without lingering for a moment. Under the arch, which was perpetually dripping with the water of the aqueduct that went over it, had passed all those who since a remote period of the Republic had traveled by the Appian Way—victorious generals with their legions, returning from foreign service; emperors and courtiers, vagrant representatives of every form of heathenism; Greeks and Asiatics, Jews and Christians. From this point entering within the city the student of history will recall Julius and his prisoners as he moved on, with

the Aventine on their left, close round the base of the Colian and through the hollow ground which lay between this hill and the Palatine; thence over the bridge called Velia, where later on was built the Arch of Titus to commemorate the destruction of Jerusalem; and then, descending by the *Via Sacra*, in that space which was the centre of imperial power and imperial magnificence, and associated also with the most glorious recollections of the Republic.

One beautiful afternoon we passed through the Porta San Pancrazio on our way to the charming Villa Pamphili Doria, called by the Italians "Belrespiro." Our *vetturino*, anticipating the objection of the gatekeepers to hired carriages, had taken the precaution to blacken the number of our carriage with some blackening we had purchased on the way. The gatekeeper, who no doubt had seen this trick done before, shook his head and intimated that "it was no go," but his attack of palsy was miraculously and immediately cured at the sight of a silver coin displayed by Count C., who accompanied us. Needless to say, we were admitted without delay. In the Casino we found some ancient statues and some ruins of Venice in the seventeenth century by Heintius. The gardens are well worth a visit. They abound in beautiful azaleas and camelias. From the ilex-fringed Casino we had a magnificent view of St. Peter's, which is here seen without the town, backed by the Campagna, the Sabine hills and the blue peak of the Soracte. A small temple nearby, erected in 1851, commemorates the French who fell during the siege of Rome in 1849. The word "Maria" in large letters of clipped box on the other side of the grounds is a memorial of the lamented and beloved Princess Doria (Lady Mary Talbot), and not far from this is a columbarium. In ancient times the site of the Villa Doria was occupied by the gardens of Galba, and here the murdered emperor is supposed to be buried.

The Porta San Lorenzo, anciently called the Porta Tiburtina, built in 402 by the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius, has also many associations that appeal to the student of classical history. Not far from this gate is the Basilica of San Lorenzo, where we had the privilege of kneeling at the tomb of Pope Pius IX. of holy memory. Lady Georgiana Fullerton tells a very touching story which makes the basilica dear to pious souls. She says:

"When S. Francesca Romana had no resource but to beg for the sick under her care, she went to the Basilica of San Lorenzo Fuori le Mura, where was the station of the day, and seated herself among the crowd of beggars, who, according to custom, were there assembled. From the rising of the sun to the ringing of the vesper bell she sat there, side by side with the lame, the deformed and the blind. She held out her hand as they did, gladly enduring not the

resemblance, but the reality of that deep humiliation. When she had received enough wherewith to feed the poor at home, she rose and, entering the old basilica, adored the Blessed Sacrament and then walked back the long and weary way, blessing God all the while."

And we of to-day have reason to "bless God" that the spirit of St. Frances of Rome still lives in the Little Sisters of the Poor, the Little Sisters of St. Francis, the Sisters of St. Dominic and the other holy souls who go from door to door in our great cities "gladly enduring the deep humiliation" of holding out their hands for God's poor.

From what we have said in the limits of a necessarily brief article it will be seen that the history of the Roman Campagna is to a certain extent identified with the history of the City of the Cæsars. Though a desolate plain to-day, it was once traversed by countless warriors going to or returning from battles which added new territory to the already vast possessions of the Mistress of the World. Her ancient glories may still be read among the ruined monuments that line the famous Via Appia—that "street of the dead across an immense churchyard," for the desolate Campagna may be regarded as such. American tourists who have prepared themselves by careful and judicious reading may spend many profitable hours even in such a place as the "desolate Campagna."

MARC F. VALLETTE.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

JOHN HEYWOOD.

I.

A QUAIN old English song chants the vacillations of "The Vicar of Bray." Some interesting correspondence on this ditty and its elusive author has recently appeared in "Notes and Queries."¹ Even as mythical as the writer is the character of the Vicar himself. Harrow boys were once taught that the Bray in question was in Ireland, and that the song expressed the difficulties which all Irish clergymen had once to solve. Others reject the Wicklow county parish and fix upon the Berkshire one, but quarrel over attributing the person to the sixteenth or to the seventeenth centuries and disagree even as to whether he died in 1709 or 1565, and as to whether his name was Simon Aleyn, Alleyn, Allen or Fillon. Whatever the real prototype of this interesting individual, a first study, if you please, of some of "George Birmingham's" interesting individuals, the character remains unique of the Vicar of Bray. Said the elder Disraeli: "He was a Papist under the reign of Henry the Eighth and a Protestant under Edward the Sixth. He was a Papist again under Mary and once more became a Protestant in the reign of Elizabeth. When this scandal to the gown was reproached for his versatility of religious creeds and taxed with being a turncoat and an inconstant changeling, as Fuller expresses it, he replied: "Not so neither; for if I changed my religion, I am sure I kept true to my principle, which is to live and die the Vicar of Bray.'"

In such confusing times lived John Heywood.²

Bale says that he was born in London, but the usual attribution is to North Minnus, in Hertfordshire, near St. Albans, in 1497. Pembroke College, Oxford (then named Broadgates Hall), which later fostered old Dr. Johnson, saw him for a while. Chalmers, in his "Biographical Dictionary," remarks: "But the sprightliness of his disposition not being well adapted to the sedentary life of an academician, he went back to his native place, where, being in the neighborhood of the great Sir Thomas More, he presently contracted an intimacy with that Mæcenas of wit and genius, who introduced him to the knowledge and patronage of the Princess Mary. Heywood's ready aptness for jest and repartee, together with the possession of great skill, both in vocal and instrumental music, rendered him a favorite with Henry VIII., who frequently rewarded him very highly."

¹ 11 S. xii., 453; 12 S. i., 12, 72.

² In "Representative English Comedies" (New York: The Macmillan Company) there is an excellent essay on Heywood by A. W. Pollard.

The life-story of any Elizabethan or pre-Elizabethan dramatist is at best an unsatisfactory affair, and John Heywood is no exception to the rule. It has been a favorite task for students, inspired by the writings of these men, to spend many an hour in obscure libraries, where books and manuscripts are covered with the dust of decades and facts obscured by the passing of time, and there, finding pleasure in painstaking research which few persons comprehend and fewer appreciate, to evolve and defend elaborate theses on the literature of the period, to produce careful introductory notes for old plays and to publish scholarly dissertations in the universities of England, Germany and America. And their work has not been in vain; certain facts are from time to time brought to light which help to round out our portraits or to fill in the spacious and vague backgrounds.

In "Notes and Queries," G. C. Moore Smith recently discovered our dramatist as a Freeman of London. He consulted the archives preserved at the Guildhall, and in doing so came across the following items which refer, he has little doubt, to our own John Heywood. Not aware that Heywood's connection with the city has been noticed before, he quotes:

"Repertory IV., fo. 141: 'Jovis 22 die Januarij (1522-3) Isto die lecte sunt *literæ domini Regis pro quodam Johanne Heywood vno seruiente domini Regis* admittendi in libertatem Ciuitatis et super hoc concessum est et ei responsum quod sine *communi consilio* nil inde possunt facere & ad proximum commune consilium motio fiet.'"

[There is a similar statement in Repertory VI., fo. 13, under the same date.]

"Letter-Book N, fo. 222 (1522-3): 'John Heywode & Tho. Tyrwhyte for whom the King directed letters to be made freemen been denyed to be made free except on payment of 10*l.* according to the new Act.'

"Journal XII., fo. 235 b: 'xviij^o die Junij anno regis henr. viii^{ut} xv (1523). John Heywode. Itm. at the contemplancon of the Kynges lre John Heywode is admytted in to the liberties of this citie paying the olde Haunse.'"

[A similar statement in Letter-Book N, fo. 235.]

From 1521 onwards Heywood is supposed to have received an annuity of ten marks as player on the virginals; and we know that from 1538-44 he received quarterly the sum of fifty shillings in the same capacity; so it is not exaggerating these records in the "Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary"⁸ to say that the pre-

⁸ Sir Frederic Madden's production.

cocious youth of this godchild of Cardinal Woolsey, who played so well on the virginals, was due to Heywood's instruction.

In January, 1536-7, and in March, 1537-8, he received money in connection with the famous children of Paul's, who played before the Princess Mary; "his children," the record says. So if More's wit, as lasting keen even as the executioner's ax, delighted Henry, Heywood's pleased Mary. At her coronation in 1553 in St. Paul's Churchyard he "sate in a pageant, under a vine, and made to her an oration in Latin and English."⁴

Chalmers says that he died abroad; others, in London. At any rate, in 1587 he was "dead and gone." And there passed an interesting individual, a loyal Catholic author, whose loyal son resigned a Fellowship at All Souls in 1558, refused to conform to Elizabeth's Church and went to Rome to become a Jesuit. He was a friend to Sir Thomas More, tutor to Mary Stuart, saved his neck by his wit under Edward VI., was persecuted out of England by "the good Queen Bess," and ended his life at ill-fated Molines. His interludes are one of the most noteworthy elements in the development of the early British drama, and his parable of the spider and the fly depicts, with remarkable success, social injustice and religious disturbance in England during the years between the reign of Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth the imperious.

"Eche man as he vsythe the gods gyfts of grace,
So schall he have in hevyn hys degre or place.
But, mark thys chefe grownd, the sum of scripture saythe
We must walk with these gyfts in the path of faythe."

II.

The major non-dramatic writings of John Heywood are:

"A Parable of the Spider and the Flie made by John Heywood. Imprinted at London in Flete Strete by Tho. Povvell. Anno. 1556.

"John Heywoodes workes. A dialogue conteyning the number of the effectuall proverbes in the Englishe tounge, compact in a matter concernynge the two maner of maryages. With one hundred of Epigrammes: and three hundred of Epigrammes upon three hundred proverbes: and a fifth hundred of Epigrams. Where-onto are now newly added a syxt hundred of Epigrams by the sayde John Heywood. Londini. Anno christi, 1562."

The most part of these epigrams is a series of phrase turnings which lend a touch of the true to Chalmers' mention of Heywood's "ready aptness for wit and repartee," if the anecdote of the Duke

⁴ See "Some Account of John Heywood and His Interludes," by F. W. Fairholt, in *Pub. Percy Society*, Vol. XX.

of Northumberland's table had not already done so. The clever juxtaposition of words was quite the thing in these days: the Elizabethan songsters were almost upon us and "Tottel's Miscellany" appeared in 1556. His "Description of a Most Noble Lady" is as pretty a compliment to Mary Stuart as ever rhymster paid to lady in sonnet cycle or other verse:

"Amongst her youthful years
She triumphs over age;
And yet she still appears
Both witty, grave and sage.

"I think nature hath ost her mould
Where she her form did take;
Or else I doubt that nature could
So fair a creature make. . . .

"It is a world to see
How virtue can repair,
And deck such honesty
In her that is so fair."

So he can blithely write of "vanished vanity," ask his friends to "keep possessed possession peaceably," and tell how "glory past increaseth present grief." He can chant a quaint and courtly lover's regret in "A Ballad of the Green Willow" ("an old thing it was" which Desdemona sang in slightly altered form, for it would not go from her mind), and he can also praise in a ballad "the most excellent meeting and like marriage between our Sovereign Lord and our Sovereign Lady, the King's and Queen's Highness," when Philip of Spain and Mary Stuart of England were joined together in 1554.

"Some count no charge
To talk at large;"

so Heywood penned a "Ballad Against Slander and Detraction" which deserves not to be forgotten; and the traitorous taking of Scarborough Castle moved him to a "ballet" urging folk "to 'bey their King and Queen."

But though he won some fame for his cleverness in shorter verse and longer drama, one of the most significant facts about Heywood centres around his "Parable of the Spider and the Flie." He was thoroughly awake to the social and economic shortcomings of the people of England, of high and low of each degree.

It is only necessary to look at the date of "The Spider and the Fly," 1556, and to read in the "Conclusion" that it was begun

twenty years before, the year of the Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536, and then we have some basis for understanding the poem. It is said that a contemporary writer in "Holinshed's Chronicle" remarked that neither its author nor any one else could "reach into the meaning thereof." But it is not so difficult. The flies are the Catholics, the spiders the Protestants, Queen Mary is the housemaid who comes in at the last minute (1553) and sweeps aside the arrogant cobwebs, executes the commands of the absent master (Christ) and her mistress (the Church) by killing the oppressive spider. Reading the tale thus, we get the whole story of Robert Aske and the Pilgrimage of Grace, with the patronage of St. Cuthbert and the banner of the five wounds.

It must not be forgotten that the conditions of the Peasant's Revolt of 1381, with its John Ball, "the mad priest of Kent," was reflected in Langland, nor that More's "Utopia" of 1515 likewise showed an insight into social and economic affairs. It must not be forgotten also that the enclosure of common lands by the lords, and even of peasant "strips," made the Pilgrimage of Grace as much the result of economic as of religious affairs, and probably even more.⁸ The large land owners, who benefited from the enclosing of land, and the new nobility, the houses of Russell, Cavendish, Seymour, Grey, Dudley, Sidney, Cecil, Herbert, Fitzwilliams and Rich, who benefited financially from the suppression of monasteries, were ranged against the Catholic peasantry—the spiders against the flies.⁹

"The townes go down, the land decays;
Great men maketh nowadays
A sheep-cote in the church."

It was not only the appropriation of the monasteries, but their appropriation for sheep, involving all the commercial changes and industrial prosperity to follow.

"The Spider and the Fly" shows how the spider wants to appropriate all the small openings in the window to which the flies had previously had free access—the common lands, of course. The figures, even the number of men actually engaged on each side in the military struggles, are not far from accurate, and the lack of organization among the flies is aptly condemned. "Force without order winneth victory sold." The idea is repeated in "The Foure PP:":

"Men cannot prosper, wilfully led;
All things decay where is no head."

⁸ H. de B. Gibbins: "Industry in England," 215-218.

⁹ Goldwin Smith: "The United Kingdom," I., 334-336.

There is no doubt as to who is meant when Heywood speaks of the spiders as gentlemen who set exorbitant taxes and raised rents against the yeomen flies.⁷

The form of the poem is that of a dialogue with slightly shifting characters—a dialogue which proves a point as clearly and conclusively as ever did any question-and-answer product of scholastic philosophy.⁸

There is another similarity between this parable and the writings of Langland and More—a pertinent criticism of the lawyers and legal methods. "Reason, law, custom and conscience," we are told, should be the standards of judgment; there is too much "rude railing" in the courts; too much imprisonment without proof; quibbles are displayed in all their folly of men who "grant" yet do not absolutely grant; there is "meed" in the shape of rewards and bribery; one of the arbiters, "learned in the school of ignorance," quotes Latin, "spoke much and understood little." Justices are shown as Swift showed them later with no concern for absolute right and wrong, but only for the technical agreements or disagreements, "to try how good or ill custom is, is no part of our charge." And, finally, they are told that all should be equal before the law, that credence is a matter to be given not on the basis of rank, but according to evident honesty.

So, on the principle of equality, we return once more to recall the lack of class feeling in Langland and More, when they were commenting on good and evil. The Socialistic rhyming of John Ball is repeated:

"When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then a gentleman?"

(*Gentleness and Nobility.*)

There is "dishonesty in spiders and in flies both:" noblemen should be "keeping themselves in their bounds as they ought" and the ploughman should "desire no more than is needful." Good and bad of all degrees are condemned, as Langland did condemn them. And even when enemies die, Heywood is moved rather to "lament their false facts than rejoice their false falls" (*The Spider and the Fly*).⁹ Each must do his own part.

⁷ The subject of the transmission of feudal dues is also a subject of discussion in Heywood's "Gentleness and Nobility."

⁸ Also the form of the dialogues "Wit and Folly" and "Gentleness and Nobility."

⁹ The same idea is repeated in the "ballet" on the "Traitorous Taking of Scarborough Castle."

"What helpeth wyll where is no skylle?
 What helpeth skylle where is no wyll?
 For wyll or skylle, what helpeth it
 Where frowarde knaves be lackynge wyt?"
 (*The Foure PP.*)

Like the phrase "keep possessed possession peaceably," these lines represent more than a mere playing with words.

These were terrible times in which Heywood lived and of which he wrote, saying that it were better sometimes to be judged by your foe than by your friend, for your foe might attempt to conciliate and be lenient through fear and your friend would probably be treacherous from fear.

"Fear pierceth deep as hunger make ye sure.
 The father his son, and the son his father,
 The wife her husband, and the husband his wife:
 The brother, his brother, all these we gather
 To have seen (compelled by fear), where fear was rife
 Bewray and betray each other in fear of life,
 Sealed see we no natural a foolish kind pelf,
 But he will hang his father to save himself."

The Vicar of Bray alone escaped, and how ever he did is a veritable marvel.

III.

The chief dramatic writings of John Heywood are:

"The Pardoner and the Frere" (1533).

"The Play called the foure PP." (1545, 1533).

"A merry play between Johan-Johan the husbadne | Tyb his wyfe | & syr Jhan the priest" (1533).

"The Play of the Wether" (1533).

"The Play of Love" (1533).

"A Dialogue Concerning Witty and Witless" (first printed from original MS. 1846).

The last three of these are scarcely more than academic disputes, little more exciting, so far as dramatic action is concerned, than a modern formal debate. "The Play of Love," for instance, contains but a single stage direction. Carefully arranged argument with repartee and rebuttal make up the most of these three.

But the other three are more interesting and we begin to realize why Heywood is "important in the history of English drama as the first writer to turn the abstract characters of the morality plays

into 'real persons,' and how his interludes "link the morality plays to the modern drama, and were very popular in their day."

The figures which walked across his stage were not the "Manhode," "Folye" or "Perseueranaunce" of the moralities, but actual living persons out of sixteenth century England; and they carried not the symbolic properties of the early liturgical dramas, but real articles in use at the time by the very persons in the audience. The situation of Johan-Johan in the "mery play" in which he appears is typical of the change: he sits at one side of the stage chafing a candle and mending a pail by the fire, while his wife and Sir Johan eat the whole of a new pie which was to have been shared each-and-each. After touching on the broadest of broad farce, dealing freely with the boldest of social satire and ridicule, they typify the departure of the drama from the church, the churchyard, and even from church auspices and supervision. The theatre was becoming secularized. In the process of secularization it took over some of the characteristics of the humbler and more homely tales which delighted the middle ages. Chaucer's "Miller's Tale" and his "Reeve's Tale" are a little coarse in tone, but in character they touch very near the type of these "mery" interludes of John Heywood. It was the true beginning of English comedy.

Still, there was connected with it an element which had scarcely ever been absent from mediæval story telling of the French farce and the *fabliaux* type,¹⁰ a pointed emphasis on class satire. Sir Johan is unkindly treated by implication, "giving absolution upon a bed;" the futility of pilgrimage faith without worldly works of worth is spoken of in the palmer (*The Four PP.*); and others are not spared, the sellers of indulgences, as is just, least of all:

"Right seldom is it seen, or never,
That truth and pardoners dwell together."
(*The Four PP.*)

The long description of the various "virtues" of the many relics which the pardoner carries with him seem to take us back to Merlin and the world of enchantment, to Minnie, Morgan le Fay and invisible knights. Or they recall the biting criticisms and fervent condemnations of Langland, who could not abide the pardoners masquerading as priests and placing more confidence in Bishops' seals and Papal letters than in right living and clean thinking.¹¹ But it is often the case, as we found when looking at Heywood's

¹⁰ See K. Young: "The Influence of French Farce Upon John Heywood," "Modern Philology," II, 97-124.

¹¹ Cf., *Piers the Plowman*; Text A., Prol. 68-75.

non-dramatic writings, that he criticizes all who need criticism without distinction. This was the mode of Langland and More, and also of Heywood.

"The Play of the Wether" is very nearly the most interesting of all. In it we have various persons brought before Jupiter demanding satisfaction of various desires and aversions with relation to the sort of weather which suits them best. The huntsman lord wants it clear without wind; the merchant wants cool breezes for his ventures abroad upon the deep to suit their courses; the wood-ranger, a lazy rogue, wants extreme storms; the water-miller wants always a steady rain and no wind; the wind-miller no rain and steady winds for his grinding; a gentlewoman wants her beauty protected from both storm and sun; a "launder" (laundress) wants hot sun for her clothes drying days, and the small boy frost and snow for the joy of youthful sports. These people all speak to Merry Rysert—and quarrel among themselves—and when Jupiter hears the demands he says that each shall have his wishes. He accomplishes the compromise of giving each his own part, in his own district and portion, by ordaining that everything shall be left "even as it was."

In a time of such turmoil, amid religious and economic uprisings, lordly greed and servile rage, intellectual expansion and commercial change, this little "Play of the Wether" comes as a fit lesson for the times. "Even as it was" each could work out his own path for right if only he would not ask and demand too much. It was the lesson of "The Spider and the Fly" as well as of this play. It was the lesson every true reformer of every time, seeing that pride and covetousness and greed are at the bottom of most social troubles, that if individuals were all reformed there would be no need for revolt nor for the formation of new institutions.

IV.

If the Vicar of Bray is in some sense characteristic of the age in which Heywood wrote and lived, there is another characteristic far more important—the Commercial Revolution which was just about getting under way. In "The Play of the Wether" he has sketched something of the service done by merchantmen through the world, East, West, North and South, bringing home the wealth of far lands in daily danger of their goods and life. Stressing as we shall in these essays literature as a reflection of social and economic, as well as intellectual history, there is scarcely a better way to end than by quoting another of Heywood's merchants (*Of Gentleness and Nobility*), who speaks in defense of the trade he plied—the

trade which was to make the future greatness of Elizabethan England in commerce, as the drama made it great in literature. Shakespeare is but a counterpart of Francis Drake:

"I say the common weal of every land
In feat of merchandise doth principally stand.
For if our commodities be uttered for naught
Into strange lands and no riches brought,
Hither therefore we should come to beggary,
And all men driven to live in misery.
Then we noble merchants that in this realm be,
What a great wealth to this land do we;
We utter our wares and buy theirs good cheap,
And bring them hither with great profit,
And pleasure daily cometh to this region
To all manner of people that here do won.
Furthermore, ye see well with your eyes
That of strange lands the commodities,
We have such need of them that be there,
That in no wise we may then forbear,
As oil, silk, fruits and spices also,
Gold, silver, iron and other metals more . . .
And I spend my study and labor continually,
And cause such things to come hither daily,
For the comfort of this land and commonwealth,
And to all the people great profit and health."

ELBRIDGE COLBY.

ALEXANDRIAN MYSTICISM AND THE MYSTICS OF CHRISTIAN VIRGINITY.

GREGORY OF NYSSA AND METHODIUS OF OLYMPUS.

IN the history of Christian thought the catechetical school of Alexandria stands in the first rank, whether we form our judgment of it by the inspirational grandeur of the doctrines of its representatives, the boldness of the task its scholars proposed to accomplish, the impulse given simultaneously to theological culture and Christian piety, or by the new paths it disclosed to doctrinal Christianity.

Charles Thomas Cruttwell writes: "Alexandria was truly a metropolis of Christian speculative thought, the teacher of the conformity of Christ's revelations with the highest human reason."¹ It was at Alexandria that the Gospel was first successfully presented as a system of religious philosophy.² It was in this city which has been well said had become a rendezvous of all creeds, all languages, all nationalities, a veritable cosmopolis of intellectual and religious movements, a nursery of all forms of eclecticism³—it was here that Christianity was set forth as the crown of all learning.⁴ Christianity appeared to Clement and Origen, the literary founders of the catechetical school, not only as a religion that appeals directly to the heart, which transforms the soul, pervades the moral conscience and inspires sacrificial heroism, but it also appeared to them as the light which dispels the mists of human reason, as the sun which illuminates the minds of those immersed in darkness.

Christianity emerged from the narrow precincts of the sanctuary to cast itself with ardor into the vortex of intellectual life. It boldly entered the literary arena to wrest from the pagan poets and philosophers the jewels of truth, which, according to the oft-reiterated statements of Clement, Socrates, Plato and their followers had gleaned from the Hebrews. The genii of Gentilism were Attic commentators, or, to use more vigorous terms, unwilling plagiarists of the truth contained in Mosaism.

The Church was therefore obliged to take upon herself the task of exposing the literary thefts perpetrated by the pagan scholarship, and in order to effectuate her designs, "she was no longer to con-

¹ "A Literary History of Early Christianity;" London, 1898; I., p. 429.

² *Ibid.*, p. 264.

³ John Patrick, "Clement of Alexandria;" Edinburgh, 1914; p. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵ *Stromata*, I., p. 22.

⁶ *Ibid.*, V., p. 1.

sider herself a sect cut off from the world—it was rather to become a school or porch to prepare the world for the higher truth.”⁷

It was by means of Alexandrian Fathers that as Harnack says: “Christianity became a part of the civilization of the world, and the whole of Greek science served the purpose of Christian apologetics.”⁸ Alexandrian theology possesses peculiar characteristics which cause it to differentiate entirely from the theological school of Antioch, its rival, above all in the third century. The school of Alexandria is essentially mystic, where that of Antioch is fundamentally logical. In the former the heart and a profoundly religious sentiment prevail, whilst in the latter reason and authority are the dominating factors. In Alexandria *Pistis* is the ruling norm of all true *Gnosis*: in Antioch rationalistic tendencies predominate in the scientific treatment of the Christian truths and at times they conflict with the traditional teaching of the Church.

The Alexandrians, imbued with a deeply religious spirit, seek always the divine element, the inspiration which comes from on high, in all the manifestations of the historical life of Christianity. The Antiochenes, on the contrary, assume an extremely grave, intellectual attitude, and, whilst the former are daring innovators and allow scope to their fancies, the latter are hostile to every phase of exaggerated thought. In a word, the Alexandrians look upon and elucidate Christian truths more as believers than as thinkers, as seers illuminated by divine grace rather than as cold analytical logicians. The Antiochenes, on the other hand, study, investigate, analyze and define Christianity. They reduce it to forms as do mathematicians in their search for the solution of a problem, or as theoreticians, who, in the pursuit of their calculations, allow no scope to the flight of their imaginations. The result, therefore, is that in the school of Antioch the traditional scholastic character prevails, where in that of Alexandria the most intense Mysticism vibrates. For this reason the Alexandrians have been wrongfully condemned as mystics “who corrupted Christianity by an admixture of Oriental and Greek thought.”⁹

The Mysticism of the Alexandrian catechetical school derives its being from three sources—theological, Scriptural and ascetical. The first furnishes the speculative, the second the poetical and the third the moral element. The first illuminates the mind with a wealth of celestial light; the second guides the imagination through flowery

⁷ J. B. Heard, “Alexandrian and Carthaginian Theology Contrasted;” Edinburgh, 1893; p. 38.

⁸ “History of Dogma,” II., pp. 319, 323.

⁹ See Ch. Kingsley, “Alexandria and Her Schools;” Cambridge, 1854; p. 121.

fields, whilst the third bathes the heart and soul in a salutary flood of tears and penitence.

The theological ideal of the Alexandrians is very different from that of the Antiochenes. "The former endeavored to elucidate what was essentially obscure, to approximate what was essentially remote, and to render mentally palpable what from its own nature is inaccessible to the intellectual truth,"¹⁰ but in their efforts to touch, as it were, with their very hands the word of life, they approached still nearer to the inaccessible object of their faith, by means of the ecstatic flight of their souls. Their gaze was fixed steadfastly on Christ and the contemplation of His glorious divinity, whilst they conversed of the Saviour with the ardent fervor of the mystics.

In the history of Christian theology the Alexandrians are the contemplators of the Trinity, and above all theoreticians of the Word of God. They studied first of all the Father as being the fountain of life. With St. Athanasius they reached the very summit of Christian speculation, by the unfolding and elaborating of the doctrine of the Word, and the glorification of the Son of God made man and become the Redeemer of all mankind: with the great Cappadocians they are the defenders of the Spirit of God, as He dwells in the hearts of the regenerated. Their theology never strays from the orbit of divinity. Its aim is to nourish the soul with the manna of a celestial doctrine rather than to establish on earth the Byzantine priesthood and a Roman theocracy. Their minds cannot separate the human garb in the person of Christ from the divine supporter of it. Jesus Christ is to them always and above all things the Word of God, and as such the sacred torch which illumines the intellect.

The Mysticism of the Alexandrians has none of the outbursts of passion, which in the Christian mystics may be well defined as "The being in love with death." On the contrary, it takes the form in its most illustrious representatives of a contemplative serenity, which serves to maintain in a high degree the prestige of revealed truths and prevents them from becoming desiccated and oftentimes wholly deformed by criticism, audacious in its rationalistic pretenses.

In their attempts to sound the depths of and to decipher Christian truth, Christianity does not lose its pneumatic character to become the diversion of the erudite and the plaything of the dialecticians. The Antiochenes, on the other hand, aimed above all at externals and the dogmatic shell of Christianity. They were, in fact, much more concerned by the external attacks of their enemies than by the internal virtue of Christian principles, and as the latter armed themselves with a cuirass of rationalistic arguments, the

¹⁰ E. Yerningham, "The Alexandrian School;" London, 1810; p. 16.

Antiochenes endeavored to follow their adversaries into the same arena, to illuminate Christian dogma by the pale light of reason and to pin their faith to rationalistic props. They aimed at a more accurate definition and formulation of revealed truths, would stifle exaggerated innovations and guard the traditional teaching from any attempt to warp or alter their meaning.¹¹

The contrast between the two schools is more especially observable in their respective methods of interpreting the Holy Scripture. The allegorical method, which became the foundation of the Alexandrian exegesis, was introduced by Origen as being exigent to the adaptation of Christianity to Greek culture. As B. Workman observes: "There was much in the Old Testament that was unintelligible to Greek converts, much seemed contradictory to their new faith, some things that jarred upon their moral consciousness. Refuge from these difficulties was found in the adoption of allegory as the true key for the unlocking of the Bible treasures."¹² But that which apologetic necessity demanded became in a short time an inexhaustible fountain, an unexplored mine of mystical speculation. The allegorical method came to be regarded as the peculiar mark of Christian Mysticism. We are not unwilling to admit with Workman that the allegorical method grew out of a tendency to rationalism, of the attempt to explain away the riddles of the Scripture by getting rid of their literal or historical significance, and that rationalism is the worst enemy of Mysticism.

It is a fact, however, that the mystic sense developed the spiritual element and the power of absorbing spiritual things by liberating the spirit from its chains, freeing it from the incubus of the letter which kills, the bondage of formulæ, and allowing a wider margin to human reason which very often interposes itself between God and man.

Cruttwell says: "The Origenian theory of the mystical sense was a protest against the carnal liberalism of the Jewish Christian, and as such a blow struck for freedom as against bondage, for rule as against lawlessness,"¹³ and the soul of the mystic, as is only too well known, needs liberty as the plant needs the light of the sun.

The Alexandrian allegorical exegesis was not so much the product of a rationalism which demands of the imagination those arguments which human reason is incapable of giving, as the development of the mystical sense which sees beyond the letter the lineaments of

¹¹ S. L. Epifanovic, "Prep. Maxim Ispovednik i vizantiskoe bogoslovie" (St. Maximus the Confessor and the Byzantine Theology); Kieff, 1915; pp. 7, 8.

¹² "Christian Thought to the Reformation;" New York, 1911; p. 8.

¹³ Op. cit., p. 429.

divine beauty, and, bursting the bonds of theology, seeks God in fervent prayer rather than with the syllogism of dialectics.

In the theological school of Antioch the opposite occurs. The Antiochenes are more practical, more positive. They are well-balanced, sober-minded scholars, and the audacity of the Alexandrians excites in them a feeling of diffidence, sometimes of protestation. The pedantry of grammaticists is preferable, in their eyes, to the sublimest allegorical fancies.

H. B. Sweete describes them beautifully when he says: "All are diligent students of Holy Scripture; all brought to the study of Scripture a healthy freedom from conventional methods of interpretation, approaching it from the side of grammar and history. Abandoning Origen's endeavor to find mysteries in the plainest statements of the sacred writers, the Antiochene expositors were content to extract the precise meaning of the words; or, if they went further, they limited themselves to the legitimate use of Scripture in determining points of doctrine or of practice."¹⁴

The third element of Alexandrian mysticism is its tendency towards asceticism. According to Barthélemy, Saint-Hilaire said mysticism "exige davantage que la lutte de l'âme contre le principe matériel et inférieur, et quand il est pratiqué dans toute sa sévérité, il va jusqu'à l'ascéticisme le plus austère."¹⁵ In their philosophical speculations on the vision of God, the point of departure of the Alexandrian mystics is from the beginning of a perfect purification of the human organism—a purification which at one and the same time frees the soul from all sensible perceptions, launches it into the luminous mists of divine reality, and releases the body from the slavery of the senses and from all ill-regulated passions. It may be truthfully asserted that the mystics of Alexandria made monasticism and virginity the essential conditions of a perfect fellowship with God and the necessary preliminaries of the mystical flight of the soul towards its Creator. In fact, Origen, the great master and legislator of Alexandrian mysticism, has been rightfully considered as the prime initiator of monastic mysticism,¹⁶ whilst Methodius of Olympus and Gregory of Nyssa are the supporters and defenders of virginity—an essential requisite to the mystical development of the Christian soul.

METHODIUS OF OLYMPUS.

With Methodius, Bishop of Olympus (ob. 311), we enter the

¹⁴ "Patristic Study;" London, 1902; p. 97.

¹⁵ "De l'école d'Alexandrie;" Paris, 1845; p. 26.

¹⁶ See Börmann, "In investiganda monachatus origine, quibus de causis ratio habenda sit Origeneis;" Goettingen, 1885.

heart of ascetic mysticism. The Apostolic Fathers found in Christ the source of mystical experiences, and following in the steps of their teacher, St. Paul, craved to be crucified with their Lord. With Clement of Alexandria and Origen, the features of the Saviour begin to evaporate in a glittering mist of philosophical speculations. Origen asserts that monachism is the best way to approach God. The passionate yearnings of Ignatius of Antioch toward the crucified Saviour are displaced by the exalted praises of virginity, styled the main fountain of the mystical purification of believing souls. "The offering of its own self to God," says Origen, "is the most perfect of all the vows. Every one who enters this way becomes an imitator of Christ; every one who practices chastity gives his own body to God."¹⁷

In Methodius of Olympus, the keenest adversary of Origen, we find, strange to say, the fullest development of the ascetic mysticism outlined in Origen's writings. In him, according to Harnack, we have the theological speculation of the future monachism of the Church. He represents the fundamental features of monkish mysticism. In him the state of virginity is the condition of Christlikeness. Unstained virginity is the perfectly Christian life in itself.

In the mystical teaching of Methodius the true gnostics are strong and generous natures, "which, vaulting over the stream of pleasure, direct the chariot of the soul upward from the earth, and, taking their stand upon the vault of heaven, they purely contemplate immortality itself as it leaps out from the undefiled bosom of the Almighty."¹⁸ To Methodius it is not possible for a soul to be brought to God by means of reason, but men of faith are able to remove themselves from the atmosphere of darkness surrounding them and to go on from step to step, from knowledge to knowledge, till they reach the inextinguishable fire of love and are burnt in it and climb to the summit of the heavenly life.¹⁹ The stages of the mystical life are represented by faith, meditation on Holy Scripture, charity, righteousness and chastity, which is the crown of all virtues.²⁰ At the beginning of the new life in Christ, God does not speak. By prayers and the prayers of others and by ascetic practices the soul elevates itself to the divine heights in the measure granted to human strength.²¹ The ascetic life subdues impure passions, cleans and adorns the soul and uproots the distracting thoughts which darken

¹⁷ "In Num.," xxiv., P. G., xli., 760.

¹⁸ "Symposium," I., 1.

¹⁹ "De lepra," xlii.; Bonwetsch, "Methodius von Olympus;" Erlangen, 1891.

²⁰ "Symposium," ix., 4.

²¹ "In Job," xxxi., 1; Bonwetsch, p. 352.

it.²³ The soul must be undefiled and unpolluted, "as a garden sealed, in which the odors of the fragrance of heaven are grown, that Christ alone may come and gather them."²⁴

The most energetic agent for the cleaning of the soul is virginity, the brightest star of Christ,²⁵ the root of immortality, its flower and first fruit.²⁶ Therefore, if we long to reach the likeness of God, the chief aim of Mysticism, we must endeavor to honor virginity. The Word Himself when He was incarnate became the chief virgin.²⁷ Virginity is the final goal of that asceticism which spiritualizes the human body. It is a true and outstanding martyrdom.²⁸

To advance in the stages of mystical life the Christian soul is to be betrothed and given in marriage to Christ, as a virgin.²⁹ It is to be espoused to the Word, as the Church,³⁰ which is a bride surpassing all in the beauty of youth and virginity.³¹ Then the Word works out mysteriously the enlightening of the soul united with Him by the ties of a spiritual marriage. "It is impossible for any one to be a partaker of the Holy Spirit and to be chosen a member of Christ unless the Word first comes upon Him and he falls into a trance, in order that he, being filled with the Spirit and rising again from sleep with Him, may be able to receive renewal and restoration."³² When the Word takes possession of the soul, the Holy Spirit gently breathing down from the treasures of the Father above, gives us all the clear, fair wind of knowledge.³³ Gradually the mystical soul, which is irradiated in the state of virginity by inextinguishable lights,³⁴ reaches the sunlit heights of God's vision. "The clear eye of the understanding looks more clearly upon the truth, urges the heart to love which radiates forth from the glorious beauty of chastity,"³⁵ and makes of the soul a church and a helpmeet of Christ in the work of salvation.³⁶

The life of the souls that are initiated in virginity by the mystic rites of the Christian mysteries³⁷ ends in the attainment of a divine

²³ "Symposium," ix., 4.

²⁴ Ibidem, vii., 1.

²⁵ Ib., iv., 1.

²⁶ Ib., i., 1.

²⁷ Ib., i., 5.

²⁸ Ib., vii., 3.

²⁹ Ib., i., 9.

³⁰ Ib., vii., 4, 6.

³¹ Ib., vii., 7.

³² Ib., i., 3.

³³ Ib., vii., 1.

³⁴ Ib., vii., 4.

³⁵ Ib., vii., 2.

³⁶ Ib., i., 3.

³⁷ Ib., vii., 5.

resemblance. This likeness of God is realized when we reproduce the divine features in our own life.³⁷ God was pleased to put on human flesh, so that we, beholding as on a tablet the divine Pattern of our life, should also be able to imitate Him Who painted it. The resemblance to God, the goal towards which we ought to tend,³⁸ is the recompense of the almost divine virtue of chastity.³⁹

ST. GREGORY OF NYSSA.

Gregory of Nyssa deserves to be considered as one of the great masters of Christian mysticism. He has, in truth, been lawfully extolled as the precursor of the pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. At the second Council of Nicea (787) he was entitled "The father of fathers," and was, in fact, a more profound, erudite and logical theologian than St. Gregory of Nazianza, "an original and constructive thinker who left a sure mark upon dogmatic theology."⁴⁰ Considered as a mystic, he is an acute moralist and philosopher, and above and before all things he is a psychologist, a tireless searcher into the interior phenomena of the religious conscience.

The mysticism of Gregory of Nyssa may be styled the mysticism of reason, the logical inference of abstract meditations on the relationship between God and man and on the antithesis between the soul and the body. It may be traced in a direct line to the mystical plans of Origen, Neo-Platonic influences and to the rules of monastic asceticism.

The influence of Origen upon the Alexandrian theological school, and in reality upon the entire Orient, is supreme. As Harnack has observed, "In the East the history of dogma and of the Church during the succeeding centuries is the history of Origen's philosophy. Arians and Orthodox, critics and mystics, priests who overcame the world and monks who shunned it, but were eager for knowledge, could appeal to this system and did not fail to do so."⁴¹

The Origenism of Gregory of Nyssa reveals itself in his method of Biblical hermeneutics, in his fondness for the allegorical meaning of the Holy Scriptures and in his system of ethics, his conception of the divine goodness and of terrestrial evils—a conception which led him, like his master, to admit the universal *apocatastasis*.⁴²

³⁷ *Ib.*, I., 4.

³⁸ *Ib.*, vii., 1.

³⁹ Fritschel, "Methodius von Olympos und seine Philosophie;" Leipzig, 1879; p. 28; Bonwetsch, "Die Theologie des Methodius von Olympos;" Berlin, 1904; pp. 135-140.

⁴⁰ Sweete, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

⁴¹ "History of Dogma," II., p. 379.

⁴² Rupp, J., "Gregors des Bischofs von Nyssa, Leben und Meinungen;" Leipzig, 1884; p. 247.

Like Origen, he delights in seeking and finding in every word of the Biblical text a fund of moral instruction. The literal sense disappears or is completely sacrificed in the preface to his Homilies on the Canticle of Canticles.

Undoubtedly Gregory of Nyssa did not go so far in his worship for his master as to break down the barriers which ecclesiastical tradition had formed about the realm of Christian speculation. J. Huber defined him well when he wrote: "Gregory is timid by nature and somewhat inclined to femininity. He is tenacious of dogma and on principle opposed to any form of audacious innovation that may lead him on through unbeaten paths."⁴³ The system of Origen, like an unripe fruit, was the result of the evolution of Christian thought, and those who tasted thereof were drawn in despite of themselves to submit to its inebriating influence.

In the mystical system of Gregory of Nyssa Platonic influences were also visible. The saint loved Plato and took a keen delight deciphering and revealing his latent thoughts and exalting the Athenian who, notwithstanding the tenebres shrouding his pagan conceptions, fixed his gaze at times on the dazzling mirror of divine truth.⁴⁴ Neo-Platonic ethics aimed at purifying the soul, freeing it from the tyranny of passions and preparing it for the delights found in the pure contemplation of the Supreme Being.⁴⁵ The moral tenets of Neo-Platonism, which permeated the whole ethical system of Clement of Alexandria and gave characteristic features and outlines to the Christian Gnostic of the Alexandrian school, formed the mystical speculation of Gregory of Nyssa. Franz Diekamp, who was the first to reveal the spiritual value of the writings of Gregory of Nyssa and their astonishing relationship to the celebrated works of Dionysius the Areopagite, is of the opinion that the latter have received their impress from the former. Koch justly observes that Gregory of Nyssa, like the pseudo-Dionysius, drew from the same Alexandrian Neo-Platonic Judaic fountain.⁴⁶ Following the footsteps of Philo, Gregory of Nyssa wrote his "Mystical Theory of the Life of Moses," which contains important data in the literary history of Christian Mysticism that are surprisingly analogous, whether we consider the contents or the style in his description of the highest mystical states to the mystical theories of the Areopagite.

⁴³ "Die Philosophie der Kirchenväter;" München, 1859; p. 185.

⁴⁴ Bardenhever, "Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur;" Freiburg in Breisgau, 1912; p. 192.

⁴⁵ Grandgeorge, "Saint Augustin et le Neo-Platonism;" Paris, 1896; p. 11.

⁴⁶ "Das mystische Schauen beim hl. Gregor von Nyssa, Theologische Quartalschrift," 1898, lxxx., pp. 398-399.

The Neo-Platonic influx reveals itself in an accurate analysis of the elements which virtually elevate mankind step by step towards the heights of mysticism, from whence his gaze is fixed upon the abyss of the supreme divine reality.

It would be well to note here that the Pagan and Judaic influences exerted on the mystical teaching of St. Gregory of Nyssa and of all the great Alexandrian teachers in general will never alter the profoundly Christian character of their mysticism. On the one hand, their religious experiences are not the product of a vaporous philosophical speculation that tends towards the infinite Reality by means of a misguided reason, and on the other, the highest state of contemplation of the Divine Reality is never transformed into an immediate and direct intuition, which would place Christian mysticism upon a strictly pantheistic basis.

Gregory of Nyssa, like the pseudo-Areopagite, insists constantly upon the coöperation and the action of the Word of God in the revelation of the various phases of the mystical process, and at the same time he is never weary of asserting, with rare energy and great beauty of terms and conceits, the impossibility of knowing God and the innate impotence of the human intellect to embrace with a glance, as it were, the immensity of the Supreme Being.

The mystical elevation of the regenerated Christian is for Gregory of Nyssa a renewal of the ancient dignity of the human nature—a sort of spiritual return to the primitive perfection of man as yet unpolluted by the stain of original sin. The nobility and grandeur of human nature is variously extolled and described in the admirable treatise, "*De Hominis Opificio*." Man is the image of God, the reflection of divine beauty. As the painter transfers the human form to his picture by means of certain colors, so I would have you understand that our Maker, likewise painting the portrait to resemble His own image and likeness, by the addition of virtues, as it were with colors, shows in us His own sovereignty.⁴⁷

This idea of the perfect resemblance of man to his Creator—of a compendium, as it were, of all created human perfections—confronts us frequently in the writings of Gregory of Nyssa. Man is in reality a microcosm, and as such he is destined by his very nature to draw nearer to God and to find in a conscious fellowship with the Supreme Being the true spiritual beauty in its entirety. "The human nature was, by its likeness to the King of all, made as it were a living image, partaking with the Archetype both in rank and in name, clothed in virtue, reposing on the bliss of immortality, decked with the crown of righteousness, so that it is shown to be

⁴⁷ "*De hominis opificio*," v., P. G., xlv., 187.

perfectly like the beauty of its Archetype in all that belongs to the dignity of royalty."⁴⁸

If such be the perfection of man, his mission and his happiness must be contained within the orbit of the divine. They must unfold by the constant impetus of all his faculties towards God as the source of true life and the centre of light and love. The rightful heritage of man is happiness, and this beatitude consists in intimate communion with God as He is.⁴⁹ The final end and the supreme reason of his being, subjugated by the fascination of virtue, is a participation of the divine nature,⁵⁰ and the tending of our whole being towards the attainment of a perfect likeness to God.⁵¹ The human soul must become like a celestial palm-grove, the perfume of whose flowers must give forth the sweetness of incense, the symbol of divinity. This likeness to God must be so perfect that the man who has attained so high a degree of perfection must in a manner become familiar with God, must immerse himself in the Divine Being, must be one with Him,⁵² and in order to attain his object he must force himself to accomplish acts that partake of the nature of the Divinity.⁵³ There is, however, an indispensable preliminary condition to the acquisition of a beatitude which gradually elevates us to a spiritual likeness to God. Before casting himself into the ethereal regions of the Unknown, the regenerated man must purify his body and soul; he must tread "the purgative way." Purification is necessary to the healing of the soul. The celestial pleasure produced within us in the God-seeing stage is the result of the crucifying process of an ascetic life. "The soul must be freed from fleshy needs, from the affection of material objects, in order to turn to the contemplation of immaterial beauty. Purity of heart, that master of our lives, alone can capture the divine and undefiled delights."⁵⁴

Gregory likens the passions to those cavalry archers and stingers in Pharaoh's army who tumbled over one another in the Red Sea.⁵⁵ Man does not live for the flesh to be subject to the troubles of the flesh.⁵⁶ Vices contrary to virtue must be expelled and leave the field free for the latter.⁵⁷

⁴⁸ *Ib.*, iv., 136.

⁴⁹ "In Psalm," i., xlv., 433.

⁵⁰ "In Cant.," *Hom.* ix., *Ib.*, 963.

⁵¹ "In Psalm" i., *Ib.* 433; *De Beat. Or.* i., *Ib.* 1300.

⁵² "In Cant." i., xlv., 777; "In Psalm" vii., *Ib.*, 456.

⁵³ "In Psalm," vii., *Ib.*, 457.

⁵⁴ "De Virg.," v., xlv., 349.

⁵⁵ "De vita Moysa," xlv., 361.

⁵⁶ "De Virgin.," iv., xlv., 343.

⁵⁷ "De vita M.," 332.

The mastery of Gregory of Nyssa in his thorough description of the purgative state of Christian mysticism depends upon his rare knowledge of the art of medicine. He therefore adopts criteria methods and even medical terminology when speaking of the soul dominated and seared by passions. For him the vices are *spiritual maladies*. In order to cure and extirpate them, *spiritual therapeutics* must be employed.⁸⁸ The liberation of the soul from its vicious husk is called its *restoration to health*.

That purification of the soul which extends itself at one and the same time to the senses and the intellect, to the exterior and the interior man, must reach its apogee by passionless insensibility. Gregory expressly states that "apathy" or freedom from the agitation of the passions is the beginning and the groundwork of a life in accordance with virtue.⁸⁹

It is interesting to note that the word "apathy" is not unusual in Greek mysticism. It was also used indistinctively by the Alexandrian mystics whose conception of the term, however, does not express an entirely negative idea, but denotes rather the preservation of the independence of the soul freed from the terrestrial and passionless element, and for that reason expresses a state of union between action and rest, the utmost limit of the negative influence upon mysticism to which the positive influence is immediately connected.⁹⁰ If we make use of a comparison we should say the "apathy" in the line of demarcation is negative, but inasmuch as the tenebres follow from the opposite side the confines of light, the "apathy" is positive.

Gregory of Nyssa seems to have had a like conception when he defined transition from light to darkness as the first grade of contemplation.⁹¹ This transition is accomplished in us by means of the mysterious operations of the Word of Life. During a season of spiritual tepidity the soul, abandoning itself to vice, accumulates within itself seeds of corruption, but the Verb produces eternal springtime, cultivates the soul, eradicates all that is useless and earthy and plants therein virtue.⁹²

Like Athanasius, Gregory lays great stress upon the most significant rôle played by sacraments in the working out of spiritual deification: "Those who have been cleansed from the filth of iniquity through the water of the sacrament need no other purification, while

⁸⁸ "Epistola ad Letolium," xlv., 224.

⁸⁹ "Or. catech.," vi., xlv., 29.

⁹⁰ Zarin, "Asketisizm, po pravoslavnomu-khristianskomu ucheniu" (Asceticism, according to the Christian orthodox teaching); Petrograd, 1907; II., pp. 302-306.

⁹¹ "In Cant.," xl., xlv., 1000.

⁹² "In Cant.," v., 873.

those who have never received that sacramental cleansing must necessarily be purged through fire."⁶³ The mystic waters of baptism wash away the defilement of our sins and through purity bring God into our souls.⁶⁴ This sacramental purification and its effects are beautifully portrayed in the following passage: "The earthly envelopment is removed by water. The likeness to the divine is not our work at all: it is not the achievement of any faculty of man. It is the great gift of God bestowed upon our nature. By clearing away the filth of sins the buried beauty of the soul shines forth again. Divine Good is not something apart from our nature and is not removed far away from those who have the will to seek it. It is the fact within each of us, ignored indeed and unnoticed while it is stifled beneath the cares and pleasures of life, but bound again whenever we can turn our power of conscious thinking towards it."⁶⁵

According to R. M. Jones, the mystical views of Gregory, the process of mystical experiences effected by baptism and continued by the Eucharist, are unquestionably a serious drop from Paul, and even from Plato, and they led to a low and perverted mysticism of a second order in his successors—some such degeneration as Neo-Platonism underwent during the same period.⁶⁶ But it must be noted that mysticism is associated by the Greek Fathers with the elevation of the soul to the supernatural state of grace. Baptism, therefore, is emphasized by them as the door of access to the realm of grace and by natural connection to that of mystical experiences, and the Eucharist as a spiritual food strengthening the soul's powers in its ascent towards God. Hence it follows that the above mentioned utterances of Gregory are not to be understood as a stiffening of mystical energies into the materialistic atmosphere of outward rites. They are, in fact, the genuine expression of the teaching of Christian theology that baptism is the initiation into a newness of life begotten of the Incarnation—a life which by stages attains to the direct ecstatic knowledge of God.

In accordance with his ascetic yearnings, Gregory assigns to virginity a foremost rank in the hierarchy of the virtues purifying the soul. He seems ill-affected towards marriage. To him marriage is the last stage of our separation from the life that was led in Paradise. It is, therefore, the first thing to the left.⁶⁷ Virginity, on the contrary, "is the channel which draws down the Deity to

⁶³ "Or. catech.," 35.

⁶⁴ *Ib.*, 36.

⁶⁵ "De Virgin.," xli.

⁶⁶ "Or. cat.," 36.

⁶⁷ "De Virg.," xli.

share man's estate, which keeps wings for man's desires to rise to heavenly things, and is a bond of union between the divine and human, by its meditation bringing into harmony these extremes so widely divided."⁶⁸ The union of the soul with the incorruptible Deity can be accomplished in no other way but by herself attaining by her virgin state to the utmost purity possible—a state which, being like God, will enable her to grasp that to which it is like, while she places herself like a mirror beneath the purity of God and moulds her own beauty at the touch and sight of the Archetype of all beauty."⁶⁹

The real virginity is "the power of seeing God." Virginity is, indeed, the crowning virtue of the purified soul. But it is not enough. Aiming at a complete purification, a mystic soul must break down every link whatsoever of connection with earthly things." No one can come near the purity of the Divine Being who has not first himself become such. He must, therefore, place between himself and the pleasures of the senses a high strong wall of separation. Such an impregnable wall will be found in a complete estrangement from everything wherein passion operates."⁷⁰

To one who has cleansed all the powers of his being from every form of vice, the Beauty which is essential, the source of every beauty and every good will become visible.⁷¹ When we restore the Godly beauty of the soul, when we mount towards heaven by the self-made likeness in our soul to the descending dove, when the chambers of our soul are found of such a sort that God can dwell in us and walk in us, to the soul there comes the power of prying into the mysteries of God. The mind's eye, like the visual eye purged from a blinding humor, can clearly look up to the distant skies. It leaves the murky mire of the world, and under the stress of spirit becomes pure and luminous in contact with true and supernatural purity: it becomes itself a light. It enters into the atmosphere of eternal beauty. "When our soul becomes free from any emotional connection with the brute creation, there will be nothing to impede its contemplation of the beautiful, for this last is essentially capable of attracting in a certain way every being that looks towards it."⁷²

The contemplation of God is perfectly incorporeal.⁷³ It needs no eyes, no sense of hearing. It does not unfold by following the ordi-

⁶⁸ *Ib.*, ii.

⁶⁹ *Ib.*, xi.

⁷⁰ *Ib.*, xxi.

⁷¹ *Ib.*, xi.

⁷² "De anima et resur.," P. G., xlv., 89.

⁷³ "De Vita Moysis," 373.

nary ways and means of human intellect, and is never attained unless it produces an intellectual void and by a complete and perfect renunciation of all sensible perceptions. The contemplative vision of God is limited neither by time nor space, because in the Divine Intellect time and space do not exist.⁷⁴

But such a vision of the divine Beauty is not a direct intuition into the divine Being. The further we advance in the knowledge of God, the more His divine nature appears to us shrouded with a luminous darkness. By means of a series of ascensions the soul attains the heights of the Divinity and enters into the tenebres which surround God. As it mounts higher and still higher, the human intelligence comprehends with greater clearness the invisibility and incomprehensibility of the divine nature. Surrounded by invisible and incomprehensible mists, the soul sees God and understands that its mission consists in that which it sees, that which it does not see.⁷⁵

Thus Gregory of Nyssa stands firmly for the *negativa via* as to the knowledge of God. The true vision of God, he says, consists in this, that we cannot see Him. But the sparkling mists of the supernal beauty do not hamper the movements of the soul heavenwards.⁷⁶

Assimilated to God, the soul penetrates the mysterious darkness of the Divine Being.⁷⁷ Its life becomes in some degree a copy of that of God. It finds that the supreme and immaterial good is really worth enthusiasm and love, and it attaches itself to it by means of the movement and activity of love, fashioning itself according to that which it is continually finding and grasping. It understands that to see God is its life, and the recognition of God becomes love, because the beautiful is necessarily lovable.

By faith and love the soul attaches itself to God, becomes one spirit with the Spirit of God.⁷⁸ The soul shares then in the divine beauty and life. It becomes itself as beautiful as the beauty which it has touched and entered and is made bright and luminous itself in the communion of the real light.⁷⁹

Thus in the perfect consummation of the love of God the organic process of the deification of the soul in the mystical teaching of

⁷⁴ "In Cant.," vi., 392; "De Vita Moysis," 377.

⁷⁵ "De Vita Moysis," 377.

⁷⁶ "De Vita Moysis," 401.

⁷⁷ "In Cant.," 773.

⁷⁸ "In Cant.," 772.

⁷⁹ "De Virgin.," xl.; Moeller, "Gregorii Nysseni doctrina de hominis natura;" Halle, 1854, p. 81; Krampf, "Der Urzustand des Menschen nach der Lehre des hl. Gregor von Nyssa," Würzburg, 1899; pp. 49-64.

Gregory comes to an end with the complete freedom of man from the yoke of passions.

These brief outlines will serve to demonstrate that all the elements for a complete treatise on mystical Christianity are to be found in the writings of Gregory of Nyssa. Considered under certain aspects, the mystical schemes of Gregory seem to be of far greater importance than those of the Areopagite.

In the latter, the speculative and the philosophical element predominate exclusively, whereas in the former we find the ascetic speculative synthesis. Gregory of Nyssa is a pedagogue who does not disdain to impart at one and the same time the rudimentary science of a perfect life and the supreme science of divine contemplation. He is at once a spiritual physician and a high thinker, who, whilst gazing fixedly upon the divine Reality, does not forget to study and to heal human infirmities.

The mystical followers of Gregory of Nyssa, instead of completing his mystical synthesis, became analytical. They separated the speculative and ascetic elements which Gregory had endeavored to blend harmoniously. Under the pen of Evagrius Ponticus, Nilus Sinaita and the Abbot Dorotheus, mysticism assumes an eminently ascetic character and is transformed into a code of rules for the guidance of man in the struggle against his evil passions. By Dionysius the Areopagite it is launched into aerial speculations. The refinement of its rambling terms the splendor of its incomparable images and symbolical conceptions dazzle and bewilder the searcher and the thinker.

Gregory of Nyssa is a link between these two mystical tendencies. His is a synthetical mind which turns at one and the same time to the babes in Christ, feeding them with milk, not with meat (I. Cor. iii., 1), and to the perfect men who have reached the age of maturity in Christ and put away childish things (Ib. xiii., 11). His mysticism is despoiled on the one hand of that rigid formalism, that legal harshness which characterizes that of the ascetic mystics of the Alexandrian school, and on the other it is immune to the arid speculation and cloudy abstractions of him whom Alfred Vaughan styled the mythical hero of the Christian mystics—Dionysius the Areopagite.⁸⁰

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⁸⁰ "Hours With the Mystics," London, 1860; I., p. 97.

MEDIÆVAL WARFARE.

War's a game, that were their subjects wise,
Kings would not play at.

THESE are three perennial sources of human and world-wide interest—religion, love and war; but when war is raging, it takes precedence of everything else. It is an obsession. We think, talk, read, dream and perhaps pray about little else except this war, which we rightly judge to be the greatest the world has ever seen. The odd thing is our ancestors thought the same of their wars, which seem to us puny in comparison with ours, of which, strange to say, we are very proud.

Our weapons of war, our strategy, our commissariat, our transport, our hospital service, our methods of making war all differ "toto coelo" from those of the middle ages, and yet one element, and that the chief in all warfare, to wit: Human nature remains the same, and so we are not surprised to find a good many points of resemblance between mediæval wars and ours, for history is ever repeating itself.

A glance at some of our old chronicles which treat of battles may therefore be interesting in exemplifying this.

To begin with statistics, as reliable in those days as in ours, perhaps, the numbers engaged in mediæval wars were much smaller than in this world-wide war of ours; on the other hand, their casualties were as great in comparison, if not greater, than ours are. This is, of course, because our defense is so much stronger than was theirs and because so many of them died of wounds who would have been saved had their surgical skill been equal to ours and had the wounded had the benefits the modern Ambulance Corps bestow.

The numbers engaged in the battle of Lewes, which took place in 1263, between King Henry III. on the one side and the Barons under Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, on the other, were said to be 60,000 on the King's side and 40,000, including the London citizens, on the side of the Barons. This is according to the Worcester Chronicle (Cotton MS.). Of these, Rishanger, a monk of the Monastery of St. Alban's, says in his chronicle that 5,000 fell on both sides, but the chronicles differ very much in their estimation of the losses in this battle.

Besides these killed, Rishanger¹ says that 2,000 fled and a large number were taken prisoners, among them Robert Bruce, John Bal-

¹ The Chronicle of William de Rishanger of the Barons' Wars. Edited by J. O. Halliwell, Esq. London: Printed for Camden Society, 1840: p. 33.

liol and William Wallace. He describes the slaughter "as terrible, and, it being civil war, father fought against son and son against father, citizen against fellow-citizen, relation against relation, some being on the King's side and some on the Barons'."

The Evesham Chronicle agrees with the Worcester in this estimate of the losses; the Salisbury puts them at more than 3,000; the Winchester Chronacle says: "Some fled, some were drowned, some killed up to 5,000, about 1,000 remained below the priory and didn't enter the fight." In the battle of Evesham, of which the chronicler, Robert of Gloucester, said "that it was not a battle, but a murder, so terrible was the bloodshed," the losses were heavier even than that at Lewes, for it was a Cadmean victory, both sides suffering equally. In it the King was severely wounded and carried off the field for dead, and Simon de Montfort, the leader of the Barons, was literally butchered, and the vengeance of his enemies pursued him not only after death, but even after burial, for one chronicler says that they stole his remains from the monks of Evesham after they had buried them in their church.

Rishanger does not mention the explicit number of the slain in this battle—he is more concerned with the names of the great ones who lost their lives in it:

"These are the names of the great men who fell in this miserable battle: Earl Leicester, their captain, beheaded, his feet and hands amputated, whose head was presented to the wife of Roger of Mortuo Mari, in the Castle of Worcester (may the Precursor of the Lord help his soul whose head was offered to the dancing girl in a feast!); Henry, the eldest son of the Earl; Peter de Montfort, St., beheaded in scorn; Hugh the Dispenser and many others, and men at arms, whose bodies going back to earth in this lamentable battle, their blessed souls, as we believe, were borne to heaven."²

This battle took place on August 19, 1265. Rishanger describes it "as this most cruel battle, in which it could almost be said that all the nobles were slain in a very short space of time, between prime and terce, and their cavalry were broken up and vanquished."³

The King's party, who were the victors, suffered as heavily as de Montfort's, who was the zealous partisan of the Church and the people, and may be called the founder of our freedom and Parliament, for he it was who first admitted the knights and commoners to Parliament.

Rishanger's Chronicle contains in the same volume, though not by him, some forty pages of miracles said to have been worked by

² Rishanger, Chronicle, p. 46.

³ Chronicle, p. 47.

Simon de Montfort after his death, when he was considered and honored as a saint by the people of England.

The reliance of the thirteenth century Englishman on our insular position as our best safeguard against foreign invasion, as is seen in mediæval writers, is interesting at the present time, when our "splendid isolation" is not so assured, in view of the war in the air with which we are also confronted.

Rishanger tells us that, after the battle of Lewes, Queen Eleanor of Provence, with the assistance of the French King, Louis, proposed to invade England with such a multitude of ships as any one would scarcely believe, we met together and girded ourselves to the battle to defend our country and our own heads, and all the strength of the kingdom was congregated round the maritime parts everywhere."⁴

In another old Chronicle by one Taxter (Cotton MS.) this same fact is mentioned in very similar terms, showing how alert they were in those far-off days to the danger of foreign invasion: "After the battle of Lewes, Eleanor of Provence, Queen of England, attempted to invade England with a large army, but the sea, the shore and the marine places were by the advice of the King and the Barons being guarded by a large army and the adversaries feared to cross. It is to be noted that unless the sea had been thus guarded England would have been taken by foreigners."⁵

In Warkworth's Chronicle of the first ten years of the reign of King Edward, in which some of the battles during the Wars of the Roses are described, he rarely mentions any of the numbers of men engaged or of the slain; indeed, his Chronicle consists largely of the seizing, hanging, drawing, quartering and beheading of various lords and commons and a description of the rebellions against Edward led by Earl Warwick, who fought on King Henry VI.'s side. These rebellions culminated in the rising of the Duke of Clarence, Warwick and the Marquis of Montague, and the flight of Edward to Flanders, and the rescue from the Tower of Henry VI., "who was not worshipfully arrayed as a prince and not so cleanly kept as should beseem such a prince."⁶

Warkworth, who was a strong Lancastrian and a great admirer of Warwick, was master of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, from 1473 to 1498, and wrote in Middle English, not in Latin, like the monk Rishanger. He tells us that in the March following this flight of Edward to Flanders, he came back to England with 900

⁴ *Chronicon, Wilhelmi de Rishanger, p. 25.*

⁵ *Ib'id. Notes, p. 129.*

⁶ *A Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of King Edward IV.; Camden Society, 1839; p. 11.*

English and 300 Flemings, armed with hand-guns,⁷ and after a very stormy passage, in which he lost a ship laden with horses, he landed in Yorkshire.

Warkworth also mentions that after the battle of Tewkesbury Edward raised an army of 30,000 men in ten days. At this same time Calais was a place of dispute between the two parties; it was then in the hands of Warwick's party and occupied by them, and we are told that "600 of Calais soldiers and shipmen sailed over to Calais," but their Captain the Bastard remained in England, unhappily for him, for he was beheaded shortly after by the Duke of Gloucester.

This Chronicle concludes with an amusing account of the siege of Mount St. Michael, in Cornwall, and the numbers considered necessary to defend it:

"It is a strong place and mighty and cannot be got if it be well victualed with a few men to keep it; for twenty men may keep it against all the world." We fancy modern artillery would make short work of "this strong place and mighty," and, as a matter of fact, it fell on this occasion, but through parleying. "For," says our chronicler, "there is a proverb and a saying that a castle that speaketh and a woman that heareth, they will both be taken, for men that are in a castle of war that will speak and entreat with their enemies, the conclusion thereof is the losing of the castle, and a woman that will hear folly spoken unto her, if she assent not at one time she will at another."⁸ From whence we conclude Master Warkworth had a good deal of common sense and not a little knowledge of human nature.

There is another Chronicle⁹ of this period telling of the rebellion against King Edward IV. in Lincolnshire, written by a Yorkist, which is more explicit as to the numbers engaged. He tells us that Edward, after landing in Yorkshire, got letters telling him that when he reached Royston on his way to Stamford he would find 100,000 men ready to join him. The Duke of Clarence and Warwick also sent word that they would come, but, says this chronicler, "this was false dissimulation." The battle was fought a few miles from Stamford and Edward won and "distressed more than 30,000 men." Edward's conduct in executing so many of the nobles who opposed him after this battle will ever blacken his name, "but," says this Yorkist chronicler, "he showed great mercy in saving the lives of his poor and wretched commoners."

⁷ These guns were fired by a match applied by the hand.

⁸ Warkworth's Chronicle. p. 27.

⁹ Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire. Edited by J. G. Nichols, Esq. Camden Society, 1849; p. 10

An interesting item at this time when Zeppelin raids are of such frequent occurrence on the coasts of England is found in a brief Latin chronicle, the concluding portion of a work entitled "*Compilatio de Gestis Britonum et Anglorum*,"¹⁰ which begins in 1421 and closes in 1471.

Herein it is stated that in the year 1457 two small raids were made by pirates on the town of Fowey, in Cornwall, and of Sandwich, in Kent; and the raiders succeeded in taking away almost all the mobile goods in both towns. This is up to the present more than the Germans have succeeded in doing, though the mediæval pirates were less destructive.

The author of this brief Latin chronicle is unknown, but internal evidence shows that he was certainly an ecclesiastic, and equally certain is it that he was a strong Yorkist, and slurs over the murder of Henry VI. by saying that "he died happily in the Tower of London." He probably meant that "he happily died" from his point of view, not that his death was a happy one, but he gives no sort of hint that he was foully murdered.

His chronicle begins by describing the siege of Calais by the Duke of Burgundy in 1443, and, as Calais has played a considerable part in the present war, it may be interesting to know that the Duke invested the town with an army of more than 100,000 men; that he had 10,000 tents and pavilions, twenty-eight great guns, 7,000 cressets for burning at night, 7,000 gally guns (a kind of culverin), 7,000 little guns called ribalds, 10,000 crossbows and 12,000 vehicles.¹¹

To drive away the besiegers, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, crossed over from England with a large force of 70,000 men, including princes and noblemen. But before he arrived the garrison of 2,000 soldiers, under the Earl of Morton and Baron de Camoys, an eminent warrior, who were holding the city, made a sortie, broke through the besiegers and in a short time killed many of them. Meanwhile the Duke of Burgundy, hearing that the Duke of Gloucester was coming over with such a large number of troops, took flight in great confusion, and thus ended the siege of Calais.

In another old chronicle written in a fifteenth century hand a still earlier siege of Calais is mentioned, which took place in 1346, in the reign of King Edward III.¹² This account is written in mediæval English and begins thus, the spelling being modernized:

"Here beginneth the retinue of the doughty King Edward III., and how he went to the siege of Calais with his host, and to the

¹⁰ *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*. Camden Society, 1880; pp. 164-188.

¹¹ *A Brief Latin Chronicle*; p. 165.

¹² *Siege of Calais, 1346*. Historical Memoranda; Camden Society, 1880.

parts of France and of Normandy, and how he laid siege to the town and castle of Calais, by water and land, in the year of our Lord God 1346. And on the third day of September the good King Edward III. laid his siege to the town and castle of Calais, and there continued his siege, by water and land, until the third day of August next following, at the which day, through the grace of the Almighty Jesu, the said town and castle were delivered unto the said good King Edward at his own will."

Here follows a list, which occupies three octavo pages, of the number of all the princes, nobles, knights-bannerets, knights-bachelor, squires, archers, constables, archers on foot, hobblers, masons, carpenters, smiths, engineers,¹³ pavylanders, armorers, gunners and makers of artillery. The sum of these cometh altogether to 26,541 men. This was in King Edward's army alone—each nobleman with him had his own knights, squires and archers. The King had besides a large naval contingent to transport the forces. These are noted as "master-shipmen, constalars,¹⁴ shipmen and pages, ships, barges and ballyngers¹⁵ and victualers—the sum of men cometh to 46,452 and the sum of the ships and shipmen and victualers cometh to 16,000.

This chronicler gives the cost of the whole exhibition at the close of his list—and it is very interesting to compare with the cost of this present war.

The sum total of the said expenses, as well for wages as for the expenses of the King's house, as for other gifts and rewards, and for ships and other things necessary in the said parts of France and Normandy, and before Calais during the siege there, as it appeareth in the account of Wil Norwell, keeper of the King's wardrobe, from the twelfth day of July, the year of the reign of the said King Edward, unto the twenty-seventh day of May, in the year of his reign the fourteenth; that is to say, be a year and three-quarters and forty-one days; that is to say, £337,000 9s. 4d.

The brief Latin chronicle before quoted consists mainly of an account of the Wars of the Roses and contains little that is not found in other chronicles of the period. Like other chroniclers, the writer mentions abnormal weather as coincident with wars. Thus, in 1464, when the Lancastrians suffered a great defeat and more than one battle was fought, he tells us there was an exceedingly hot summer that year, so that the corn and grass were dried up and the land became almost sterile. And the winter in the same year was intensely cold, so that both men and cattle suffered from it. And

¹³ Sappers—from *pauvre*, to strike, or rain or perhaps roadmakers.

¹⁴ Perhaps from the Anglo-Saxon "*staelers*," a predatory army.

¹⁵ Ballingers, "*allingers*."

the same year in the Isle of Ely, from the burning heat arose great horned flies, with stings, and it was asserted that men and cattle stung by them died immediately.

The battle of Lützen between the Swedes under Gustavus Adolphus and the Germans under Wallenstein, though later than the middle ages, suggests several interesting comparisons with the present war, so that we venture to quote from a letter describing it, written by one George Fleetwood, a general who took part in it, to his father, Sir William Fleetwood, which has been published by the Camden Society.

Being an officer, General Fleetwood is very explicit about the numbers engaged on both sides in the battle, in which Gustavus, under whom he was serving, was killed, and also in his estimate of the losses.

He tells how Wallenstein had before this battle 15,000 men with him, who burnt and plundered all Meisen, which they passed through on their way to Leipzig, where they met their allies and became 36,000 strong—of these Wallenstein had altogether 18,000 men and his ally, the Duke of Saxony, had 12,000 or 14,000 men, but these last did not get to him in time.¹⁶

The Swedes won the battle, but Gustavus was killed, and says the general: "Lützen was a very famous battle, far exceeding that of Leipzig, and had not our foot stood like a wall, there had not a man of us come off alive, they being certain twice our number, and our horse did but poorly. The enemy, more afraid than hurt, fled in great disorder."¹⁷

General Fleetwood was a great admirer of Gustavus Adolphus, and says that he "was confident that had he survived the battle of Lützen he would have put a period to all the wars in Germany."

Like some other great soldiers, he was a strong advocate of the policy of silence and comments strongly on the Duke of Lauenburg, who, when Gustavus fell, "in all places openly gave out that the King was killed, a thing not so fitting to be done, especially among the vulgar sort"¹⁸—a graceful allusion to "hoi polloi."

False rumors then, as in our war, were a feature, of which he gives an example after Gustavus' death: "I am sure, though however it came about I know not, that the King had false intelligence the day before the battle, for his valor and experience was an army alone."

The losses after Lützen were 3,000 or 4,000 on the German side

¹⁶ Letter from George Fleetwood to Sir Thomas Coningsby. Camden p. 5

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁸ Letter from George Fleetwood, p. 12.

and 1,500 on the side of the Swedes, "who took on the field thirteen half-cartours and eight other pieces and all their ammunition."¹⁹ Cannon were used.

Wallenstein was entrenched near Nuremburg, and "to tempt him out of his trenches the Swedes marched round his lager with flying colors and drums." We cannot imagine these tactics being employed by the Allies to tempt the Germans out of their trenches in this twentieth century Armageddon.

Trench fighting is mentioned in a diary written by Sir Thomas Coningsby describing the siege of Rouen, which took place in the year 1590, during the wars of the league, who seized the city and put in a garrison of soldiers. The English assisted the French in this siege, and Sir Thomas was a distinguished general under Henri IV. of France. He mentions how on November 2 pick-axes and spades were brought to his men to entrench themselves, which they did. "They eat and drink what they can get, lie upon straw and were never better in their lives, though often less contented. The marshal came and highly praised the trenches they were making."²⁰

There was also a great trench made during this siege at the foot of St. Catherine's Castle, which is mentioned in "Sully's Memoirs," where a spirited account of its capture is given: "It was taken by main force with the help of the English, who cleared it of fifty dead or dying enemies, whom they threw from the top of the hill. This trench was open to the fire of the fort, but Henri IV. had the precaution to order some gabions, hogsheads and pieces of wood to be brought there, which covered the English, to whom he committed the guarding of it." Sir Thomas mentions how "with great fury the enemy drove down the barrels of earth which they had laid for their defense in the trenches, but as his soldiers had spent all the powder and shot, there was no remedy but to sally forth to beat them with the pike and the halbert."²¹ The journal breaks off abruptly at this point, so we do not know the result of this sallying forth—again a policy not pursued under similar circumstances in the present war.

In the introduction to this siege of Rouen an interesting account is given to the arms employed and the ordering of the army at this period, written by Sir Roger Williams, who acted as marshal in this siege. He says that the old English horseman was called a man-at-arms, which meant that he was heavily encased in armor. Every man-at-arms ought to have five horses, but very few except

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²⁰ *Journal of the Siege of Rouen by Sir Thomas Wrianglesley. Camden Society, 1847; p. 33.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

gentleman-adventurers had so many. Light horsemen formed the greater part of the English cavalry—one-third of them carried lances, one-third pistols and one-third arquebusses. The infantry had a variety of weapons—some were pikemen and carried pikes, swords and daggers, some carried halberts or bills and on their left arm targets. There were two kinds of firearms used—the caliver²² with a short barrel and the musket with a barrel four feet six inches long discharged on a rest. Muskets were just introduced when Sir Roger wrote, and he considered 500 muskets more serviceable than 1,500 bowmen.²³

There was only one general in an army in those days, and he was called the lord general. There was one marshal, and he was inferior to the general. Each regiment then, as now, was commanded by a colonel, and he appointed his lieutenant-colonel. Companies were called bands, and each company consisted of from 150 to 300 men, and had its own captain, who appointed one lieutenant only to act under him. The marshal was a very important person. "He meddleth with the whole affairs of wars," says Sir Roger, who was himself a marshal. He tells us that a musket would kill an unarmed man—that is, a man who was not clad in armor—at 600 yards.

In Rishanger's chronicle of the Wars of the Barons, his description of the terrible nature of the arms used, of the strength of the defenses and of the fierceness of the fighting, which struck him as so wonderful, seems to us almost laughable, as perhaps our present methods of war will seem to future generations. For instance, he mentions "an exceedingly wonderful instrument of war," used by Henry III. against Kenilworth Castle, in which the Earl of Leicester was then besieged, and "which on account of its magnitude was called the bear, containing in itself various divisions for the introduction of archers,"²⁴ which is rather reminiscent of the Wooden Horse of Troy than calculated to strike terror into a modern army.

The King's son, Edward, afterwards Edward I., "with great industry prepared a wooden tower, exceedingly sumptuous, of wonderful height and breadth, fixed it to the wall by a contrivance; in divers parts of this tower were placed 200 and more crossbowmen that they might shoot darts and arrows on the besieged when they made a sortie. Eleven men persisted day and night in throwing stones into the castle; this was one means of assaulting a fort and is frequently mentioned. When the siege had lasted from the feast

²² Caliver, from caliber, the bore of a gun.

²³ Sully's *Memoirs*. Note to *Journal of the Siege of Rouen*; p. 30.

²⁴ *Chronicon de Rishanger*; p. 54.

of Pentecost to the feast of St. Martin (November 11), the King's army had never made a general attack, but almost every day the besieged went out and boldly offered themselves and met a host of soldiers, horse and foot, impetuously leaving their heads and bodies there."²⁵

During this siege a certain bold and strenuous soldier on the King's side was severely wounded, taken prisoner and carried into the castle, where he died and was placed honorably in a coffin with wax tapers round it and carried out of the castle, so that his friends from the King's army might fetch him peacefully to his grave. "In this act," says Rishanger, "the urbanity of the besieged is to be commended."

The same chronicler also tells us how when de Montfort and the Barons were besieging Rochester Castle "the earl brought with him by land and by water from London an instrument of war and all things necessary to fight the besieged, leaving an example to the English of a marvelous way of assaulting a castle, of which in those days they were ignorant. He ordered a certain ship to be filled to its highest capacity with dry wood, placing grease and tallow in it and other fuel and inflammable material; having set light to it, he ordered it to be placed so that the flames caught the full force of the wind and the ship then moved against the bridge, which was destroyed in a moment."²⁶

At the battle of Barnet between Edward IV. and the Earl of Warwick, in which Warwick fell, firearms were used, for we read that at Barnet "each of them loosed guns at each other all the night, and on Easter-day, in the morning of April 14, right early, each of them came upon the other, and there was such a great mist that neither of them might see the other perfectly; there they fought from 4 o'clock in the morning to 10 o'clock of the forenoon."²⁷ The Earl of Warwick's army had the victory several times, but deceived by the mist, which was very thick, they mistook the Earl of Oxford, who was on their side, and his 800 men, for King Edward and fired upon them by mistake, whereupon these fled crying, "Treason, treason!"; and then the Marquis of Montague was slain, whereupon Warwick leapt on horseback and fled into a wood by the field of Barnet, 'where there was no way forth, and one of King Edward's men had espied him and came up to him and killed him and stripped him. And so King Edward got that field.'"²⁸

The want of provision for the wounded, which was the cause of

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

²⁶ Rishanger, p. 25.

²⁷ Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 20.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

such loss of life in mediæval warfare, was responsible for the death of many of Warwick's adherents, but among those who escaped was the Duke of Exeter, "who fought manly there that day and was greatly despoiled and wounded and left naked for dead in the field, and so lay there from 7 of the clock till 4 afternoon, which was taken up and brought to a house by a man of his own and a leach brought to him, and so afterward brought into sanctuary at Westminster."

A strange incident and an example of Edward's want of honor and breach of faith is mentioned as taking place just after the subsequent battle of Tewkesbury, when "the Duke of Somerset and a number of knights were taken and beheaded, when the King had pardoned them in the abbey church at Tewkesbury by a priest, who turned out at his Mass with the Sacrament in his hands, when King Edward came with his sword in his hand into the church and required him by the virtue of the Sacrament that he should pardon them."²⁹

Warkworth says that this nobleman and the knights might have escaped "if they had not put faith in Edward's word and remained in the church from the Saturday till the Monday, when they were beheaded, notwithstanding the King's pardon" given in so solemn a manner.

Comets played a somewhat important rôle in mediæval wars. One is mentioned as appearing in this same year, the eleventh of Edward IV., as "the most marvelous blazing starre that had been seen." A very long account is given of this comet, which was seen from the beginning of January to February 22, when it vanished away. It is said to have had a white flame of fire "fervently burning, and it flamed end-longs from the east to the west, and it was not upright and there was a great hole therein where the flame came out."³⁰ Its orbit seems to have been most erratic, and "some men said that the blazings of the said star were a mile long."

Several other comets are mentioned in this chronicle of Warkworth's: "In the eighth year of King Edward IV. a blazing star was seen in the west four foot high by estimation, in the evening going from the west towards the north, and so endured for five or six weeks." Again in the tenth year³¹ another blazing star appeared in the west, "and the flame thereof was like a spearhead; divers of the King's house saw it and were full sore dread."³²

Besides comets abnormally stormy weather seems to have been a

²⁹ Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 18.

³⁰ Warkworth, p. 22.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

feature of most wars, and in the middle ages omens, good or evil, were derived from it. Rishanger tells us that tremendous storms and hurricanes occurred on the eve of the battle of Evesham, where de Montfort was killed; both parties interpreted it as an interposition of Providence and the people firmly believed that it was a judgment from heaven for the death of their hero. These storms are mentioned in several other chronicles of the period.

One MS. records that "in that day the sun was darkened, thunder was heard, lightning seen and an earthquake took place."⁸³

Another MS. (Arundel) says: "In the same day, about the third hour of the day, such an inundation of rain, such thunder and lightning and such dense darkness took place that when the dinner hour came the diners could scarcely see the food set before them."⁸⁴

The Worcester Chronicle says "that as in the battle of the Machabees the sun did not shine on our golden shields, nor did the mountains glisten therewith and shine like lamps of fire. But from morning almost up to the sixth hour darkness was upon the whole earth, and the lightning illuminated all the world, and exceedingly the kingdom of England." But the aforesaid Simon, Earl of Leicester, clothed himself with armor like a giant and went out against the adversary with little respect for the other armies."⁸⁵

Rishanger also says that "in this storm so great was the darkness that all were filled with terror, for this wonderful change in the sky came on so suddenly and lasted for half an hour. In some monasteries the monks singing in choir could scarcely see each other or discern the writing in their books before them on account of the darkness."⁸⁶

The third year of Edward the Fourth was very severe: "there was fervent frost and cold throughout England and snow that men could go over the ice and fervent cold."

In none of these chronicles and diaries do we hear of any amusements being provided for the men as in our war, but in the account of the siege of Rouen it seems that the officers contrived to enjoy themselves in the intervals of fighting. Sir Thomas Coningsby tells how on December 11 three or four of them well mounted "went out from this infectious place to take the fresh air, and rode from one village to the other inquiring whose house this was, whose castle that. When told where 'some good and graceful company of ladies was,' after some trouble they were admitted to the house and well banqueted and pressed to stay the night, which we durst

⁸³⁻⁸⁴ Introduction to Rishanger's Chronicle.

⁸⁵ Chron. Wigorn; M. S. Cotton; Introduction, p. 85.

⁸⁶ Rishanger, p. 47.

not. I assure you, sir, the company was not displeasing to my kind heart."²⁷

The officers entertained each other at dinner sometimes and drank carouses and, as he frankly confesses, took too much wine. On one occasion they went to Louviers and spent the day playing tennis and making good cheer. In October they passed two days coursing in the fields, riding and playing at ballone, tennis and the like.

We get one or two glimpses at the military discipline of the time in this diary. Sir Thomas mentions how the lord general sentenced a gentleman of his cornet to be disarmed for striking a woman. This general was the celebrated Lord Essex, who lost his only brother in this siege and himself got into disgrace with his royal mistress, Queen Elizabeth.

Essex held a court-martial on October 21, at which some were condemned to die for going without passports to England and some for other things; he had just returned from a visit to England and experienced his Queen's displeasure, so was perhaps in a severe mood.

On December 12 "a sergeant of pioneers had conspired to lead away from fifty to sixty of the pioneers of the principalest of them into Rouen, which, being discovered, they were, by a council of war thereupon held, all brought to the tree and the sergeant only executed for example in the presence of them all."²⁸

This writer mentions an outbreak of what he calls "the disease of the camp which is a pestilent ague somewhat less than a plague," of which his first cousin, Sir Richard Acton, died and the Earl of Essex had an attack.

In a MS. in the College of Arms, quoted in one of the notes to Warkworth's Chronicle, a very strange account is given to the punishment meted out to Sir Ralph Grey, who rebelled against Edward IV. and was besieged in the Castle of Bamburgh by the Earl of Warwick, who at that time was fighting on Edward's side himself, although he soon after became the leader of the rebels and supported Henry VI.

The MS.²⁹ containing this account also mentions the kinds of guns used in this siege, saying that the Lord Lieutenant ordered all the King's great guns that were charged at once to shoot into the said castle—Newcastle, the King's great gun, and London, the second great gun of iron, which beat the place so that the stones of the walls flew into the sea; Dyson, a brazen gun of the King, smote

²⁷ Journal of the Siege of Rouen, p. 60.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 60.

²⁹ Warkworth's Chronicle. Notes, p. 38-39.

through Sir Ralph Grey's chamber oftentimes, and these, with men of arms and archers, won the Castle of Bamburgh with assault in spite of Sir Ralph Grey and took him and brought him to Doncaster.

There the Earl of Worcester, the Chief Constable of England, sat in judgment and made him a long speech enumerating the knight's offenses and then pronouncing judgment in these terms:

"For these causes dispose thee to suffer penance after the law. The King hath ordered that thou shouldst have thy spurs stricken off by the hard heels with the hand of the master-cook, which he is here ready to do, as was promised at the time that he took of thy spurs; he said to you, as is the custom: 'If thou be not true to thy sovereign lord, I shall smite off thy spurs with this knife, hard by the heel, and then showed him the master-cook ready to do his office with his apron and knife.'"⁴⁰

The judgment then sets forth that the King had further ordered that the King-of-arms and heralds should tear off his coat-of-arms and degrade him of his worship, noblesse and arms, and put upon him a reversed coat-of-arms, which he should wear as he went to execution; but this part of his penance the King had pardoned for the sake of his grandfather, who had suffered trouble for the King's predecessor.

The sentence concludes in this way: "Then, Sir Ralph Grey, this shall be thy penance: Thou shalt go on thy feet to the town's end and there thou shalt be laid down and drawn to a scaffold made for thee, and thou shalt have thy head smitten off, thy body to be buried in the Friars', thy head where it shall please the King."

We have made some little progress in the humanity of our punishments since those days, *Deo gratias*.

There are two or three passages in the letter of George Fleetwood from which we have been quoting above, who it will be noted was fighting against the Germans, which seem to show that the German character was very much the same in his day as it is in ours. Wallenstein's army plundered and destroyed Meisen very much as the German armies have destroyed in this war the Belgian and French and Polish cities through which they have passed.

Again, in discussing under whose name Gustavus' army would serve after his death, this writer makes a significant remark: "For the ambition of the Princes of Germany is so great that none will suffer the other to command." This seems to have been the case on Wallenstein's, or the Catholic and imperial side, quite as much as on the Bohemian and Protestant side on which in this thirty years' war Gustavus Adolphus was fighting.

⁴⁰ Warkworth. Notes, p. 40.

They had no gas, of course, in those days, but their tactics were not unlike those of the twentieth century, for at the beginning of the battle of Lützen the Germans first set the town on fire, "which did the Swedes much inconvenience, the wind blowing the smoke upon them."

And so we come back to the position from which we started—that although the methods of war may differ as the world grows older, human nature remains the same and changeth not.

DARLEY DALE.

Stroud, Gloucestershire.

CERVANTES AND SOME ROMANCES, OLD AND NEW.

FOR a generation of novel readers it would be too bad if the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the death of Shakespeare should eclipse the fact that the same date, though curiously enough because of old style and new style of the calendar the day was not the same, is the tercentenary of the death of the author of what is now universally conceded to be the greatest novel ever written. This is, of course, "*Don Quixote*," and there is no doubt at least in the minds of those who have the best right to an opinion in the matter that its author, Cervantes, is Shakespeare's greatest rival in the realm of purely imaginative literature. Shakespeare is, with Dante and Homer, one of the three supreme poets of mankind, and Cervantes stands far below them in the poetic quality of his work, but in the interest of his characters for subsequent generations he stands close beside our greatest English poet.

How much this means will be readily recognized from the fact that as Horace Howard Furness once said, and no one was in a better position to know the immense Shakespeare literature than the distinguished editor of the great American Variorum edition of Shakespeare, that more had probably been written about Hamlet than about any man who ever lived, except Him Who died upon the cross for us and Who was more than man. This figment of the poet's imagination not only rivals, but actually surpasses in interest for mankind ever since, and above all for the educated classes in mankind, all the human creatures who have come into existence during the past 300 years. Nothing that I know will bring home better for those who are interested in it the meaning of the word poet as a creator in the way the Greeks meant it than this fact with regard to the supreme interest of mankind in Shakespeare's Hamlet. Hamlet is so true to life that he has more interest than the living things around him. Hamlet's greatest rival in this regard is undoubtedly Don Quixote. The novel, then, in which he occurs, declared not by one, but by many generations of critics to be the greatest ever penned, should surely have a place of prominent interest in men's minds at the present time, when every one reads novels and more of them are published than ever before and best sellers are the order of the day, and all of them, though often so trivial, find so many interested readers.

James Russell Lowell did not hesitate to say that "*Don Quixote*" was the one book to which no educated man could afford to miss a reference in any language in Europe. If it might possibly be

thought that this represented the opinion of a more or less professional literary man, perhaps an almost similar opinion of that protagonist of common sense, Oliver Wendell Holmes, may confirm those distrustful of any mere academic quality in his New England colleague. Not to know it is to argue one's self quite literally unknowing in what is worth while in literature. It has not only been translated into all the modern languages, but it has been translated many times. Usually the period of literary life in any nation in Europe was not long under way before a translation of Cervantes' great novel appeared.

Indeed, the tributes to the greatness of "Don Quixote" have come almost more from foreigners than from Spaniards. His own people have just sat down to enjoy it and have assumed that everybody must find it marvelous, and, while they have written many commentaries about it, apparently have not thought it worth while to praise it overmuch. Probably the state of mind most opposed to that of the Spaniard in Europe is to be found in England, yet it is from England particularly that high praise of "Don Quixote" has come to us. Macaulay did not hesitate to call it "the best novel in the world beyond all comparison." Sir Walter Scott followed Henry Fielding in admiring it very much and turning often to it. It was a favorite book of Thackeray's. The first English translation by Shelton appeared as early as 1612, which is of itself a proof that there is something in "Don Quixote" that at once attracts powerfully and holds the attention once aroused. David Hannay, in "The Later Renaissance," a volume of the *Periods of European Literature* edited by Professor Saintsbury, says that the one difficulty in speaking of "Don Quixote" is that one has to come after some of the most illustrious men in the literature of the world who have expressed their opinions with regard to it, and "it may seem that after they have spoken there is nothing left to say." The first duty which this position imposes is not to endeavor deliberately to be different in the vain hope of obtaining originality.

One thing is certain—"Don Quixote" fulfills very completely what Cardinal Newman once ventured to term "at least the accidental definition of a classic," that it pleases in youth, in middle life and in old age. And yet it pleases very differently, for to the growing boy it is often scarcely more than a screaming farce, the practical jokes on poor Don Quixote tickling the nascent sense of humor rather strenuously; to the man of middle age it is one of the world's most serious books, a little discouraging perhaps in spite of its thoroughgoing optimism, because it seems to show that efforts for the amelioration of the evils of the world are largely the work of

leaders who are not themselves quite in their right mind in their forgetfulness of self and thoughtfulness for others. In old age its humor is, if we may believe the older men, thoroughly enjoyed, though it is seen through tears of sympathy for the poor, sad, mad Don.

But then whenever men and women feel at their best there are tears in their eyes. Never a moment of all the deep joys of life are the eyes without moisture that often has a tendency to overflow and run down the cheeks, though there is no question of its being associated with the feelings which are usually thought to be the causes and the occasion for tears.

Perhaps there is one limitation in the interest in "Don Quixote." I am not sure and I suggested hesitatingly, as becomes any such suggestion in our time, but it has always seemed to me that "Don Quixote" has nothing like the same appeal to women that it has to men. The practical jokes, always at least a little cruel, often so rough as to inflict severe suffering, which were played on the poor, dear knight of De la Mancha, are likely to prove deterrent to feminine natures, and I have more than once been told, after having tempted some woman of good literary taste to read "Don Quixote," that the book was quite impossible for her and that she could not understand how men could talk so highly of it and, above all, enjoy it so much as they said they did.

I have a friend who has even ventured to suggest that it is because women are lacking in humor, not entirely, of course, but to a marked degree as compared to men, that "Don Quixote" is lacking in appeal. Some women have an abundance of humor, of course. And then there are, I believe, some white blackbirds. My friend hastened to add that he did not mean at all that women were lacking in wit or the appreciation of wit. Humor is a very different thing from wit. Wit is biting and personal. Humor is kindly and sympathetic, even though it raises a laugh. Wit laughs at people. Humor laughs with them. There is a very great difference between the two.

CERVANTES AND HIS WORK.

Almost needless to say, the story of the life of the man who thus wrote the world's greatest novel should have a special appeal to our generation in these novel-reading days. Cervantes probably never made much money out of his book, though he sadly needed the money. "Don Quixote" was doubtless written under the spur of necessity and with the thought that it would enable him to pay some of his debts and help support himself and his family. According to what seems a well grounded tradition, the first part of "Don

Quixote" was probably written while Cervantes was in prison. He was in prison not through any fault of his own, but because of embezzlement of Government money by a subordinate which Cervantes was quite unable to repay, and it looked for a time as though he would be kept in prison until he made good the defalcation, in which case the outlook for his release in any reasonable time must have seemed extremely dubious. Its date could not be foreseen and the possibility of his spending many months or even years in prison had to be faced.

In spite of this Cervantes not only went on quite calmly with his great imaginative work, but even had it enlarge its aspect under his hand until from a sketch it became a romantic epic, or at least a very *comédie humaine* of his time, with all the world flowing through its pages. For, strange as it may seem, our greatest novel, "Don Quixote," is an example of a genius finding his work gradually expand before him until what he originally expected was going to be a comparatively short, simple story grew into a masterpiece of broad dimensions. It seems to be perfectly clear now that Cervantes' original intention when he took up "Don Quixote" was to write a short comic story, not unlike some of the others which he had been engaged in writing not long before and a number of which he composed later; but, unconsciously at first, the design grew under his hand until at length he came to realize what a fine setting he had for a presentation of human life as he knew it, and then "Don Quixote," even in the first part, became a whole human comedy. We have heard much about the great American novel in this country, the novel that shall somehow present "the form and pressure of the time" not only to ourselves, but to posterity, and over and over again it has been declared that some one of the many novel writers of this time was engaged upon what he hoped would be the great American novel; but it is probable that no great work of art or poetry was ever accomplished in that conscious way. Goethe suggested that the maker of a work of art has often to be taught his own meaning, and there is always an element of unconscious accomplishment in any very great work. Certainly Cervantes' "Don Quixote" is an example of this.

It is curiously interesting to trace the development of Sancho Panza in Cervantes' mind as he proceeded with the development of his novel. As we have said, Cervantes had started out to write a short story. This would have been very well done, almost needless to say, but, having written what constitutes the matter of the first three chapters as we have them now, he realized how much larger was the picture that he wanted to paint than the frame he was try-

ing to crowd it into, so then he divided the material into chapters and let the matter take its course. It was not until he came to the seventh chapter that he realized the opportunity that would be afforded by having as a contrast and a foil to Don Quixote a squire who was a thoroughly practical man and who would thus bring out the traits of the idealist Don Quixote's character and at the same time point the satire of the whole book, so far as the feeling with regard to common sense as the most precious of human qualities is concerned. One might think that he would then go back and rewrite the early portion, but not only he did not, but on first acquaintance with Sancho Panza his author even did not conceive the immortal squire very clearly and proposed apparently to make him an honest country lout, without too much sense. A little later he describes him as a long-legged man, though Sancho Panza was to become the very opposite of Don Quixote in another regard—a short, chunky man with particularly short legs.

In his lectures on Spanish literature delivered in this country some ten years ago, Fitz-Maurice Kelly has described very well this development of Sancho Panza in Cervantes' own mind and how he did not bother his head to go back and make all his work consistent, serenely confident that his readers would not note overmuch these little slips in their interest in the developed contrasting personalities. The Irish student of Spanish literature said:

"Cervantes does not venture to introduce Sancho Panza in person till near the end of the seventh chapter, and he is visibly ill at ease over his new creation. It is quite plain that at this stage Cervantes knew very little about Sancho Panza, and his first remark is that the squire was an honest man (if any poor man can be called honest), 'but with very little sense in his pate.' This is not the Sancho who has survived; honesty is not the most preëminent quality of the squire, and if anybody thinks Sancho Panza a born fool, he must have a high standard of ability. In the ninth chapter Cervantes goes out of his way to describe Sancho Panza as a long-legged man; obviously up to this point he had never seen the squire at close quarters and was as yet not nearly so well acquainted with him as you and I are. He was soon to know him more intimately. Perceiving his mistake, he hustled the long-legged scarecrow out of sight, observed the real Sancho with minute fidelity and created the most richly humorous character in modern literature. The only possible rival to Sancho Panza is Sir John Falstaff; but Falstaff is emphatically English, whereas Sancho Panza is a citizen of the world, stamped with the seal of universality."

CHARACTER CONTRAST AND HUMAN INTEREST.

It has been pointed out over and over again, and quite properly very much emphasized in the celebration of the Shakespeare anniversary, that the most important element in Shakespeare's dramatic success was his power of placing contrasting characters beside each other. This is the secret of the interest that the novel "Don Quixote" has always enjoyed. Contrast is Cervantes' as well as Shakespeare's greatest literary quality.

Don Quixote, the dreamer, who thinks always of others, who wants to relieve all the ills of mankind quite regardless of how much trouble or suffering this may bring on himself, or the risks he may have to run in accomplishing his purpose of affording relief, who always thinks in terms of others, forgetful of self, is, of course, not quite sane. What could possibly be the conclusion as to the mentality of all the rest of us if Don Quixote is to be thought sane?

As in duty bound as a physician more interested in nervous and mental diseases than in any other phase of medicine, I have recently pointed out that it is rather surprising to find that the two characters in which during the past 300 years men have been most interested, Hamlet and Don Quixote, are at least of dubious mentality. The Don is surely insane. There would be no difficulty in pointing out just exactly the kind of paranoia, with delusions of grandeur and exaggeration of the *ego*, from which he was a sufferer. With regard to Hamlet there might be more doubt, for personally I have never been able to persuade myself that Hamlet was insane, though he came mighty near the border line, but it would be quite easy to get any amount of expert evidence to prove his insanity in an American court if he should ever be tried for the murder of his uncle.

Cervantes did not choose an insane hero because he could not draw a perfectly sane individual, for if ever there was an eminently sane man in our modern estimation of sanity, surely this was Sancho Panza. His master may enthuse and forget himself and think only of others and of glory, but Sancho Panza never goes into any adventure without wanting to know what is there in this for him. He is thoroughly modern. He always has an eye to the main chance. He has plenty of homely wisdom and lots of common sense, but above all he has an abundance of readiness to look out always for number one and not bother too much about other people and their woes and trials. As I have suggested, he is properly sorry for them, of course, but not so sorry that he feels that he ought to be expected to do anything for them at any considerable convenience, much less at the risk of injury or loss to himself.

Having created these two wonderfully contrasting characters,

"the impassioned idealist and the incarnation of gross common sense," Cervantes' triumph was immediate. Any one who wants to realize how truly the great heart of human nature beats in its appreciation of what is genuine in literature need only study what happened to Cervantes' work in the course of even a few months. Don Quixote and Sancho were almost at once accepted as great representative human characters. It was not alone in the city that the fame of the books spread, but at once out into the provinces and then beyond the seas to the farthest Spanish and even Portuguese colonies. As FitzMaurice Kelly says in his American lectures:

"The adventures of the fearless Manchegan madman and his timorous practical squire were speedily reprinted in the capital and the provinces; and within six months a writer in Valladolid assumed as a matter of course that his correspondent in the Portuguese Indies must have made the acquaintance of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza."

Hannay, in the volume on "The Later Renaissance" of the series *Periods of European Literature*, edited by Professor Saintsbury, has summed up very well what Cervantes accomplished by the contraposition of these two now immortal characters, for Sancho Panza, though manifestly an afterthought on the part of Cervantes, is quite as immortal as his knightly master:

"In 'Don Quixote' we have two characters acting on one another and producing the story from within. And these two characters are types of immortal truth—the one a gentleman, brave, humane, courteous, of good faculty, for whom a slight madness has made the whole world fantastic; the other an average human being, selfish, not over brave, though no more coward and ignorant, yet not unkindly nor incapable of loyalty, and withal shrewd in what his limited vision can see when he is not blinded by his greed. The continual collisions of these two with the real world make the story of 'Don Quixote.'"

It is the characters in "Don Quixote" that have given the universal interest to Cervantes' story. Cervantes was not lacking in invention, and the faculty of stringing incidents together when he wished to is very well illustrated in Don Quixote himself, but it is the characters of the story that count, and it is these that generation after generation have not read. Hannay, in "The Later Renaissance," from which I have already quoted, says:

"Cervantes had a fine inventive power; the adventures are numerous and varied, yet the charm lies not in the incidents, but in the reality and the sympathetic quality of the persons. We have no grinning world of masks made according to a formula. The

country gentlemen, priests, barbers, shepherds, innkeepers, tavern wenches, ladies' maids, domestic curates, nobles and officials are living human beings, true to the Spain of the day, no doubt, but also true to the humanity which endures forever, and therefore intelligible to all times. In the midst is honest, greedy Sancho, with his peering eyes, so shrewd and withal so capable of folly, the critic and also the dupe of the half-crazed dreamer, by whom he rides and will ride as long as humanity endures, in this book, and under every varying outward form in the real earth. As for Don Quixote, is he not the elder brother of Sir Roger de Coverley, of Matthew Bramble, of Parson Adams, of Bradwardine, of Colonel Newcombe and Mr. Chucks, the brave, gentle, not over clever—men we love all the more because we laugh at them very tenderly?"

Probably the finest triumph of Cervantes' genius is demonstrated from the fact that, quite contrary to the usual fate of those who ventured to promise to write a second part to follow a successful first part of a great literary work, the Spanish writer not only finished the continuation, but achieved in it such marvelous success that this second part of "Don Quixote" is voted by all the critics as surpassing the first. This was the case in spite of the fact that Cervantes was already suffering seriously from a severe form of heart disease, with dropsical complications, which must have made life a sad burden indeed. His physician recognized the fact that the accumulation of water in the dropsy was due to lack of excretion, and so he must have put him on a dry diet, from which Cervantes suffered so much that he says in the prologue to his 'Persiles and Sigismunda,' on which he was working at this time, that "it seemed to him as if he had been born only to quench an unquenchable thirst." He makes Sancho Panza say in the second part: "Death is dropsical and great thirst drives him to drink the lives of all that live."

In spite of all his suffering he forged ahead with the second part of his great work during 1614, though he could see the progress of his disease, as that, too, pressed ahead toward the inevitable fatal termination. During the summer of this year, though he was living in Madrid in a slummy, unventilated quarter of the city, near the city slaughterhouses, where the heat must have been intensely oppressive and the smells most depressing, above all for an invalid, he went on pertinaciously with his work. Any one who remembers the intense dry heat of Madrid in the summertime—I was once there for a week in August and I found that it was quite possible to recognize the visitors to the Spanish capital by the fact that they would be using their tongues to moisten their parched lips as they

walked along the streets—will realize what Cervantes must have borne while going on with his work. He used often to rise at 4 o'clock so as to have the morning hours, when there was some coolness in the air, at least for his task, yet in the midst of all this he composed at the rate of ten chapters in four weeks, and by the end of the summer the composition of this second part must have been so well in hand that he could plainly see the termination of it, which actually came probably in February of the next year, 1615, about a year before the end of his life.

The second part of "*Don Quixote*" is of interest mainly because it represents the mature expression of a great genius with regard to life. Almost needless to say, second parts, even of great works and by great writers, are seldom successful. Even though the vision may deepen, the judgment broaden, the experience widen and maturity come, the second part of a genius' work may be much less satisfactory than the first part; but this was not true of Cervantes and "*Don Quixote*." Even so great a literary master as Goethe, in writing his second part of "*Faust*," furnishes an apt illustration of how easy it is for the second part not to be the equal of the first of an important work, even though it may have cost the author much more of time and effort and he may feel that he is putting his maturer powers into it. Cervantes, genius as he was, was still capable of listening and taking to heart the criticism of his book that in spite of the almost universal admiration for it had been rife. He knew how to differentiate between the criticisms dictated by those who were capable of judging and those which came merely from the hurt vanity of jealous rivals or writers who could not think that this maimed soldier could possibly have written a masterpiece. As Fitzmaurice-Kelly says in his lecture—161:

"Cervantes was not above profiting by criticism. He tells us that objection had been taken to the intercalated stories of the first part and to some scenes of exuberant fun bordering on horseplay. These faults are avoided in the sequel, which broadens out till it assumes a truly epical grandeur. The development of the two central characters is at once more logical and more poetic; *Don Quixote* awakens less laughter and more thought, while *Sancho Panza's* store of apothegms and immemorial wisdom is more inexhaustible and apposite than ever. Lastly, the new personages, from the Duchess downwards to *Dr. Pedro Recio de Aguero*—the ill-omened physician of *Barataria*—are marvels of realistic portraiture. The presentation of the crazy knight and the droll squire expands into a splendid pageant of society. And, as one reads the less elab-

orate passages, one acquires the conviction that the very dust of Cervantes' writings is gold."

He wrote so humanly and so profoundly, manifestly finding in himself the knowledge of human traits that are so universal that one would like to know just how he looked. We have no portrait of him that has been accepted as absolutely authentic. It is, of course, easy to understand that in his poverty of circumstance no portrait might have been made, though it is just a little difficult to think of the Spanish portrait painters of the time, for this was a great age of portrait painting in Europe, and above all Spain was a leader in most forms of art, neglecting such a magnificent opportunity, if they were at all interested in his great book. It is not surprising, then, that the Spanish Academy accepted a portrait of him as authentic recently. Fortunately for us, however, we have a portrait of Cervantes in the flesh painted by his own pen. This furnishes an excellent idea of his personal appearance:

"He was of aquiline features, with chestnut hair, smooth and unclouded brow, bright eyes and a nose arched, though well proportioned; silver beard, once golden twenty years ago; long moustache, small mouth, teeth of no consequence, since he had only six, and these in ill condition and worse placed, inasmuch as they do not correspond to one another; stature about the average, neither tall nor short; ruddy complexion, fair rather than dark; slightly stooped in the shoulders and not very active on his feet."

AN IMMORTAL SATIRE OF VERY PERISHABLE ROMANCE.

"Don Quixote" was written definitely with the idea of making fun of the old-fashioned romances of chivalry which were just then popular. It is one of the few lasting books written as a satire on other books, though it may be recalled that Defoe in "Robinson Crusoe" was not without the intention of satirizing his generation by showing it the depth of meaning there might be in the simple life. "Gulliver's Travels" undoubtedly had a purpose as a political satire. The curiously interesting fact about Cervantes' "Don Quixote" is that while the romances of chivalry have long since disappeared into innocuous desuetude, the interest of "Don Quixote" abides forever. Indeed, most people, and this includes even those who have deliberately striven to acquire a reasonably complete knowledge of literature, would know almost nothing of the romances of chivalry were it not for "Don Quixote," written to ridicule them. Cervantes' primary idea, then, was a satiric squib meant to hit off the absurdities of a mode of literature that had been taken too seriously, as many modes of literature are prone to be taken when

they are in fashion, but his genius gradually broadened the scope of his work until within the narrow compass of a satire, *quidquid agunt homines*—the “whatever men do” of Juvenal, the loves, the fears, the hopes, the deeds all came to be pictured in a sympathetic way, so that men have gone back to them over and over again time after time in life in all the generations ever since Cervantes’ period.

If any one thinks that the romances of chivalry represented an earlier and more primitive set of interests in man, and that with the diffusion of education and the cultivation of the taste for reading among the great majority of people such an ingenuous literary mode was sure to disappear without a great author’s satire of them, then it is time for that person to review other fads and fashions in fiction much nearer our own time. These tales of chivalry were merely types of similar tales that have been constantly with us. The knight-errant was capable of doing wonderful deeds of heroism and escaping unscathed from all sorts of predicaments in which death seemed inevitable. He was not in this respect, however, any more fortunate than the Indian fighter of the Indian stories of our boyhood. Some of them began bang! bang! bang!—five Indians fell or the like. The knight-errant rescued maidens all forlorn and married one of them, but then that is what the hero has been doing from the days when the sleeping princess was bewitched in the magic wood and the Prince Charming came to wake her and claim her for his own through perils that would be deterrent to any but a hero of the very first water. Knights rescuing maidens in distress was the underlying theme of many of the romances, but then so it has been of the popular romances of Ruritania and the other non-existent little countries of Europe in which knightly young Americans, recent graduates of football teams—and our universities—have outwitted, outgeneraled and outheroed the effete Europeans, even of the highest and oldest nobility, and in spite of the dangers of the knife and the assassin pistol and hired bravos and poisons and every other risk have won the maiden for themselves. It is true that giants and enchanters and dragons figured largely in the romances of knight-errantry, but then impossible millionaires and physicians and scientists too subtle for human nature’s ordinary moods and marvelous explosives too marvelous for belief and wonderful secret machines and contrivances that were never seen on land or sea have figured in our modern romances.

Whatever happens to be the ruling interest of the hour figures in the romances of a time. In our time money and science are the two all-absorbing thoughts, so impossible exaggerations with regard to these find their way into our fiction. In the later middle ages

and the Renaissance time, magic white and black and marvelous animals, the stories with regard to which were coming in from travelers who were writing at that time, figured as the marvels of the books, but the human nature in them was just the same and the interest of readers centred not so much in the marvels of the books as in the human nature and its exhibitions of itself under the varying circumstances as they read about them.

CERVANTES' STYLE.

Cervantes' "Don Quixote" is one of the few books of enduring literature in the world with a wide popular appeal, but that has even more of a fascination for the educated than it has for the generality of men, which yet is not a model of style. In our time, with its tendency to relaxation in every regard from the moral law to the rules of prosody, when divorce and *vers libres* are both on the tapis, it is sometimes thought that the shackles of form in writing, whether in verse or good prose, hampers the power of expression and encourages formalism and discourages natural simple expression. Any one who knows the story of good verse knows, however, that the so-called shackles of verse only serve to make the poet think his own thoughts more deeply in laboring to express them in a chosen form.

Still more almost is it true in prose that form counts for much in forcing thought to clearness and exactness. What seems very simple and natural to the reader, almost as if the thought could not have been expressed in any other way, has usually been labored over patiently and often. Styles with the clarity of that of Cardinal Newman are the product of many rewritings, the labor spent over them increasing rather than diminishing as time goes on, for the critical judgment becomes more severe. More and more care is taken just when facility might be expected to give felicity without effort. It is work that counts in the making of great masterpieces, and practically all of them have a finished style.

Don Quixote is, as I have said, an exception, however, for though he can write good Spanish when he wants to, he often does not. In short passages he has been well declared to be one of the greatest masters of Castilian prose—clear, direct and powerful. He soon tires apparently of the effort to keep his style at this level, and then he has a tendency to allow Italian idioms to creep into his sentences or he writes long sentences sometimes packed with needless relatives. As Fitzmaurice-Kelly says in his *Spanish Literature in the "Literatures of the World Series":*

"Cervantes lived not as a great practitioner in style, a Sultan of

epithet, though none could better him when he chose; nor is he potent as a purely intellectual influence. He is immoral by reason of his creative power, his imaginative resources, his wealth of invention, his penetrating vision, his inimitable humor, his boundless sympathy. Hence the universality of his appeal; hence the splendor of his secular renown."

When Don Quixote wanted to and set himself to the task, he could write thoroughly good Spanish in a rather lofty and maintained style. Probably the best example of this is the famous declamation of Don Quixote on that good old time, the Golden Age, which is so often quoted from the book in the anthologies of Spanish prose, and which is therefore often presumed by extensive rather than intensive readers of literature as a typical sample of Cervantes' style. Almost needless to say, it is the farthest possible removed from that and not at all characteristic of Cervantes. Antonio de Guevara, who was much admired at the time, had written a good deal in this manner which was looked upon as "the grand style," and Cervantes set himself to the demonstration of the fact that if he wanted to he could write that way. Meantime the passage itself, if this fact is once understood, is extremely interesting as an illustration of how Cervantes could have written if he wanted to, though most of us are rather glad that he did not allow himself to be tempted to write too much after this fashion.

Don Quixote's declamation on the Age of Gold will be interesting at least to those who have not seen it:

"Happy the age, happy the time, to which the ancients gave the name of golden, not because in that fortunate age the gold so coveted in this, our iron one, was gained without labors, but because they that lived in it knew not the two words 'mine' and 'thine.' In that blessed age all things were in common; to win the daily food no toil was needed from any man but to stretch out his hand and pluck it from the mighty oaks that stood there generously inviting him with their sweet, ripe fruit. The crystal streams and rippling brooks yielded their clear and grateful waters in splendid profusion. The busy and wise bees set up their commonwealth in the clefts of the rocks and the hollows of the trees, offering without usance to every hand the abundant produce of their fragrant toil. . . . Fraud, deceit or malice had not as yet tainted truth and sincerity. Justice held her own, untroubled and unassailed by the attempts of favor and interest, which so greatly damage, corrupt and encompass her about. . . ."

There is probably no book in the world except professed collections of proverbs which contains so many proverbs as "Don Quix-

ote." The Spanish language is, of course, particularly rich in these pithy aphoristic sayings, and Cervantes, who knew all classes of the Spain of his time and had a good memory, must have had an immense collection of them at his command. They are put much more often into the mouth of Sancho than of any other, indeed to such an extent that when Don Quixote in the second part of the adventure instructs Sancho Panza, who has been appointed the Governor of an island, how to act, he suggests particularly that he should not use so many proverbs. Whereupon Sancho immediately proceeds to give forth a series of them.

Don Quixote says: "In the next place, Sancho, do not intermix in thy discourse such a multitude of proverbs as thou wert wont to do, for though proverbs are concise and pithy sentences, thou dost so often drag them in by the head and shoulders that they seem rather the maxims of folly than of wisdom." "God alone can remedy that," quoth Sancho, "for I know more than a handful of proverbs, and when I talk they crowd so thick into my mouth that they quarrel which shall get out first; so out they come haphazard, and no wonder if they should sometimes not be very pat to the purpose. But I will take heed in future to utter only such as become the gravity of my place, 'for in a plentiful house supper is soon dressed;' 'he that cuts does not deal,' and 'with the repique in hand the game is sure;' 'he is no fool who can both spend and spare.' "So, so, there, out with them, Sancho," quoth Don Quixote; "spare them not; my mother whips me and I still tear on. While I am warning thee from the prodigal use of proverbs, thou pourest upon me a whole litany of them, as fitting to the present purpose as if thou hadst sung, 'Hey down derry!' Attend to me, Sancho. I do not say a proverb is amiss when aptly and seasonably applied; but to be forever discharging them, right or wrong, hit or miss, renders conversation insipid and vulgar."

CERVANTES' SHORT STORIES.

The best example of Cervantes' literary work is to be found not in "Don Quixote," but in the Exemplary Novels which were written at various as yet undetermined times during the ten years just before and after the publication of "Don Quixote" and were themselves published in 1613, though it is known they were finished in 1612. It might possibly be expected that the title, *Novelas Exemplares*, which has been translated "exemplary novels," might very well have a different meaning from that implied by the same words in English. We are not accustomed to associate the idea of edification with novels except with those of the Sunday school order, and

they are as far as possible, as a rule, from anything even distantly approaching literature.

What Cervantes meant to write, however, were exactly as the English words imply—short stories furnishing good example. His genius made them the best collection of short stories ever published. In his recent life of Cervantes, Robinson Smith (*"The Life of Cervantes,"* London, Routledge, 1914) emphasizes the fact that though these short stories, twelve in number, were the first short stories in Spain, if we except a few sporadic attempts, and some of them, notably the "Dog's Colloquy," were the first stories in the world to subordinate the action of the narrative to the development and portrayal of character, they are models of this mode of literature, and one of them is the best short story ever written.

As the short story has become so popular in modern times, it might readily be presumed that in the course of time at least this short and simple instrument of expression had greatly developed and improved in successive hands. It is rather interesting to realize that good authorities, who are not themselves Spaniards and therefore not likely to be specially partial judges, and who are looked upon as critics of world literature whose opinion is worth while, have not hesitated to say that Cervantes' literary triumph in this mode of composition was as great as in *"Don Quixote."* Robinson Smith, whom I have just quoted, has gone so far as to declare that "the 'Dog's Colloquy' is incomparably the world's finest short story, as the 'Don Quixote' is its finest novel."

Cervantes was a vigorous and undeviating stickler for morality in literature. The doctrine of art for art's sake regardless of morals had no appeal at all to his common sense and literary canons. He is even on record with the expression, "If by any chance it came to pass that the reading of these novels could tempt any one who should peruse them to any evil desire or thought, rather should I cut off the hand wherewith I wrote them than bring them out in public." There is indeed a well established tradition that he submitted the stories in manuscript to a friend, and on his advice deliberately changed the ending of one of them in order to make it exemplary, and another, the feigned aunt, *"La Tia Fingida,"* he is said to have suppressed altogether. I wonder if there is another such example on record of a genius submitting calmly to a critic's judgment? Cervantes was always proud to maintain that the first part of *"Don Quixote"* "did not contain, so far as any one could point out, the suggestion of an obscene word or a thought less than Catholic." Nothing so disturbed him as the fact that a false second part of *"Don Quixote"* was foisted upon the public which was full

of indecencies. Probably nothing forced him more effectively to fulfill his promise to write a second part himself than this imposition on the public.

In criticizing it he wrote very emphatically that "as thoughts must be kept from things filthy and obscene, how much more the eye?" Cervantes himself is as pure, so far as any allurements to vice can possibly be found in his writings, as Homer himself. How strange it is to have to go back to the first great pagan writer to find an adequate parallel in this matter for Cervantes! It is curiously interesting to realize that practically none of the great writers have ever written anything that have made vice alluring. Viciousness—there is no other word for it—has been left for the smaller fry of literature who must attract readers by sensuous bait because they have no worthier message. If there were such a thing as the progress in literature that so many people suppose one might well expect that while earlier writers, closer as it were to the beast, might indulge in almost unlimited sensuality, in our precious time, when presumably the mark of the beast is growing faint in us, there would be at least ever so much less attention to this element of interest if it had not entirely disappeared from our literature. Just the opposite is true, and the earlier writers have much less of appeal to the animality of man than those of our time. In "Don Quixote" Cervantes suggested that the life of the writer had a good deal to do with his customs in this matter. He said: "If the poet be chaste in his living, no less will he be in his lines. The pen is the tongue of the soul: as are the thoughts engendered there, so will the writer's poems appear."

LITERATURE AND HUMAN PROGRESS.

Because of the depth of its characterization, "Don Quixote" may be set down, then, beyond all doubt as the greatest novel ever written. Certainly the interest of mankind in it in all ages and all countries, in all languages and all times, nor alone the academically inclined, but men of all kinds, and its thoroughly enduring attraction for them during more than three centuries would seem to indicate this. It will probably seem a surprise to a great many people that not only the greatest, but also the most interesting of novels should have been written so long ago. There is a very prevalent impression that there is constant and consistent, indeed almost inevitable, progress in power of expression in any mode of literature, and that after a time the evolution of mankind brings in a more perfect use of the mode than at the beginning. This idea of almost inevitable advance in mankind and its achievement is constantly contradicted

by the history of the race, and probably nowhere more than in literature.

The writer who is large enough of mentality to conceive a new order of literature, a new mode of expression, some hitherto undescribed phase of life and its interests, is practically always large enough also to execute the first specimen of that mode, though often it is a single specimen, at least as well as and often better than any one else will be able to do it. Homer invented the epic and probably wrote the greatest epic poems that we have. The writer of "Job" gave us a marvelous dramatic poem on the subject of the mystery of evil in the world, and though other great poets have taken this same theme and made masterpieces, and among them are such works of genius as Æschylus' "Prometheus," Shakespeare's "Hamlet," Calderon's "El Magico Prodigioso" and Goethe's "Faust," none of these surpass "Job" in literary quality or in the completeness with which they bring out this great mystery of human life.

The same thing is true nearly everywhere in literature. The first great dramas of the Greeks are among the greatest ever written. The very first man who ever put three people talking on the stage, Æschylus, bringing about thus the evolution of dialogue into drama, in the very first drama in which he attempted the daring innovation, "Prometheus," made a masterpiece that has, in the opinion of most critics, never been excelled and very seldom rivaled in all the subsequent history of the drama. Pindar's "Odes," though he must be looked upon as an inventor in this order of literature, have probably never been surpassed, and the earliest writers of sonnets in the thirteenth century made some of the greatest contributions to this form of literature ever achieved. It might possibly be thought that while absence of progress would perhaps be noted in the history of the more artificial modes of literature, this would not be the case as regards the novel which transcribes ordinary life. Practice and the following of models of successive generations and the lessons to be secured from preceding writers might well be expected to lead to a climax of perfection in this literary order, but those who think so are not familiar with the history of literature in what concerns the novel.

There never was a time when novel writing was so lucrative, novels never made so much money for their writers, to say nothing of publishers and booksellers, as at the present time, but there is almost an universal consensus that novels have never been so trivial, so insignificant in all that concerns real life as at the present time. Not that we have not an abundance of clever writing, but there is little of thought. There is plenty of style about our novels, but

there is no vision in them worth while talking about. Manner occupies the attention of writers to the exclusion of matter and distinction is a vanishing quantity. There is no more difference between them than there is between a series of fashionably dressed women conscious that their dressmakers are making exclusive models for them—and yet all of them strictly in style. The climax of evolution in the novel-writing industry shows the novelists of this generation either all written out or else writing so much merely to attract attention that the really deep, significant thoughts of life and its meaning are excluded from the purview.

Even the successful writers of to-day are quite willing to confess this, and when one of our quasi-literary journals not long since asked the writer of the most successful novels of the year to pick out their six favorite novels, it was found that the average age of the favorite novels thus chosen was nearly 100 years. Not one of them had picked out a recent novel, and only one or two novels written even within fifty years were chosen as worthy of a place among the six favorites by any of the modern novelists.

Any one who thinks of "Don Quixote," written 300 years ago and more, as not likely to be of interest at the present time because an author writing nearly ten generations ago could scarcely know enough about men as we know them to appeal to the readers of this generation, should recall our experience with regard to English novels. The two most popular novels in English are old, and, while not so old as "Don Quixote," they have a very respectable age as things go. Both of them are nearly 200 years of age. These two most popular novels in English—and they are not likely to lose their popularity for as long as this stage of civilization lasts—are "Robinson Crusoe" and "Gulliver's Travels." The curious thing is that these are still best sellers and nearly every year sees new editions of them, and the witchery of the stories has its fascination for each succeeding generation which comes under their influence. After these hundreds of years we have no stories like them, and probably never will have. They are just sparks of genius thrown off so naturally that their authors probably never thought of them as literature at all, but even a little consideration of them helps one to understand "Don Quixote" and its place in literature much more easily than before.

CERVANTES' FAMILY AND SOME SCANDALS.

Cervantes was very probably a physician's son. His father, however, does not seem to have made a very great success of his profession, at least if we can judge from the fact that he moved from

place to place as the failures or ne'er-do-wells in the profession so often do. He shifted his abode from Alcalá de Henares, where his first five children were born, to Valladolid, where he spent the six years from 1555 to 1561, and then to Madrid, where he lived for three years until 1564, and then to Seville, where he spent two years, and then back again to Madrid, where he spent the next twenty years. Perhaps a serious deafness, so complete in 1578 that he could not hear papers read aloud in court and was obliged for the purposes of the record to read them over to himself and say that he understood and acknowledged the acceptance of them, hampered grievously his professional success. Altogether he had seven children, and he seems to have succeeded in keeping the wolf from the door in spite of the removals and his deafness, though the family must always have felt the grind of necessity and have never had any luxuries.

As Robinson Smith says: "Probably, then, Cervantes belonged to that great class, the class from which nearly all great men have sprung, which, having sufficient to keep the wolf from the door, must yet make its own living and so keep determination in the blood. The children of these families are not shut off from the essentials of education by dire poverty, nor are they made selfish, on the other hand, by having everything they want." They early learn in the school of adversity to be natural and human toward all men. They learn to lend a helping hand, and though hard luck often becomes a kind of habit with them, it is surprising how often, sometimes helped by the other members, some of the family pulls magnificently through. It may be well to recall that Shakespeare, Cervantes' greatest contemporary, went through a corresponding set of experiences over in England about the same time. Shakespeare's father also made a failure of life and of business and the family knew what debt was, and, almost as much as Dante himself, both the Shakespeare and Cervantes families must have known how bitter it was to eat the bread of others' tables. Yet out of such environments great genius lifted itself up and saw the meaning of life far more deeply than those have ever done who, having the leisure and none of the carking cares of existence, might be expected to have more time and better opportunity to cultivate their powers with less hindrance of their vision.

Very early in life Cervantes seems to have taken a lively interest in the theatre, or at least in dramatic performances, such as they were at that time. In the Preface to his Comedies he himself has told us how meagre were the properties and how jejune the apparatus of the traveling companies of players. He tells us that "The

whole paraphernalia of a whole manager of plays was contained in a sack and consisted of four white sheepskin dresses trimmed with gilt leather, and four beards, wigs and shepherds' crooks, more or less." The stage consisted of "benches arranged in a square, with five or six planks on top of them raised but four handbreadths from the ground." Back of the stage an old blanket was hung, behind which was the greenroom, where the actors made up and dressed and were in readiness for their stage appearances. Another old blanket drawn aside by two ropes formed the curtain. The performances took place in a public square, as now with strollers at a country fair, and was given twice a day, in the forenoon and in the afternoon, because, of course, there were no lighting arrangements for evening performances.

A very interesting note for the history of nursing, which is at the same time an index of the family poverty, is to be found in the fact that Dr. Rodrigo Cervantes' daughter Andrea, a sister of our Cervantes, the writer, evidently sometimes nursed her father's patients. There is extant a deed of the year 1568 which states that Andrea, then twenty-five years of age, nursed one Juan Locadelo, who, "absent from home and temporarily residing in the city of Madrid and at the Court of His Majesty, was made comfortable by her and cured of some infirmities I have had, as well she as her father, and did for me and on my behalf many other things wherefor I am bound to remunerate and reward them." By the deed he bestows on Doña Andrea 300 gold crowns, together with many pieces of furniture, articles of clothing and jewels of value, which the girl receives and acknowledges gratefully. The giver asks that these donations should serve as part of her dowry.

This deed makes it clear how some of the medical problems of the older time were solved. Here was a man away from home at court and without his family to care for him, stricken with a prolonged illness, a physician might suggest on theoretic grounds typhoid fever or something of that kind, for the disease was very common, though as yet unrecognized from many other diseases at that period. Such a patient manifestly needs a good, constant nurse, so the doctor sends his daughter, whom he could trust and who had doubtless been properly instructed, and then the patient, when he recovers, is appropriately grateful for this family care of him.

Sad to relate, at least part of this dowry of Andrea and most of that of her sister Magdalena and apparently nearly everything else that the family possessed was exhausted, and probably even in addition considerable debts contracted, in order to pay the ransom of Cervantes and his brother when they were taken prisoners by the

Moors. It is in the records that their father owned some real estate in Seville in 1564, but after the ransoming of one son he is called a "poor man," and after the ransoming of his second son (1580), no member of the family seems ever to have been counted by those with whom they had been on a footing of equality before as more than poor relations.

Biographers have as ever been intent on finding and exploiting any hint of scandal that there might be in Cervantes' life. Isabel de Saavedra is said to have been his natural daughter. There is, however, not a little of uncertainty about that, and it is perfectly possible to make out a case for her being the daughter of Cervantes' wife. Cervantes' niece refers to her as a cousin. The main foundation for the scandalous story seems to lie in an impossibility of making certain dates in the age of Isabel and the date of Cervantes' marriage harmonize. The more one knows about the attitude of all Spaniards at that time towards the question of their ages, and above all the attitude of Spanish women, as of most women at all times with regard to this precious secret of their age, the clearer it becomes that arguments founded on ages stated even in documents make an extremely tenuous foundation for any story. There is a statement of Isabel's age in 1605, when she testified that she was twenty. Cervantes was married in December, 1584, so that the scandal becomes minimized at least. As a matter of fact, Isabel's testimony means nothing, for in 1639 she said she was forty, though there is good reason to know that she was nearly sixty. We have seen that Cervantes himself understood his age on a few occasions, and his sisters were at least as careless as he was in this matter. His sister Andrea testified that she was fifty, when she had already seen sixty, and as for Magdalena, the younger sister, she apparently was never born in the same year twice. Above all, the women seemed to have had the habit of staying at a certain age—something like thirty or forty or fifty—for a number of years until they got ready to change for some other standard age. It was an American lady, I believe, who said, when on swearing that she was thirty and her attention was called to the fact that she had sworn two years before that she was thirty, that she was not one of these people who swore to one thing to-day and another to-morrow. Some such explanation as that would be needed for the Cervantes' women's ages as we have then in various documents.

The fact of the matter is that though certain biographers have made so much of a scandal, there is very little definite evidence for it, and many now reject it entirely. In quite the same way much has been made of Shakespeare's early marriage and the fact that

he married a woman so much older than himself and that their child was born within a few months after their recorded marriage has been exploited as a scandal, yet many biographers have come to feel not only the possible, but even probable truth of another explanation for these circumstances, which has been offered only during the last few years. Shakespeare's family was Catholic, as is well known, and so were the Hathaways, and it might well be expected that the marriage in these two families would take place before a priest, one of whom was known to be in hiding in Shottery about this time. After a while, however, it was found that such a marriage performed by a priest was no longer a legal marriage in England, and therefore the young married couple were bundled by Ann Hathaway's uncles over to Luddington, some six miles across country—far enough away so as to attract no attention—at a time when travel was slow and newsgathering unsystematic. They were there married formally by an Anglican clergyman under the only form of marriage recognized as legal in England at that time.

Scandal mongers love a shining mark, and biographers have even not hesitated to venture upon the innuendo that the payment of Juan Locadelo to Andrea Cervantes had some evil imputation in it. There is not the slightest reason for thinking that, however, except that some men must have the bones of great reputations to pick or they are not satisfied. Not only the evil that men do lives after them and the good is oft interred with their bones, but at times even evil that men did not do becomes attached to their names and is bandied about because little men must have such toothsome morsels of scandal to satisfy their craving for indulgence of feeling over the evil among men.

RELATIONS WITH THE CLERGY.

Cervantes' relations with the clergy of Spain all through his life are extremely interesting. Many a poor boy who was clever secured his opportunity for education at this time, and indeed for centuries before and after, through the friendship of the parish priest. From the kindly words that he had to say about one of them when there is question of the library at the beginning of "*Don Quixote*," Cervantes seems to have had a good deal of affection for the parish priest. More than one biographer has suggested that this kindly feeling must have been due to the fact that a parish priest had helped him in the first steps at least of his early education. Of course, there is very little evidence beyond this kindly description of the parish priest on which to found any such declaration, but the relations of Cervantes with the clergy later in life on many occasions would give a good deal of color to it.

(Note: Very few people know that something of this same kind has been said of Shakespeare on no more evidence probably than Rosalind's expression in "As You Like It," when Orlando suggests, "Your accent is something finer than you could purchase in so removed a dwelling." And Rosalind replies, "I have been told so of many, but indeed an old religious uncle of mine taught me to speak." A religious uncle, however, as some of us know, is not necessarily a priest, and Rosalind expressly declares that this one fell in love and evidently was not happy in it, for she says, "I have heard him read many lectures against it, and I thank God I am not a woman to be touched with so many giddy offenses as he hath generally taxed their whole sex withal.")

From a passage in his famous short story, which competent critics have declared the best short story ever written, "The Dog's Colloquy," it has been declared by biographers, and the contention is emphasized by his latest biographer in English, Robinson Smith, that Cervantes was a student in the Jesuit school at the age of sixteen or seventeen. The Jesuit schools at this time in Spain were always free, and as we know that Cervantes' father was at Seville in 1564-65, the description in "The Dog's Colloquy" of the "two sons who were studying grammar in the school of the Company of Jesus" might very well be Cervantes and his younger brother, though in that case he underestimates both his own age and that of his brother. This may have been due to the fact that Cervantes was deliberately trying to conceal, or at least disguise somewhat, the personal elements in the story, or, as is pointed out by Robinson Smith, it may have been due to an inveterate habit that Cervantes had of understating his age. Either he was not quite sure about it or else he lopped off a year or two or a little more nearly every time that he mentioned it.

There is a passage in "The Dog's Colloquy" which shows very clearly how much Cervantes thought of the Jesuits and their education. It deserves to be recalled in connection with the tercentenary if for no other reason than to remind us 350 years later of the merits of a great system of education which is still with us:

"I straightway derived pleasure from seeing the affection, the settled behaviour, the anxiety and industry with which those blessed fathers and masters taught those children, strengthening the tender shoots of their youth so that they might not bend or take an evil direction in the path of virtue, which conjointly with letters they kept pointing out to them. I began to consider how they rebuked their pupils with sweetness, chastised them mercifully, animated them with examples, stimulated them by rewards and overlooked

their shortcomings with judgment, and, finally, how they described to them the ugliness and horror of vice and sketched for them the loveliness of virtue in order that, loathing the one and loving the other, they might attain the end for which they were educated."

After having been at the Jesuit school for a while, if we accept these details in the story of "The Dog's Colloquy" as autobiographical, Cervantes may have been for a time at the University of Salamanca. A hundred years ago a professor of rhetoric at Salamanca declared that he had seen Cervantes' name on the registers as a student of philosophy for two years. This record also told where he resided, but there is no such record extant now. In his short story (one of the *Novelas Ejemplares*), "The Licentiate of Glass," there are some details of student life at the University of Salamanca which has been assumed as evidence of his having studied there as a student page. If these passages are to be taken also as autobiographical, they throw an interesting light on Cervantes' younger years which show that the boy was father to the man, for Cervantes was always well beloved by those who knew him. He tells of this student that "in a few weeks Thomas showed signs of possessing rare intelligence, serving his masters with such fidelity, punctuality and diligence that although he did not fail in any degree in his studies, it appeared that he was wholly occupied in waiting on them; and as the good service of the servant creates in his master the inclination to treat him well, presently Thomas was not the servant of his masters, but their companion. He most distinguished himself in the humanities and had such a happy memory that it was a thing to wonder at."

The professors in the philosophical department at the university of this time would be practically all clergymen or clerical students. The office of a "student page" was to run errands for the masters, but also to do many other things, such as copying, consulting books, finding passages for quotations and the like, and very probably also taking care of their rooms in various ways. We have reverted once more in our universities to a notable degree to having as university servants, waiters, sweepers, carers for furnaces, pages and the like—university students whose pecuniary position in life is not such as would enable them to afford a university education without the help provided by the salary or allowances for fees attached to such service. Not infrequently these men who are "working their way through college" are among the best students. Cervantes seems to have anticipated these familiar conditions of the modern times nearly 350 years ago. In our own time, too, it not infrequently

happens that the student workers become popular both among the masters and among their fellow-students who are not snobs.

After a time the poverty of his family seems to have demanded that Cervantes should take up some occupation that would enable him not only to support himself, but also contribute materially to the family maintenance. We know that for a time he was an attendant at court, though in what specific capacity is not known. The Cervantes family were descended from an old noble family of Spain, as the presence of the *de* in the name Miguel Cervantes de Saavedra indicates. The family was very much descended, however, but still it retained its nobility, and therefore Miguel would have the privilege of certain offices at court that could only be held by those of noble birth.

It is not probable, however, that this court function paid very much, but Cervantes was not destined to hold the post long. Lord Byron once said that Cervantes laughed Spain's chivalry away, but so far from truth is that expression that it is almost literally accurate to say that in writing "*Don Quixote*" he was just picturing his own character as it actually was. The quixotic part of him soon manifested itself in his court life, and as a consequence his career of nightly adventures had its beginning.

According to a tradition that is well founded, one day another of the young sprigs of noblemen in attendance at court spoke slightly of a lady of their acquaintance. Cervantes without hesitation drew his sword to defend the woman's honor. He was at once arrested, and as to draw a sword within the precincts of the royal palace was punishable by loss of the right hand, it looked as though Cervantes would be maimed for life as the result of his chivalry. So as to avoid the consequences of his chivalrous indiscretion, he was given the opportunity, with the influence of some friends, to fly from Madrid, but he had to become a voluntary exile from his country. The next thing we hear of him he is in Italy occupying the post of chamberlain or personal upper servant to the young Cardinal Aquaviva. As the young Cardinal was one of the best known and most influential members of the Italian nobility, noted for his scholarship and his patronage of learned men, there gathered around him a coterie of learned and elegant gentlemen, and after a time Cervantes apparently was treated by these almost as an equal. He spent three or four years there, and these seem to have been the happiest years of his existence.

CERVANTES, THE CRUSADER.

Peace and happiness in pleasant intellectual surroundings were

to be Cervantes' lot in life, however, and so it was not long before we find him engaged in another quixotic adventure. The Turks had recovered from the setbacks given them by the crusades of the later Middle Ages and were again encroaching on Europe. At this time particularly they were making life and trade almost impossible in the Eastern Mediterranean. Thousands of Christians were falling into the hands of their almost piratic galleys and were being sold as slaves. They had learned their own power at sea so thoroughly, or at least had come to despise the Christian marine so much, that their arrogance knew almost no bounds. There had to be confederation of the Christian nations for marine warfare or else a submission to the Turks, and so what was in effect a crusade was organized against them. The Pope felt that Christendom was at stake and offered the privileges of crusaders to those who joined the marine forces.

In his lecture at the University of Pennsylvania on Cervantes two years ago (Note: University lectures delivered by the members of the faculty in the Free Public Lecture Course, 1913-14, published by the University of Pennsylvania, 1915, Philadelphia), Professor Hugo Rennert summed up in a brief paragraph one incident in the history immediately preceding the battle of Lepanto which makes it very clear why the Christians should have fought so bravely in that battle and how the great soul of Cervantes must have been touched to its very depths with the resolve that no more such outrages on his fellow-Christians should be allowed to pass with impunity. Professor Rennert said: "In 1570 the Sultan of Turkey, Selim II., made a peremptory demand on the Venetian Republic to surrender the Island of Cyprus. And these demands having been rejected, the question could only be settled by force of arms. Venice naturally sought allies—she gained first the Pope, Pius V., then Philip II. of Spain. Both sides were now preparing for the struggle. We need not go into detail concerning the petty bickerings of the allies, which, in fact, never entirely ceased during the whole campaign; nor need we more than mention the terrible tale of the siege by the Turks of Famagosta, on the Island of Cyprus. Mark Antonio Colonna failed to relieve the town, which finally surrendered upon terms highly favorable to the garrison, which had made a gallant resistance for eleven months. Of course, the Turk never had any intention to respect the terms of surrender. The heroic Baglione and his chief officers were hacked to pieces by the Turkish janissaries, but a much more horrible fate was reserved for the gallant Bragadino. After having his ears and nose cut off, he was flayed alive and his skin, stuffed with straw, was swung up to the yardarm of the Turk-

ish Pasha's galiot. This was the enemy the league was to meet." The battle of Lepanto took place October 7, 1571. The morning of the battle Cervantes was prostrated with a high fever. His physician forbade him to go on deck. Cervantes said that he would rather die on deck than below, so he crawled up, almost unable to stand and quite unable to do any fighting. According to tradition, however, he proved very useful in helping to make fast the Christian vessel he was on to a Turkish galley, so that boarding might be accomplished without difficulty. While doing this his left hand was nearly cut off by a Turkish scimitar, and ever after he was proud to be known as "the maimed soldier of Lepanto." For his bravery he was mentioned in the dispatches and was singled out for honorable distinction. The issue of the battle was for some time in doubt, but the event is well known. For the sake of the location of Cervantes' life on its proper background, it may be well to recall that the day of the battle Pope St. Pius V., engaged in consultation with the Cardinals in Rome, suddenly rose, went to the window and looked long toward the south, where the battle was being fought. He then came back, announcing that God had given a victory to the Christians, asked that a *Te Deum* should be sung and added the invocation *Help of Christians* to the "Litany of the Blessed Virgin."

FIVE YEARS OF SLAVERY.

In spite of his crippled hand Cervantes seems after his recovery to have served as a marine on Christian galleys for the extermination of Moslem pirates for the next three or four years. Then while on his way back to Spain, his services in the crusade against the Turks having apparently won him impunity for his youthful escape at court, he was captured by a Turkish vessel and brought to Algiers. The next five years were spent as a slave in Algiers. His cleverness and his ability as an entertainer made him a favorite of the Governor's. He used his favor at court, however, for the help of his fellow-Christians. His hatred of the Moslems never ceased and he organized a series of revolts and attempts to escape, for which he always insisted on taking the whole blame when failure came, as it did on no less than three occasions. Once he was about to be hanged, but was saved by the Governor, and when his ransom eventually came he was actually on board a vessel to be carried to Constantinople to be sold as a slave in the East because of a last organization of Christians for escape which had exhausted the Governor's patience. A sum of money had previously come for his ransom, but was deemed insufficient by the Turks, who now valued him more highly than at first, and Cervantes, instead of having the

money kept until more could be added to it for his own release, insisted that since a ransom had come some one should be freed and another Christian sent home. He did this in spite of the fact that it was not very clear that the full sum for his ransom could ever be raised.

He had the good fortune, however, to benefit by a similar occurrence a little later. A Spanish nobleman had been captured and was being held by the Turks, and the ransom had come for him, but was not deemed sufficient, so Cervantes was ransomed. We know the name of that nobleman, though there is not the slightest use of mentioning it here, for absolutely the only reason that led to the preservation of his name from oblivion is that on this occasion he was considered of so much greater value than Cervantes that he had to remain in captivity while the man whom succeeding generations have come to look upon as his greatest fellow-countryman of that time went free.

We have a high compliment paid to Cervantes for his wonderful work among the Christian slaves during these years in Algiers. "His noble Christian, honest and virtuous character made him the particular envy of the other captives," said one who knew him. His conduct, said another, "gained him renown, honor and a crown among the Christians." Of his captivity and deeds," says Archbishop Haedo, "a particular history might be made," adding, "None did more good among the captives than Cervantes or showed more honor among them; some, renegades, he tried to restore to the true faith; to others, poor captives, he gave to eat and tried to stay the ill-treatment of their masters; to others he sent verses which he had composed in praise of Our Lord, His Blessed Mother, the Most Holy Sacrament and other holy things worthy of our devotion. For himself the great lesson of these five years was, as he says, the lesson of patience in adversity."

In his recent life of Cervantes, Robinson Smith says (page 37):

"Algiers in those days was a polite name for hell. Twenty-five thousand slaves toiled under merciless masters, who withheld from them sufficient food. The streets of the city were choked with the bodies of those that had perished of starvation or terrible disease. One of the captives records: 'Great are the miseries, labors, tortures and martyrdoms suffered these days by captive Christians in the power of Turks and Moors, chiefly in Algiers.' And Cervantes himself records how, herded together in so-called baths, these slaves lived out their wretched existence. 'But though hunger and nakedness tormented us at times, nothing pained us so much as to hear and see each day the never-seen and unheard-of cruelties that my

master used toward our brother Christians. Every day he hanged one of his captives, impaled this one, cropped the ears of another, and this with so little occasion and so frequently without it that the Turks knew that he did it solely for the sake of doing it and through being by nature the murderer of the entire human race.' This is said of the Viceroy or King of Algiers, Hassan Pasha."

(Note: It would be easy to think the cruelties practiced in Algiers represent that **old time barbaric cruelty which characterized men's relations in the past and which the gradual amelioration of feeling among men has long since done away with.** I need scarcely remind this generation, however, that during our Civil War the prisoners at Andersonville and Libby were treated with scarcely less cruelty, and while the South was but little to be blamed because of the lack of resources, our Northern prisons, without any such excuse, were quite as bad. We are learning some details of war prisoners in Europe just now that are not very pleasant to think about.)

CERVANTES, THE AUTHOR.

Having been ransomed, Cervantes returned to Madrid, a maimed soldier, to make his living as best he could. As one of his biographers said, he found that the sword was mightier than the pen so far as affording a living was concerned, for he nearly starved. He did all sorts of work—wrote plays and poems and short stories, though he was probably past fifty before he wrote his first short story, and he had been scarcely more than a hack writer before this. One play of his, "Numantia," has been declared worthy of a place in world literature. It tells the story of the siege of Numantia by the Romans, when the city was not captured until every inhabitant was dead. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when one of Napoleon's marshals was besieging Saragossa, the modern name for old Numantia, the Governor of the city, when the people were clamoring for surrender because they were starving, bethought him of having Cervantes' play given in the market place. It was received with so much enthusiasm that the French, deceived by the new spirit displayed by the Spaniards in resistance, shortly after gave up the siege. Cervantes probably in his highest enthusiasm for his work would never have wished for a higher tribute to it than this.

It must be confessed, however, that most of Cervantes' work was rather commonplace. The patronage of some of the nobility enabled him to get along, but he, like Dante, must have known how bitter it was to eat the bread of others' tables. He got married, and then he lived in the lowest quarters of the city—the street of the slaugh-

terhouse. After a time, through influence, as a sort of pension for his soldiering, he was given a Government position, and then the clerk whom he hired, an old soldier like himself, employed so as to keep him from starvation, embezzled some of the Government money passing through his hand, for which Cervantes was responsible. Cervantes was thrown into prison, and it looked for a time as though his imprisonment might be indeterminate and for a very long period. The Government insisted on the restoration of the money before his release, and as Cervantes could not get the money, the future was blank enough.

It was under these circumstances that what has sometimes been called the most optimistic of books was written. James Russell Lowell, in his address on "Don Quixote," read at the Workingmen's College, Great Ormond street, London, and published in "Democracy and Other Addresses" (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1887), after suggesting that all he can hope to do is make a few illustrative comments on this immortal book, "which may tend to throw a stronger light on what I shall not scruple to call its incomparable originality, both as a conception and a study of character," goes on to say:

"It is one of the few books that can lay undisputed claim to the distinction of being universal and cosmopolitan, equally at home in all languages and welcome to all kindreds and conditions of men; a human book in the fullest sense of the word; a kindly book, whether we take that adjective in its original meaning of natural or in its present acceptation, which would seem to imply that at some time or other, not too precisely specified in history, to be kindly and to be natural had been equivalent terms. I can think of no book so thoroughly good natured and good humored, and this is the more remarkable because it shows that the optimism of its author had survived more misfortune and disenchantment than have fallen to the lot of many men, even the least successful."

As Mr. Lowell brought our very well in that collegiate address, Cervantes' experience of life was such that it might very well be expected that he would bring out the sadder side of life, and yet his book is highly optimistic. It is only when the details of Cervantes' sad experiences are stated cumulatively in the way that Lowell lists them that one can understand readily how striking this attitude of Cervantes' mind is. Mr. Lowell said:

"I suspect that Cervantes, with his varied experience—maimed at the battle of Lepanto, a captive in Algiers, pinched with poverty all his life and writing his great book in a debtors' prison—might have formed as just an estimate of the vanity of vanities as the author

of the 'Book of Ecclesiastes.' But the notion of Weltschmerz, or the misery of living and acting in this beautiful world, seems never to have occurred to him, or, if it did, never to have embittered him. Had anybody suggested the thought to him, he would probably have answered, 'Well, perhaps it is not the best of all possible worlds, but it is the best we have or are likely to get in my time. Had I been present at this creation, I might, perhaps, as Alfonse the learned thought he might, have given some useful advice for its improvement, and, were I consulted even now, could suggest some amendments in my own condition therein. But, after all, it is not a bad world, as worlds go, and the wisest plan, if the luck go against us, is to follow the advice of Durandarte in the Cave of Montesinos, 'Patience, and shuffle the cards.' His sense of humor kept his nature sweet and fresh and made him capable of seeing that there are two sides to every question, even to a question in which his own personal interest was directly involved. In his dedication of the second part of "Don Quixote" to the Conde de Lemos, written in old age and infirmity, he smiles cheerfully on Poverty as on an old friend and lifelong companion. St. Francis could not have looked with more benignity on her whom he chose, as Dante tells us, for his bride.'"

After a time Cervantes was released and then he took up his hard scratching literary life once more. His books sold well, but copyright laws were imperfect and within a very short time a pirated edition of the book was issued in Lisbon and sold freely throughout Spain. It must have been some consolation to Cervantes to know that his book was read in both the East and West Indies, and that before his death there were translations of it in English, French and Italian, but that must not have helped much to fill the stomachs of himself or his family when they felt particularly the need of it. Undoubtedly there were times when it was only the hard manual labor of his women folk in sewing, and perhaps also in washing, which enabled them to get the absolute necessities of life. We have the bill of his sister issued to a neighboring noble family for some needlework done for them in Cervantes' handwriting. Probably his sister could not write. That original bill sold for many times what it was made out for as a curio the other day in Madrid. How the Cervantes family would have welcomed some of the rich proceeds of this long subsequent sale!

In the meantime Cervantes' relations to the Church continued to be of the best. The Spanish Inquisition required the omission of certain passages that would seem to reflect on the Spanish clergy, but Cervantes took the censorship quite as calmly as writers gen-

erally have learned to take censorship in our time. Just about the time that the first part of "Don Quixote" was finished, he joined the Confraternity of the Slaves of the Blessed Sacrament, a religious organization whose main duty was to take part in processions on Corpus Christi and other Church festivals, particularly in honor of the Blessed Sacrament. It was not unlike our Holy Name Society of the present time. His sisters and wife became members of the Third Order of St. Francis, and shortly before his death he joined the Third Order himself and asked that he should be buried in the habit of the order. He seems to have been rather intimately associated with the Franciscans, or perhaps I should say the Franciscans seemed to have been interested in him. His sister Magdalena was buried by the Franciscans manifestly because none of her relatives could afford the burial expense and this was a special form of almsgiving.

When the end of life was pressing on him and he could no longer do anything for himself or his family, the Franciscans were his refuge. He and his wife were harbored during a portion of the last year of his life in the house of a Franciscan priest, Francisco Martini. The Archbishop of Toledo continued to be a very dear friend and sent him material assistance evidently on a number of occasions. Just about a month before his death Cervantes wrote to him: "My illness is so much worse of late that I believe it will make an end of me, though not of my gratitude." Surely the expression is worthy of the author of "Don Quixote."

He made a will and named as his executors the Franciscan priest with whom they had been staying and his wife Catalina. The Lord knows there was not much to leave, and all that we know of his will is that he asked that two Masses should be said for the repose of his soul and that his executors should arrange to have other Masses said for him if that were possible. And so there passed from earth one of the greatest of imaginative writers, of whom the French Ambassador, asked to report on him to his Government because of French interest in his writings, could only gather this much: He was "old, a soldier, a gentleman and poor."

JAMES J. WALSH.

New York, N. Y.

A SOLDIER OF THE CROSS.

TWO priests' graves in Ireland have for years been regarded as holy ground, hallowed by the memory of men whose names are held in benediction: that of Father Theobald Mathew, the Apostle of Temperance, whose earthly resting place is in St. Joseph's Cemetery, in the southern environs of the city of Cork, and that of Father Charles Houban, the Passionist, who is interred in the little God's acre at Mount Argus, Harold's Cross, Dublin. Any day pious pilgrims may be seen kneeling in prayer at Father Mathew's grave. So many things have been attributed to the saintly Irish Capuchin, both during his life and since his death in December, 1856, which suggest the supernatural, that it is thought some day they may be submitted to the consideration of an ecclesiastical tribunal with a view to his possible beatification. Such steps have already been taken in the case of Father Charles, the name by which the eminently holy Passionist was popularly and widely known.

John Andrew Houban, son of Peter Joseph and Jane Elizabeth Houban (née Luyten), was born on December 11, 1821, in the village of Munster-Geleen, in the province of Limbourg, in Holland, close to the German frontier. He came of a good old Catholic stock and from a district which, amid all the changes and vicissitudes that have marked the course of history in that part of Europe, never swerved from the ancient faith of Christendom. Where piety is traditional in a family, its source is generally found in motherhood, for it is the mother rather than the father who really makes the home and gives it its tone and character. Father Charles' mother was a woman of this type. She lived to see many of her children and grandchildren enter religion. From the day of his First Communion, that important epoch in life, little Andrew's devotion deepened. It is related that he would remain for hours kneeling before the altar in the parish church until evening gave place to nightfall, to the great anxiety of his devoted mother, alarmed at his long absences, but her fears were dispelled when those who knew his habits invariably found him absorbed in prayer before the altar of the Blessed Virgin. It was a lay teacher, Professor Schregen, of Brocksittord, who introduced him to the Passionists. Conscription, introduced into Holland by Napoleon I., caused a break in his studies. In 1840, when he was nineteen, he had to join the colors. But a military career was not that for which he was destined. He was to be a soldier of the Cross. When, three months afterwards, a substitute was

found he resumed his studies until he reached the age of twenty-four, when he obtained admission into the congregation upon which his saintliness was to reflect additional lustre.

He joined it in a remarkable epoch in its history. The Church's "second spring," of which Newman spoke, was about to dawn upon England. The Tractarian movement was drawing converts into the fold from which so many had strayed since the so-called "Reformation," a heresy "made in Germany," had been imported. On the memorable night of October 8, 1845, Father Dominic, the saintly Passionist who, it is hoped, will be raised to the honors of the altar, received at Littlemore the greatest of them, their leader, who faithfully followed the guidance of the "Kindly Light" he had invoked. Soon another of "Rome's recruits," the simple-hearted Father Ignatius Spencer, uncle of the late Lord Spencer, the Irish Viceroy, was to preach a holy crusade among the seminaries and from many a pulpit, asking prayers for England's conversion, an apostolate in which it had been foreshown in vision to St. Paul of the Cross his spiritual sons would engage.

The Cardinal Archbishop of Cologne had offered Father Spencer a house as a foundation of the Passionist congregation, and the Countess Catherine Marie of Croëser had ceded her house at Ere, in Belgium, for the same purpose at the instance of the Abbé Charles Bernard, vicar general of Cambrai, to whom Father Dominic, when he met him in Rome, had communicated his aspirations for the conversion of England, to which he went in 1841. It was Father Peter, his successor as rector of the house at Ere, who received John Andrew Houban into the order and gave him the habit on the 8th of December, 1845. Henceforward he was known as Confrater Charles of St. Andrew. He had the happiness and advantage of being formed to the religious life by a novice master of remarkable piety and discernment, Father Seraphim.¹ Even during his novitiate he was regarded by his fellow-novices as a saint. On the 21st of December, 1850, he was ordained priest, and the next day said his first Mass. Every one present, it is recorded, was filled with holy awe on witnessing the seraphic look of the young priest while he offered the Holy Sacrifice, and the same feeling was experienced by any one who ever afterwards assisted at his Masses.

The advent of the Passionists to England, nearly seventy years after St. Paul of the Cross had had his wonderful vision, was epoch-making. The introduction among an ease-loving people like the English into a Protestant country where the very name of monk and the very idea of monasticism had become obnoxious of what

¹ Appointed in 1876 Secretary General in Rome, where he died in 1879.

Newman calls "the severest of modern rules," of a congregation "in some respects more ascetic than the primitive hermits and orders of the Middle Ages," which clashed with what is rightly described as "the hurtful and pusillanimous practice of toning down Catholicism in order to fall in with Protestantism," "was a bold stroke, a brave challenge in the perpetual conflict between the spirit of the Gospel and the spirit of the world. They were the first tonsured and sandaled religious to appear in their habits in public in England since the Reformation. In 1845 they organized the first open air procession in honor of the Blessed Sacrament held in that country since its apostasy. It took place in the grounds of Aston Hall in presence of more than two thousand people, triumphal arches spanning the line of march. They opened a new era in the later religious history of England and greatly helped by their missions and retreats the revival of Catholicism, which received a further impetus from the Irish immigration consequent on the great famine. The poor stricken Irish, if they brought nothing less with them, brought the faith taught their ancestors by St. Patrick and to which they adhered with heroic constancy and fidelity through weal and woe. They, too, helped to re-Catholicize England, as the Irish monks of yore, who had gone out from Iona had Christianized the south of Scotland and the north of England. They went to Aston and Stone in crowds and were ministered to by the Passionists, who day and night attended the poor Irish fever patients, until one after another of the priests caught the disease, when the whole work devolved on Father Dominic.

The last meeting of Confrater Charles Houban with Father Dominic, who had entered into possession of the first Passionist retreat in England on February 17, 1842, and saw four foundations of his order established before he died, took place at the railway station at Tournay. A year after Father Dominic's death witnessed the arrival in England of Father Charles on February 5, 1851. It was just after the restoration of the hierarchy when Cardinal Wiseman's famous letter "from out the Flaminian Gate" fanned into a flame the smouldering fanaticism of Protestant England, intensified to white heat by Lord John Russell's Durham letter. It seemed to threaten a repetition of the Gordon Riots, until the bigots, who had momentarily lost head, were shamed into sanity.

Father Charles first went to Aston, where his holiness impressed both priests and people and where he readily acquired a knowledge of English. The Passionists had much to do to make headway against the narrow-minded intolerance of the times. In this they were encouraged and helped by the Irish, who, ever loyal and devoted to the priests, formed a strong bodyguard to protect two of

the fathers going from Stone to Aston one 5th of November, whom the Protestants threatened to mob. Father Charles left Aston for St. Wilfrid's on November 12, 1854, on his appointment as vice master. Before the Passionists got possession of St. Wilfrid's, formerly known as Colton Hall, it had been the residence of Newman and Faber, who there planned the establishment of the Oratory in England. A year afterwards, when the novices were transferred to Broadway, in Worcestershire, the sole charge of St. Wilfrid's devolved upon Father Charles, who, with another priest and a lay Brother, formed the community. They had charge of a rather extensive parish, the holy man having every afternoon to traverse miles to visit the Catholics. After a sojourn in Ireland from 1857 to 1866 he resumed his connection with the novitiate house. Broadway, where it was situated, was anciently an ecclesiastical benefice in the gift of the abbot of Pershore, and in the reign of Edward the Confessor was called "the land of St. Mary of Pershore." The Passionist monastery is described as a fine structure within a few minutes' walk of the centre of the quaint old-fashioned village. Father Charles spent a year at this peaceful retreat, where his meditative mind realized the truth of St. Bernard's saying: "O beata solitudo, sola beatitudo."

From Broadway he was sent to St. Anne's Retreat, Sutton, in Lancashire, one of Father Dominic's foundations, where the mortal remains of the founder and Father Spencer repose. In Lancashire he found himself in a more congenial atmosphere. The lamp of faith was long kept burning in the "far faithful North" when other English shires fell away from the ancient creed. Besides, as time went on, the blending of Catholic Irish with the best elements in English life resulted in the evolution of a sturdier, more constant and more resolute race than the more mixed and weaker breeds in the South. As Cardinal Vaughan said, Lancashire folk are outwardly a bit rough, but the backbone is stiffer.

Father Charles always felt kindly towards Ireland and the Irish, doubtless mindful of Father Spencer's pet scheme of reconverting England through Ireland. So whenever his brethren in Dublin wanted his help he readily and willingly crossed the Channel and went to their assistance, ministering there or in any other part of Ireland where he was needed. He always, we are told, received any one from Ireland with marks of no ordinary affection and esteem. While in the English houses of his order his old friends in Ireland corresponded with him whenever they required direction or spiritual counsel and coöperation. On the 10th of January, 1874, he quitted England for good. From that day until his death he gave himself entirely to the work of the Irish mission.

The whole of his future life was identified with St. Paul's Retreat, Mount Argus, the principal Irish house of the order, founded in 1856. Ireland had already known and appreciated the Passionists, who in April, 1849, gave their first mission in Ireland at St. Audoen's, Dublin. It is noteworthy as being the only mission in that city conducted by Father Dominic, who died four months afterwards, on August 27.

Harold's Cross, where the Passionists acquired a dwelling house and grounds for their first Irish foundation, is supposed to derive its name from the defeat and death of a Danish king, Harold, for it was in early times a debatable ground, hotly contested by the native Irish and the invading Danes. It is much more likely that it associates the place with the family of Harold, who were owners of large mountain lands in the vicinity, or with a cross erected there to indicate the territorial rights of the Archbishops of Dublin. When Mass was first said there in a large room in the house transformed into a temporary chapel there was only a congregation of five persons. It is now a great centre of religious influence, an extensive house of retreat and handsome church, approached by two leafy avenues, crowning the summit of the hill or elevation upon which the original house stood, and from which a picturesque view of the Dublin mountains from one point and of the city and its southern suburbs from another, with "the smoky town," as the poet Furlong called it, low lying northward, is obtained. The congregations now are numbered by many hundreds, especially at Christmastide, when the Crib attracts visitors, or at Corpus Christi, when large processions of the Blessed Sacrament wind through the well-wooded grounds.

The first rector of Mount Argus was a remarkable personality. In the world he was known as the Hon. Captain Charles Reginald Pakenham, an officer in the Grenadier Guards and a nephew of the Duke of Wellington, the victor of Waterloo; in religion as Father Paul Mary, Passionist.² His death in 1857 coincided with the first arrival of Father Charles at Harold's Cross in company with Father Ignatius Spencer.

People frequenting the church soon perceived, with an instinct born of faith, that he was no ordinary priest. As his holiness became more and more revealed his confessional was besieged from morning till night by daily increasing numbers. Though the work was arduous and taxed his physical strength, he did not spare himself. People began to talk of the holy priest to whom they had been to confession, of the impression he made and the influence he exercised over them, and of the maladies cured by his blessing.

² See "Ave Maria" of April 8, 1916.

So great the concourse grew that part of the retreat had to be turned into a sanctuary. The priest was almost equally impressed by the people. Writing to his home in Holland, he remarked on the wonderful similarity between the Irish and the Limbourgian Catholics. It is so to this day, for it is noted that not even in Catholic Belgium is the priest or cleric treated with as much respect as in Holland. He was also much struck with the generosity of the Irish people, when the building of the new retreat and church—described by a leading journal as “the noblest religious house erected in these countries since the Reformation”—was undertaken, a work which he himself no less zealously promoted *con amore*. “God alone,” says his biographer, Father Austin, “is cognizant of all that Father Charles did to make Mount Argus what it is; He alone knows the number and the value of his deeds which are so precious in heaven’s sight. The period from 1857 to 1893 (with the exception of a few years which he spent in England) was passed by him within its walls, and his name will ever be entwined with its history.”

Thither for years came the blind, the lame and the halt; people suffering from incurable maladies, which had baffled the skill of the ablest physicians and surgeons, to seek and to receive healing at his hands; the grief-stricken to be consoled by his soothing words; the poor to be relieved. His simple blessing wrought numerous well-attested miracles.³ It was when proceeding from the retreat house to Our Lady’s Grotto, followed by a large crowd, he usually imparted his benediction, besought with eagerness and received with fullness of faith. On the way he got them to join him in saying the Stations of the Five Wounds, for as a true Passionist his mind was constantly fixed on the mystery of Calvary, with the inmost sense of which he was penetrated. During the celebration of Mass, whenever he met with passages referring to the Sacred Passion, he could not restrain his tears. On Fridays he would prostrate himself on the ground before the religious and entreat their charitable prayers for him, “a poor sinner,” and perform the Stations of the Cross with extraordinary recollection and fervor.

A priest who visited Mount Argus in the autumn of 1892 and diligently observed his manner of life and mode of action was deeply edified by the sight and could not refrain from noting the signs of extraordinary sanctity that were abundantly manifest, the crowds constantly in evidence to seek his blessing, the requests for a share in his prayers continually coming from all climes and

³ This statement is made with necessary reservation pending the decision of the Apostolic tribunal thereon.

the gratitude evinced for a favorable response to his orisons—all bespoke the unusual.

"No one could be in the presence of Father Charles, even for a few moments," says Father Austin, "without being impressed by his striking personality. He, tall, of a strong, well-built, muscular physique, but attenuated, and towards the end of his life stooping. His face was rugged in outline and sallow in complexion, bore traces of firmness of character. The forehead was wide, the nose prominent and the lustre of his hazel eyes reflected the inward beauty of his soul. When animated his face wore an expression of singular brightness and sweetness. The simplicity of his manner little showed the firm grasp of theological principles that he possessed, and which rested on a retentive memory and assiduous study in early years. Though very fervent as a preacher, in his latter years he rarely ever attempted a set sermon, and in this respect his power for good lay more in the fervor of the short exhortations which he gave to the crowds who sought his blessing." It was not only the crowds of laity who thronged to Mount Argus who sought it, but his religious brethren, groups of whom frequently knelt around him during recreation, the highest superior and the humblest lay Brother alike considering it a great privilege to receive his benediction.

He had a great attraction to mental prayer, being frequently so rapt in contemplation as to be oblivious of everything external; even in the refectory and at recreation it made itself manifest. As he expressed it himself, he thought only that he was alone with God. He passed thus whole nights prostrate on the bare floor of his cell. One morning he was found swooning on the floor, and it was discovered that his bed had not been lain on during the night. When asked why he prayed so long, his only answer was, "Temptation, temptation." On another day, at the conclusion of ordinations in Mount Argus' church, his physician went to visit him in his cell, and, having knocked at the door, entered. To his amazement he beheld the priest in ecstasy, a sight he never forgot. He was quite motionless, and seemed to gaze on some entrancing vision, unconscious of any one being present, until the doctor touched his arm. "Oh," he exclaimed, "I was praying for the newly ordained priests."

Whenever he was wanted the two places in which he was sure to be found were—in presence of the Blessed Sacrament or in his cell. This cell was a narrow room at the top of the house, with a single window, bare whitewashed walls, a few cheap devotional prints, a chair, a table, a bedstead with a straw mattress, a Crucifix and a discipline with which, like St. Paul of the Cross, he scourged

his body until the blood flowed. When obliged to say his office privately he did so on his knees. Like St. Thomas of Aquin, it was in prayer before the altar he acquired the science of the saints. The Anglican Dean Stanley said that the history of the Church of the first three centuries was a history of the Blessed Eucharist. Of Father Charles it is said that his whole life was one constant act of adoration of the sacramental Presence of Christ. Whenever he heard the Blessed Sacrament named he uncovered his head. When saying Mass tears flowed from his eyes, and during his thanksgiving he remained motionless, as if his corporeal senses were suspended, while his countenance shone with ecstatic delight. Every day after celebrating he heard all the Masses he could and was ever ready to serve the Masses of other priests.

His prayer was the prayer of the humble that pierces the clouds. He would have priests make prayer the guiding star of their lives. He never lost his first fervor. An old Passionist who had lived with him two years at Ere and seven years in Dublin, noticed that the fervor which had distinguished him as a student had in no way diminished, but had increased even as the early brightness of the morning dawn increases to the perfect light of noonday. An ex-provincial of the order writes: "I regarded Father Charles as a man endowed with great faith, which enabled him everywhere and always to realize the presence of God. To me he seemed to live more in heaven than on earth." From constant kneeling a large protuberance had grown on one of his knees, which is accounted for by the fact that his favorite kneeling place was the cold hard flagway of a bell tower, where with bowed head he recited the Psalter or prayed for the conversion of sinners and the deliverance of souls from Purgatory, a devotion he practiced to an heroic degree, making and getting others to make what is called the heroic act.⁴

The fame of such a man was not confined to Mount Argus. When people saw him driving through Dublin on his many errands of mercy they would beg his blessing, kneeling in the streets, as they often did when Father Henry Young, another saintly priest, passed through the city, for the popular voice likewise proclaimed him a saint. As he walked in the May processions at Mount Argus crowds gathered to gaze at him to kiss the hem of his habit or surreptitiously cut off pieces of it to keep as relics. The sight of

⁴ The heroic act consists in resigning the satisfactory part of our works, all indulgences and all suffrages, which will be offered for us after death, into the hands of the Blessed Virgin, to be distributed according to her good pleasure to the souls in Purgatory, whom she desires to free from their torments.

his bent, fragile form as he stood in the centre of a clustering crowd, each one waiting his or her turn to get blessed, is described as like the picture of a mediæval saint. His compassion for the multitude was truly Christlike, for is not the priest called *alter Christus*? Not only did he come down from his poor cell to wait on the poor, but as long as his strength lasted he sought them out in their miserable dwellings, of which Dublin still has too many, though many are being improved away to provide better housing.

"In every province and county in Ireland—in many cities and towns in England—even in America and Australia," says Father Austin, "there are many persons to be found who have reason to be grateful to the servant of God for the favors which he obtained for them—for the pains which he took to make their lives happy—for the wisdom and foresight with which he directed them when they sought his advice." Father Alphonsus, who founded the Passionist congregation in Australia, tells how during the five years and a half he spent there, visiting nearly all the Australasian colonies, including New Zealand and Tasmania, he could scarcely call to mind any of the places where he conducted missions and retreats without finding some who had known Mount Argus by report or personal acquaintance, but almost invariably in connection with the name of Father Charles. His name became a household word far and near. He visited halls and hovels. In the mansions of the wealthy he was usually greeted by the entire household, who knelt to ask his blessing on the house and its occupants. The reputation of his holiness, his gift of discernment and his miracles involved him in a continuous correspondence with people of all classes who sought his much-valued advice. Proud and haughty men who would scorn to salute a priest, it is noted, acted with the greatest reverence towards Father Charles, such is the compelling power of sanctity.

Like all holy ascetics, he was penetrated with a profound sense of his own unworthiness, of his "sinfulness," as he called it; would publicly accuse himself in the refectory of his "faults and imperfections; "would obey even those who had no authority over him, asking the Brother who usually accompanied him when away from Mount Argus permission for everything he did, as if he were his superior; who was often heard, when he imagined himself alone, to say, "after all my confessions, all my Communions, all my Masses, I am full of sin." It is well understood, of course, that this conviction of their unworthiness in such elect souls arises from their clearer perception of the holiness of the Godhead, of the profound truth expressed in the words of the Preface at Mass,

"Tu es solus sanctus," and their sense of the inherent fragility of fallen humanity.

To the last he was a man of prayer. When asked during his last illness why he was not taking repose, he answered, "Meditation, I must meditate." When it became known that he was in danger of death prayers for his recovery were offered up in many religious houses, churches and homes. But he had finished his course, and on the morning of the 5th of January, 1893, he passed calmly away without any death agony.

His obsequies evoked an extraordinary manifestation of mingled grief and veneration. A vast crowd of mourners not only from Dublin, but from the most distant parts of Ireland daily thronged to Mount Argus to gaze for the last time on the worn features of the saintly ascetic before the coffin lid was screwed down, and the body he had kept in subjection to the spirit by the same method as the Apostle St. Paul and the founder of his own congregation, was consigned to earth. The inroad of pilgrims continued, it is recorded, as train after train deposited its living freight in the environs. One of the Passionists, who had known him for many years, told from the pulpit the story of his life in a way that moved preacher and congregation to tears. The eagerness of the people to secure relics could with great difficulty be restrained. The church doors had to be closed when it was overcrowded, and there was no room for the dense mass who swarmed outside. When the dirge was chanted a kind of barricade had to be erected on account of the crush and the impetuous behavior of the multitude who desired to touch the body with some devotional objects, to be religiously preserved as memorials. A group of strong, muscular men formed a phalanx, who, wedged between those departing and the intruding mass, prevented any disastrous consequences and preserved from injury the remains and the sable shroud which partly enveloped them. Innumerable beads and scapulars were laid for an instant on the habit of the dead religious, beside whose body the people of Ireland mourned for four days, the same striking scenes taking place daily until it was laid to rest in the cemetery hard by beneath shade of spreading beech trees, the grave being marked by a simple wooden cross with his name in religion inscribed on it. Before the coffin lid had been adjusted an eminent doctor, having examined the body, pronounced that it was quite flexible; there was no *rigor mortis*. There it awaits the summons of the archangel to arise incorrupt and glorified on the Last Day.

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THE NIETZSCHEAN IDEA AND THE CHRISTIAN IDEAL
—SUPERMAN AND SAINT.

THE tragedy of thought for which the so-called Reformation is directly responsible culminated at the close of the past century in the anti-Christian doctrines of Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche. The influence of his false philosophy has been felt in many quarters, for "He was," says a certain commentator, "in a condition of insanity without hope, while his books were read from New York to St. Petersburg."

In our day we have witnessed a growing laxity in morals and religion, a spirit of liberalism and free-thinking, an unrest of mind and soul, which among the intellectuals has produced, on the one hand, erratic thinkers, and, on the other hand, among the more or less educated masses, an inordinate love of pleasure, pomp, pride and power. Nietzscheism is but a form of that modern pagan philosophy which has taken up anew the old fight between the material forces and the spiritual forces; the contest between rationalism and revealed religion; between pure reason and the light of faith. The result has been, as it must ever be, a realization of the limits to man's finite intelligence and the consequent awakening of man's spiritual nature to a recognition of the higher claims of true religion and morality, in fine, of those truths which are a reflection of the infinite intelligence of the Supreme Being.

Spiritually minded men have all along foreseen that out of the great conflict now raging in Europe, with which God has visited mankind, a providential good would be drawn. It has already shown itself to be at hand. Men have been brought to the feet of the crucified Christ by suffering and sacrifice. Literature, which reflects the minds of men, will return to a state of simplicity and spiritual longing. It has run the gamut of the material, and the progress it had boasted has to give way to the desire to accomplish a spiritual largeness, so that the death-knell of materialism has already been sounded. The cant and hypocrisy which thinkers such as Nietzsche have endeavored to expose as existing in Christian teaching and practice has in turn been found to be the complexion of their very teachings. They have striven in vain to set up new standards of truth, which, having their root in materialistic and perishable doctrines, have not been able to pierce the veil, but have only succeeded in obscuring the higher spiritual truths which alone can satisfy the cravings of the intellect to master all knowledge that can make for the perfection and the salvation of man's immortal soul.

The writings of Nietzsche have gained world-wide attention, their popularity being due to quaintly phrased philosophizings that please the reading public's liking for novelties, and to the fact that men, grown intellectually proud, are prone to welcome any new herald of revolt against the tried and true in the realm of thought and conduct.

Like that of Schopenhauer, who still counts his votaries, the philosophy of Nietzsche is pessimistic. If his were only a healthy pessimism, such as is implied in calling this earth a vale of tears through which we pass as penitent pilgrims to a happier beyond, all might yet be well. But his doctrines summarize the philosophy of despair and destruction. "His doctrines," says Dr. William Turner, in his *"History of Philosophy,"* "are of extrinsic importance as reflecting the sentiments of an age grown weary of life and infected with rationalism and idealism. For pessimism is an index of inferior vitality rather than of spiritual insight, and the insistence on the non-rational nature of reality is a symptom of a malady which may be traced to an overdose of transcendental metaphysics."

It is indeed a sad commentary upon the workings of the human mind that in its constant search after truth, when guided merely by the light of reason and unaided by the light of faith, it should time and again sink into old errors, which, despite repeated refutation, spring up anew in some strange guise to entrap the unwary and lead man back into age-worn fallacies.

Nietzsche's philosophy is as old as that of the Chinese philosopher Yang-tse, who lived in the fifth century before Christ. Dr. Turner tells us that he preached "a kind of Epicureanism: Man should enjoy the present and cheerfully accept death when it comes; virtue is but a name; good reputation is a shadow; the sacrifice of self is a delusion." The fallacy involved in his teachings is as pagan as that of the stoics, who "maintained that the material is above the real. They would not admit, for example, that the soul, or virtue, is real, except in so far as it is material. God Himself they believed to be material. To them God and the world are the same reality. The supreme canon of conduct is, therefore, to live conformably to nature."

In this respect Nietzsche never progressed further than the Greek, whose "spirit of naturalness" prevented him in his philosophy "from carrying his theological speculations far enough to determine, for example, the notion of personality. It was left for Christian speculation to complete the work of Plato and of Aristotle and, by laboring the Greek spirit of completeness and manifoldness, to determine, as it did in the Golden Age of mediæval philosophy, that faith and reason are at once distinct and continuous. In

this way Christian philosophy carried the Greek fidelity to nature into the region of the supernatural, refusing to admit any antagonism between these two phases of reality—the world of reason and the world of faith—just as the Greek had refused to admit the antithesis between mind and matter which is the postulate of modern philosophy.”

While in an article of limited length we cannot begin to attack Nietzsche piecemeal, yet we can condemn his false premises and the conclusions, a fortiori, will die of themselves. Nietzsche has built his house of cards; let us see if the true and tried weapons of Catholic philosophy may not cause them to tumble down. If we can point out the defects of his system and the perniciousness of his doctrines, and that his doctrines are no substantial substitute for Christianity and its teachings nor as soul-satisfying, we shall not utterly fail. In a brief article of this kind it is possible to point out the principal defects in the entire system of Nietzsche's philosophy. Yet Nietzsche has no system. He is little more than a desultory essayist, a veritable *Seiltänzer* as Zarathustra in his representative work—a ropewalker in the arena of thought, performing for our amusement rather than for our instruction. He poses as a constructor of a superman's ideas; he ends up by making us pessimists, and pessimism is always destructive. In “Thus Spake Zarathustra” he reveals himself to us as a false prophet. Chapter follows chapter, startling us with such captions as “In the Garden of Olives,” “The Immaculate,” “The Redemption.” Always he ends each chapter with the remark, “Thus spake Zarathustra.” There is not the authoritative conviction of Christ's “Amen, amen, I say unto you.” In nothing that he addresses to his audience can he everlastingly secure the hearing and the following that the Christian world has ever accorded to the meek Saviour of men in His “Sermon on the Mount.”

It is hard to tell where Nietzsche begins and where he ends. His writings are the veritable ravings of a madman. You cannot corner him, make him mark time and make himself intelligible, for when he is at least intelligible he assumes a wisdom which he has not and he answers you with a laugh and bids you laugh with him and dance with him, as dances Zarathustra. He proves nothing. He gives us supposed truths based upon his own abnormal experiences. He suffered. He was unhappy. For there is no happiness except in being virtuous. He would make overbearing snobs of us, ruthless overmen. He spins out his ideas not modestly and reasoned out systematically, as becomes the philosopher, but with positive epigrammatic assertions that are wise in their own conceit.

Nietzsche lies, and deems his lying a holy falsehood. He con-

siders himself greater than Christ and is the blasphemous author of a pamphlet which he entitles "The Anti-Christ." "Jesus on the Cross," he writes, "is an anathema upon life." And all his miserable fame was the antithesis of the fame of him who had changed from admiration of Nietzsche to contempt of him—Richard Wagner, whose Christian ideals created more enthusiasm among the Germans than was ever accorded this mad philosopher Nietzsche. "I am not a saint, but a satyr," he exclaims. And he was right. No one envies Nietzsche the reputation he gives himself. Among the Germans he was a "*lulus naturæ*," as he styles himself. No wonder his dearest friends turned from him and regarded him with fear. He repelled by his overbearing egotism and his intellectual pride, which led him to assume the rôle of an intellectual dictator and ended in madness. He offended not only humanity, but divinity itself, and his destruction was inevitable. "Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad." Christ upon the Cross has drawn all hearts to Him. Nietzsche thought he could convert the world from Christ to his own doctrines. His purpose, as his life, was a failure. Among false philosophers he is easily the supreme anathema upon life. His blasphemy, like a curse, has come home to him.

Thomas Hardy has recently told us that Nietzsche and his school seem to have eclipsed in Germany the close-reasoned philosophies of such men as Kant and Schopenhauer. Paul Elmer Moore, in "The Nation," calls him a fanatic, opposed to pragmatism and philosophical speculation. Like Kant and Schopenhauer, he is, as has been pointed out, "in a class with all philosophers that by erroneous and destructive doctrines have made a bad impress upon the modern world of thought." It is not true that Nietzsche, according to Sir Thomas Beecham, tried to avert by his teachings "the mental and moral decadence of Germany, its utter bankruptcy in the higher planes of art and philosophy." If it be true that Germany "has taken a headlong flight down hill into the valley of grossest materialism," as one writer unreservedly states, Nietzsche has only succeeded in contributing his share to the subversion of that sound philosophy for which the Catholic Church is the sponsor the world over.

In taking up the cudgels of adverse criticism against Nietzsche, we are attacking that school of false ethics of which he is the stoutest promulgator. His doctrines are founded on the principles that, according to Max Nordau, moral precepts are nothing but "conventional lies;" that, according to Max Stirner, that alone is good which serves my interests, whereas the common good, the love for all men and so on, are but empty phantoms.

There are seen in Nietzsche traces of Oriental mysticism, particularly in "Thus Spake Zarathustra." It has been pointed out that the German mysticism of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has unfortunately developed into the materialism of Nietzsche, Treitschke and Bernhardi and others of the same school. Faith plays no part in their philosophies, which are systems of agnosticism and atheism. Despite this fact, however, there is ever present in some form or other with the philosophers of the German school a craving for the philosophical absolute. Instead of culminating as Christian philosophy does in the expression of a union with God, as man's last end and completed happiness, their systems teach an ending in the expression of the perfect and independent will of the superman which throws aside the doctrine of the subjection of the will of man to the will of God. The result is a material nothingness in which all things earthly end.

There results, too, a dissatisfied helplessness, the sufferings of a tortured soul made miserable because of the finite limitations it must face—in a word, in the worst kind of pessimism. So that, far from becoming for us a soul-satisfying doctrine, the doctrine of Nietzsche becomes a hopeless theory of life and of its true meaning and purpose. More than this, it becomes a contradiction of what it should stand for, namely, a substantial substitute for the Christian doctrine of sacrifice and eternal reward. It proves the futility of creating such a being as a superman, since he, the superman, is but a selfish, self-willed creature who overrides by sheer will-power all that has hitherto been held most sacred, merely because he cannot distinguish between the morally good and the morally bad and does not realize that the greatest happiness comes to him who governs his conduct accordingly. He does not realize that man is not an aggregate, but an individual being, endowed with free will to be exercised according to the dictates of his conscience for the salvation of his own soul. And he who succeeds by the exercise of his will, coöperating with the will and the grace of God, in saving his soul is truly a superman among sinful and weak-willed men. If such were the doctrine of the superman, what a consoling doctrine it would be? And if such were the doctrine of the superman, it would be nothing more or less than a reiteration of what Catholic, or, if one prefers, Christian philosophy has always inculcated and will continue to inculcate until the end of time.

It needs only a casual review of some of his more pronounced false doctrines to put a quietus upon any attempted apology for Nietzsche and his philosophy from the Catholic point of view.

Nietzsche taught the doctrine of the superman. He tells us that man is something that must be overcome. An analysis of his doc-

trine indicates how this conquest is to be brought about. The superman, or overman, is he who by the power of his will wills to live in a manner superior to the common herd about him. That is to say, he must begin by overcoming his fear of a God and a moral law as interpreted by Christianity. Man, he would have us see, is above any limitations or restrictions set him by morality. By his theory of the transvaluation of all values he would inculcate the idea that man's highest hope should be his highest thought—to overcome every obstacle placed in the way of the exercise of one's free and independent will. To so act, it is, of course, logically and fundamentally essential that we cast aside any belief in God. He tells us that God is dead. Therefore, without God to dictate to us what we ought to do and what we ought not to do, man is no longer the slave of morality, and not even a slave of his passions; for good and evil have lost their significance, and man's hatred and jealousy and sensuality, just as his love and his ambition, for instance, are only to be regarded as so many means for man to be what he is to the fullest extent, so that by sheer force of his fearless self-expression he may be seen to be above other men in strength of his will and to gain the supremacy over the vulgar mob by asserting himself as their superior in will, mind and body. In this lies his success. As so he tells us, "I rejoice over the great sin as my greatest comfort." Needless to expound, such a doctrine discards sympathy as a weakness and love of neighbor as a dangerous form of self-love.

In his search after truth, he substitutes his own truth. "Nietzsche resolved," says Dr. William Barry, "to be free as air, supremely selfish, with an arrogance bordering on mania; he must conquer the world or retire from it." And again, in her brother's biography, Frau Förster-Nietzsche says: "Maybe this life-history is important chiefly in this respect—that it presents us with one great problem. For it is a problem that Friedrich Nietzsche, who denied our present moral values, or at least traced them to sources absolutely unsuspected hitherto—this transvaluer of all values—should himself have fulfilled all the loftiest and most subtle demands made by the morality now preached among us. And he did not do this because of any moral imperative, but from a perfectly cheerful inability to act otherwise. I leave it to others to solve this problem."

Now, as a matter of fact, Nietzsche's life plainly shows that he did not fulfill the loftiest demands made by the morality now preached among us. And this statement of Frau Förster-Nietzsche demonstrates that she had rather a vague understanding of what Christian morality demands, and least of all what morality demands as interpreted by Catholic doctrine. For in Nietzsche the purpose

of living a life of moral rectitude was all distorted. Moreover, he only appeared to meet its demands. To whatever degree his life was morally correct when judged by Christian standards, it was so because of a passive disinclination—perhaps for social and utilitarian reasons—to be otherwise. But he roundly berated and despised others who refused to give him ear or approve or follow his teachings.

Then, too, if we read between the lines, we cannot fail to see that there were times when he was afraid of himself and his condition of mind. His greatest sin was his intellectual pride and his stubborn determination to suffer physically and mentally all the tortures of the damned in order to live out to the bitter end the ruthless demands made upon him as the self-satisfied and supposed superman by the very theory of life he had created. He regarded it as a weakness to be a slave to morality, yet how pathetic a figure he makes in being a slave to his own delusions! It appears the problem is not so hard to solve, after all.

Nietzsche is entirely out of sympathy with sympathy. To him sympathy is a sign of weakness. Yet it forms in the family, which is the unit of society, the strongest ties of devotion, and in society at large it is the basis of the great humanitarian movements which now constitute so progressive a characteristic of our cosmopolitan life. Sympathy? Why, without it the world would stand still. It is the keynote to the proper practice of our religion. It was out of sympathy for sinful and weak-willed men that Christ took upon Himself humanity and suffered and died for it. Love, human and divine, have fired the heart of the world ever since. For sympathy is the one touch of nature, of which the poet sings, that makes the world kin.

Far from being, therefore, a sign of weakness in him who shows it, sympathy is the sign of strength. For it is the expression of a strong will that is moved to act not merely for its own immediate object of good for some selfish advantage, but for the good of another. "Sympathy does exist," says Nietzsche, "and I will tell you what it means—it is the slave-morality, the system of the herd, on which modern democracy is founded." And Dr. William Barry, commenting on Nietzsche's viewpoint, says: "A tremendous invective against all that Christians hold sacred. Morality is law, and law is a limit; how might mankind fulfill its destiny were limits abolished? And what is its destiny? Here Nietzsche reveals the purpose which he has had in view all along. Mankind, he would say, has one supreme task—not a moral duty, but a physiological necessity—to produce the overman."

Nietzsche, as anti-Christ, exclaims with the fiend, "Non serviam"

—"I will not serve." And such a stubborn state of mind is seldom converted, except, perhaps, in the infernal pit, where the truth must at last dawn upon such intellectually proud ones that, after all, it would have been better to have served on earth, since one cannot reign in hell.

To begin with, Nietzsche tells us that we are not big enough not to know hatred and jealousy, and that therefore we should be big enough not to be ashamed of them. He tells us to be such as whose eye always seeks an enemy. This enemy, of course, we are to vanquish and by our victory prove ourselves to be the better man, the fitter man. He preaches the doctrine of the survival of the fittest.

Thus Nietzsche discloses the secret of his doctrines. To him hatred and jealousy are mere natural inclinations, which are to be reckoned with as facts and not as sin or evil inclinations to transgress the moral law. He inculcates a novel philosophy of life by distorting the nature of our actions, without reference to whether they are matters of observance or violation of a moral order or a code of ethics, but regards all acts as not affecting our moral being one way or the other. In a word, he simply regards all actions as proceeding from the will, and accounts them good or bad, according as they do or do not make us superman. And the superman is he who fights to overcome not his evil inclinations, but himself and his fellow-men, when he is afraid to assert his own will against the will of another, even if that other be God Himself, and be himself ruthlessly, if necessary, and regardless of any consideration of the rights of any other being, human or divine. The superman is obedient not to moral laws, for to him they are mere phantoms and deterrents to the way of his will, but obedient merely to the command which helps him to be the vanquisher of every obstacle to the carrying out of his independent will.

To be good, in a moral sense, or to strive to live a life of virtue, according to Nietzsche, is impossible. Does he not tell us that in the chaste, sensuality looks with envy from everything that they do, and does not advise chastity for that person to whom it is difficult? To the individual soul trying hard to overcome some bad tendency, some terrible temptation and prove the victor in the fight against sin for its ultimate salvation, these words of Nietzsche must come as a staggering blow. They hold out no hope for man. He is led to believe that every bad impulse that comes to him, that every temptation he has to meet, simply indicates that he is at heart such a man, and that his trying to be other than he is, is hypocrisy at best. Surely we have here the philosophy of despair that might well lead weak-willed men to pessimism and self-destruction.

The chaste, he tells us, recognize that chastity is madness, but

that they did not seek this madness, but it came to them, and, since it abides with them, let it remain as long as it likes. Now he who is chaste is so because he wants to be. Chastity is not madness, but a virtue. It would have no merit if it were forced upon us and we did not desire it, but tolerated it. It shall remain with the chaste as long as they are chaste and by an act of their own free will.

Love he calls madness, and to him marriage is the union of man and woman based on the desire of the fulfillment of sensual desire. The true object of marriage, he claims, is to create supermen, and with his end in view it is holy.

Increase and multiply, said the Creator, and the creature has been following that mandate ever since. "The primary ends of marriage," we quote Rev. Charles Coppins, S. J., "are the generation and education of children, whereby the human race is perpetuated and elevated to a becoming standard of intellectual and moral excellence. The secondary end of marriage is the direct good of the contracting parties—their peace, mutual love and union of mind and heart. Yet in its primary and secondary ends, marriage is subordinate to the last end of man, his everlasting beatitude."

Nietzsche's vile insinuation that man has primarily a sensual and beastly end in view when he marries is not borne out by facts, except where pure love does not prompt marriage, but mere convenience. Marriage as a sacrament and entered into with true Christian motives behind it can never be the vile institution that Nietzsche would make of it.

What a sacred thing is the love of man and woman born of a wholesome mixture of spiritual and physical attraction! It is this double attraction, this twofold force, which welded into one forms the perfect union. And from this unity, from the two in one, springs the innocent offspring, and lo! a trinity is completed. Then it is that father and mother and child should follow the guiding of their devotion up the path that leads to heaven, where the souls of men are wedded to the soul of God.

According to Nietzsche, love of neighbor is our improper love for ourselves, the proper love of ourselves being to love solitude. He teaches us not neighborly love, but friendship to prepare the way for the superman. And so he would make of us selfish creatures, and only urges friendship as a means of making ourselves supermen, which is, at best, a selfish motive for fostering a friendship based on self-interest and making its motive merely utilitarian. He calls love of neighbor a form of self-love and would recommend us to fly from our neighbor, as if man could do nothing for his fellow-man disinterestedly and as if it were improper for the strong to help the weak. Acts of brotherly love may not bring us

material gain, but they will add to our spiritual stature and we thereby fulfill the fundamental law of Christianity.

Christ taught us to love our neighbors as ourselves. Herein lies the highest motive, the immolation of self for the advancement of all the children of God, and yet not the destruction of self, for by fulfilling the law of loving one's neighbor we must fulfill the law of loving God, and in loving God we fulfill the spirit of the decalogue. Thus we render possible in the highest sense the union of God and man, the consummation of which hereafter is supreme and perfect happiness, the very end of our existence in which we rest.

Nietzsche's doctrine leads to a quite different last end. He would have us die at the right time, leaving those who remain behind to enjoy the material world the more. By death man returns to the earth from which he sprung in order that he may have rest. He lived to toss the ball of his being to his friends, who in turn are to keep the ball rolling. Surely a doctrine that takes into account not the immortal soul, but only the material side of man's nature, as if spiritual progression in finding no decay, but resting eternally in its reward, were not more satisfying than mere earthly evolution, can bring only material and intellectual pleasure to those who survive as the fittest.

Nietzsche advises us to be true to the world and not to believe those who speak to us of a beyond-the-world hope. "Poisoners they are," he tells us, "whether they know it or not. They are despisers of life, dying and self-poisoned ones, that are tired of the world, so they may depart!" He does not rail, however, against those who are inordinately attached to the perishable things of this life. He does not seem to realize that he who keeps in mind the reward for righteous living and lives in the hope of a life beyond the grave, the consummation of his activities here below will be of more use to his fellow-man while on earth than he who is bent upon riding roughshod over the less intellectual, the weak in mind and body, and living the doctrine of the survival of the fittest. True it is that it were a miserable and nonsensical world that were composed merely of hermits praying for death. Nietzsche were right if he could be understood to condemn a passive perfection tending to weakness and degeneracy, because of a lack of effort to practice self-denial, self-sacrifice, charity towards others and the practice of the works of mercy. Our Christianity should be virile. We need the heroic faith of the martyrs and confessors. We must be possessed of a spirit of self-sacrifice and moral earnestness and live consistently and persistently a life of truth and moral rectitude. We Catholics must be practical Catholics and not Catholics in mere

name only. We want less tepid Christians. We must act as Christians and learn the lesson of the Will to Love, and not the Will to Live, as if our soul had merely an animal and vegetable life, nor the Will to Power that is merely intellectual and material, as if we were not reasonable and responsible free moral agents.

The day of the spiritual dilettante is at an end. Men have died for the faith; the hour has struck when men must live for the faith. They must live by faith, by charity, by hope. We have witnessed the destruction wrought by the gospel of material might. Man is not only a creature of mind, but a creature of heart as well. And the one touch of nature, sympathy, which makes all men kin, will "ring out the old, ring in the new, ring in the Christ that is to be!" The day of the Christian mystic who lives to love Christ and his fellow-man and the things that are of virtue must be emphasized anew for the salvation of man from the slough of sin. Nietzsche teaches there is no reward for virtue beyond the grave. He identifies virtue with self, the excellent superman, to whom Christian virtue is a sham, as if the virtuous man gloated over those who are not so and used his virtue to harm his enemies. Churches he calls sweet-smelling holes in which the soul cannot fly to its heights. "Who created these holes?" he asks, and answers in the same breath, "They who would hide themselves and were ashamed of the open. They called God," he continues, "what spake against them and hurt them, and they know no other way to love God than to crucify mankind. They expected to live as dead men arrayed in black." To believe in them, he asks that they appear as saved. He calls it madness that they taught that with blood truth is to be sealed.

We must pity this man without the gift of true faith, who, in calling churches sweet-smelling holes, has not known the spiritual joy of the Catholic worshipper who kneels in his church that smells of sweet incense, wrapt in devotion before his Eucharistic God and exclaiming in his soul, "I have loved, O Lord, the beauty of Thy house and the place where Thy glory dwelleth!"

He takes a fling at the priesthood. Priests are heroes, he tells us, who suffer and would make others suffer. "He Whom they call Saviour put them in bonds, and, oh! that one would save them from their Saviour!" he exclaims.

Here we have a slander uttered against the sacred character of the Catholic priesthood which those outside the Church of God cannot appreciate. What does this Nietzsche know of the Sacrament of Holy Orders, who scoffs at everything religious and divine? One is reminded of what his sister, Frau Förster-Nietzsche, narrates of her brother's attitude towards the priesthood and the

Catholic faith. One of his friends, who had come under the influence of Schopenhauer, was a Dr. Romundt. To quote his sister in the matter: "Now, strange to say," she declares, "his profound study of Schopenhauer had made Dr. Romundt decide to become a Catholic priest. My brother was beside himself with anger, for he was very fond of Dr. Romundt. He could not in the least understand how a philosopher who had learnt to value *freedom of thought* could possibly intend to take up a position which, from an intellectual standpoint, *was so terribly confined on all sides*. And the fact that a friend, after having frequented his company for eight years, could thus secretly have planned such a *coup* against the freedom of his own spirit made him thoroughly unhappy. After lengthy discussion, however, Dr. Romundt did at last decide to return to his earlier calling as a teacher."

This is important, as it brings to our attention what Nietzsche's idea was concerning Catholicism. It is evident that Dr. Romundt, like Nietzsche's sister, interpreted Schopenhauer in quite a different way from his friend. "My brother," says Frau Förster-Nietzsche, "understood perfectly well that as a Christian my understanding of Schopenhauer was very different from his; for instance, I scarcely realized Schopenhauer's atheism at all." As for Dr. Romundt, Schopenhauer had simply impressed him with a sense of pessimism that had not gone so far as to make him the materialist and atheist that it had made of Nietzsche, but had brought home to his truth-seeking soul the fact that he was a pilgrim in this "valley of tears." Naturally enough, he turned his thoughts heavenward and did not seek to find on earth true and lasting happiness, but looked towards the Catholic Church for the haven where he might anchor safely after wandering about in a sea of doubt. The freedom of spirit which he sought would find its realization in the conserver of a true faith, based upon a satisfying certainty of true knowledge. It was to be confined only in the sense that it was to be determined by certainty of truth. But he did not realize the logical necessity of faith based upon right thinking, and so he once more turned in his weakness back to his scoffing companion and did not appreciate fully the true meaning of the step he had taken. The greatest of all truths and the only satisfying truth neither he nor Nietzsche had arrived at, namely, that truth is one, so that in its essence it cannot be uncertain and indetermined and that the conclusions that Nietzsche had arrived at were but disordered emanations and illogical calculations of the real truths. He could but wander forever in a circle that led him to rest only in restricted declarations of false premises that were not correctly based upon real truths. Beyond the simple truths that were clear to the minds of even such great

pagan philosophers as Plato and Aristotle, Nietzsche thought he saw still greater truths and more subtle ones, which in reality were but contradictories and which led him into sophistry. And this he mistook for freer and higher thought, and so he drifted into a mysticism which was pure madness.

In a letter to his friend Geisdorff, Nietzsche complains that nature had not gifted him with more intellect. "He was melancholy, desiring freedom," we are told. "Freedom from what? Possibly from himself and the turmoil of thoughts he had created in himself. He wished for a more overflowing heart. All this, too, was after his illness brought on by the campaign of '71. Nietzsche was probably already showing signs of mental deterioration, which finally ended in his madness."

Nietzsche, like so many other free-thinking and infidel philosophers, was all his lifetime seeking after truth and never finding it. He did not deign to admit in his intellectual pride that God is Truth, and that the Eternal Truth revealed in the Christian religion is not only soul-satisfying, but also soul-saving.

Nietzsche said: "First, we believe a particular philosopher; then we say that however wrong he may be in the proof of his propositions, the propositions themselves are true. Finally, we say that it does not matter what his propositions are—the nature of the man himself is as good as a hundred systems. As a teacher he may have been wrong over and over again; but the essence of his doctrine is right, and we shall hold by that. There is something about a philosopher which can never belong to a philosophy, i. e., the cause of many philosophies—the great man."

Do we not see in these statements of Nietzsche a covert admission that he may have been wrong in his teachings time and again? At any rate, he would have been a greater man had he taught the importance of cultivating a strong will to resist temptation and to perfect ourselves more and more to become not supermen, as he understands them, but saints of God.

Nietzsche's philosopher that became for him his evil genius was Schopenhauer, who seduced him to the cause of pessimism. Speaking of his first acquaintance with Schopenhauer, Nietzsche said: "I know not what demon whispered to me, 'Take this book home with thee.'" The result may be imagined from his own confession when he says: "By drawing all my qualities and my aspirations before the forum of gloomy self-contempt I became bitter, unjust and unbridled in my hatred of myself." He concluded that nothing is clear save the fact that all is obscure. "Dear friends," he wrote, "there are two roads—either we accustom ourselves to be as narrow as may be and to turn the light of our vistas low as possible

and then seek riches and to live on the pleasure of this world, or we know that life is miserable, we know that we are the slaves of life, the more we enjoy it, and so we discard the goods of this world, practice abstinence, are mean towards ourselves and loving to all others, simply because we pity our comrades in misery—in short, we live according to the strict precepts of primitive Christianity, not of the modern sugary and formless Christianity.” And again he says: “To understand nature one must go to her. What was man to me with his restless will? What mattered to me the eternal ‘Thou shalt’ and ‘Thou shalt not?’ How different are lightning, storm and hail—free powers without ethics? How happy they are, how strong they are—*pure will without the troubles of the intellect.*”

His, too, is the doctrine of might makes right. He tells us to love peace as the means to further war. He advises us not to work, but to fight. He advises not peace, but victory. “You say the good cause it is that sanctifies war. I tell you the war makes holy everything. War and valor have accomplished greater things than love of neighbor. Your love of life be a love of your highest hope, which is to be the highest thought of your life, namely, man is something that must be overcome. So live your life of obedience and of war. What does living a long time amount to? What warrior wants to be spared?”

Turn the tide of Nietzsche's thought in the right direction and we have noble doctrine, truly. Our highest hope, indeed, be our thought of life, but life eternal, to acquire which we must overcome our evil inclinations, our passions. This is the highest form of self-conquest, beside which the wars of the world sink into insignificance. And to succeed in this struggle to save our souls we must obey not our natural impulses, but the laws of God Himself, even by self-denial and self-abnegation. Nor does this mean, as Nietzsche erroneously supposes, unhappiness. For man may enjoy the lawful pleasures of life. And he who denies himself certain lawful pleasures finds his joy in the practice of the highest virtues that lead to spiritual perfection. But Nietzsche would have none of this. We maintain that we are compounded of soul and body. Nietzsche admits only of the body, and that the soul is merely a bit of terminology for something that belongs to the body. To him the soul is merely intellect, *Vernunft*. Whereas the Christian moralist teaches that reason (*Vernunft*) is only a faculty and not to be confounded with the immortal soul itself, whose highest function through the workings of the intellect and the will is to conform with the spiritual cravings of man towards the attainment

of moral perfection as something higher and nobler than mere material and intellectual power and greatness.

Nietzsche takes issue with Christ Himself. He tells us that the greatest sin on earth hitherto has been the word of Him Who said, "Woe to them that laugh here"—a thing which Christ is nowhere recorded as having said. "If he found no cause to laugh here, he sought badly. He did not love enough, or he would have loved the laughing ones. But he hated and mocked us and promised us howling and gnashing of teeth. Must one curse right away what one does not love? But this he did, this absolute one. He came from the rabble. And he himself did not love enough, or else he would have grown less angry that one did not love him. All great love wants not love—it wants more. Avoid such perfect ones. They have hard looks for this earth." And he ends up with the advice that we laugh and dance. Yea, verily, drink and be merry, for tomorrow you die!

It cannot be expected of a materialist like Nietzsche that he can appreciate the gospel of Christ, in view of the fact that he regards Christ only as a human teacher and would have us believe that he himself is a better teacher, with a better doctrine. Judging Christ by mere human standards, with Nietzsche's distorted vision of life, we can expect nothing more than just such statements which we have just quoted and which to a Christian, who believes in the divinity of Our Lord, must ever seem blasphemous. For who could imagine one possessed of a divine intelligence indulging in laughter? Laughter is not a necessary expression of joy or happiness or love. Laughter results from surprise that is caused by an unusual combination of ideas expressed as a witticism, a joke, a bit of humor or some queer and ludicrous actions. In other words, the limited and finite intelligence of man is taken by surprise by one or other of these manifestations, and the result is laughter. The louder and more prolonged the laughter, the less intelligence behind it. There is "the loud laugh that (speaks) the vacant mind." We read nowhere in the Scriptures that Christ laughed, but we do read that He wept. His intelligence was divine and did not become finite or human in the flesh. But the divine and infinite and compassionate love was incarnate and expressed itself in deep feeling that at times might well have caused the visible human expression in tears of what His human heart suffered for sinful mankind.

Christ was the person of God in the flesh. His was a serious and sacred personality, so to speak. He was not a buffoon, a tight-rope dancer like Zarathustra, the image of Nietzsche. Christ suffered in the flesh for the sins of men, but Nietzsche sinned in intelligence and died to no purpose in a madhouse, paying the penalty

of an over-developed brain, which softened and died. A dead machine, in truth, this abnormal brain of Nietzsche's.

"God is dead," says Nietzsche. "Since he lies in His grave, you have arisen. God died: we therefore would have the superman live." Nietzsche is, accordingly, first of all, a disbeliever in the resurrection of Christ—in a word, the divinity of Christ. His expression "God is dead" indicates, secondly, his atheism. To him only the superman lives—one who is by sheer power of his will above all moral law such as Christianity inculcates.

"Be not virtuous beyond your strength," he counsels. "Badness," he says another time, "is the test of man's best strength, if only he be true. Man must become better and worse. The worst is necessary to the superman's bestness. That he (Christ) suffered and endured for the sin of mankind may be all right for those preachers of little people. I, however, rejoice over the great sin as my greatest comfort."

Man would have to stifle conscience to follow Nietzsche. There would be no moral right or wrong, except what would interfere with man's becoming a superman in the Nietzschean sense. And to become a superman, according to Nietzsche, means to be a mere bold, arrogant, shameless sinner.

To Nietzsche, then, sin is only an expression of strength—that is to say, it indicates a will that is strong enough to assert itself whether in doing bad or good. He admits only that to be wrong which arises from a weak will afraid to act because of a moral law, which for him is a mere fiction and a hindrance to the will in acting as it would. He does not understand the true meaning of the doctrine of free will, which points out that the individual, in exercising his power to choose between right and wrong, is not compelled to act contrary to his wishes, but chooses that form of good—since the good is the object of the will—because his reason points out the difference between the apparent good and the real good, and that the real good is the moral good. Far from restricting man's will in its power, his choice of that which is morally good in preference to that which is morally bad, makes him less the slave of the baser appetite. It renders him the free agent to accomplish the purpose of his being, namely, to make himself a real superman in the sense that he is above such of his fellow-men whose aim is no higher than to satisfy an animal appetite, that is no sooner sated than it leaves man weaker physically, intellectually and spiritually—in a word, leaves him not a superman, but an underman, if we may be allowed to so style the antithesis of what Nietzsche would have us be, but which, in fact, is what Nietzsche unwittingly would make of all of us.

"Badness," says Nietzsche, "is the test of man's best strength, if only he be true." That is to say, he who wishes to be bad in preference to being good, and yet wills not to be bad, presumably from a motive of fear, is untrue, and in this lies his weakness. Herein Nietzsche contradicts himself, for a man decides to be either bad or good, and in either case he is, so to speak, true to himself. But for a man to be bad in order to be true to himself does not constitute him a man superior to other men, or a superman, except in his own conceit, which will avail him nothing. Nietzsche would turn the world topsy-turvy and assumes that black is white, despite the fact that black is black and white is white in the very nature of things.

In a word, we are not all hypocrites because we refuse to have materialistic and utilitarian aims in our actions. The loftier and spiritual aims can only be inculcated by religion and result from the proper education of a will, the object of which being the good, is led by the light of reason, under the guidance of religion, to prefer the higher good to the meaner good and by conforming our wills to the will of the Most High.

In Nietzsche we have, first, a misconception of the true nature of the faculties of the mind or soul, namely, the intellect and the will. And, in the second place, he would set up for us a disordered course of action which is in direct antagonism to that course of action dictated to us by our conscience and by the moral law.

"Men of genius and superiority in particular are coming more and more to be regarded as exempt from the moral law," says a writer on the subject of Ethics in the Catholic Encyclopædia. "And," he continues, "according to him (Nietzsche) goodness was originally identified with nobility and gentility of rank. Whatever the man of rank and power did, whatever inclinations he possessed, were good. The downtrodden proletariat, on the other hand, were bad, i. e., lowly and ignoble, without any other derogatory meaning being given to the word bad. It was only by a gradual process that the oppressed multitude, through hatred and envy, evolved the distinction between good and bad, in the moral sense, by denominating the characteristics and conduct of those in power and rank as bad and their own behaviour as good. And thus arose the opposition between the morality of the master and that of the slave. Those in power still continued to look upon their own egoistic inclinations as noble and good, while the oppressed populace lauded the 'instincts of the common herd,' i. e., all those qualities necessary and useful to its existence—as patience, meekness, obedience and love of one's neighbor. Weakness became goodness, cringing obsequiousness became humility, subjection to hated oppressors was obe-

dience, cowardice meant patience. 'All morality is one long and audacious deception.' Hence the value attached to the prevailing concepts of morality must be entirely rearranged. Intellectual superiority is above and beyond good and evil as understood in the traditional sense. There is no higher moral order to which men of such calibre are amenable. The end of society is not the common good of its members; the intellectual aristocracy (the over-man) is its own end; in its behalf the common herd, the 'too many,' must be reduced to slavery and decimated. As it rests with each individual to decide **who belongs to this intellectual aristocracy, so each one is at liberty to emancipate himself from the existing moral order.**"

It is, perhaps, a natural temptation with men of artistic or intellectual attainments to imagine themselves supermen because they are mentally superior to the so-called "common herd." They seem to forget that mental superiority does not necessarily imply moral superiority and that rank and station in life have nothing to do with moral goodness and moral badness.

Let us corner Nietzsche for a moment—but he is such a Rambler that it is hard to corner him—and his teaching amounts to this: That we are to make ourselves supermen, intellectually so superior to those beneath us, that we would not do anything immoral, because we know better than to commit a folly. We wonder in passing why Abellard sinned.

If man were merely a creature of intellect and not of free will, this doctrine might stand on one leg for a while. But since man has the power to will or not to will to commit a wrong, and his conscience readily and warningly dictates what he may do and what he may not do, it remains for us to admit the possibility of one doing evil, irrespective of the fact that mentally one may be a giant. It is strength of will and not of mere intellect that counts in the constant struggle against temptation while we are still on trial in this life, and it often is the case that a brilliant mind may be the chief source of moral corruption when left to shift for itself without the guidance of religion. The mastery to be gained over one's evil inclinations is through one's own efforts of good will and by the sustaining grace of God. Hence, too, there is reason for reward for the victorious in the fight and punishment for the losers in the fight. The entire scheme of redemption and its necessity is rendered futile by Nietzsche's doctrines. The finite offended the Infinite. Man had gotten away from God and God from man, and so God redeems humanity in the flesh and reunites the two, making it still possible for man to gain heaven by his free will.

Do Friedrich Nietzsche and his school suppose that a world of supermen would be a Paradise regained? If so, they are doomed to disappointment and their dreams are Utopian. If, on the other hand, they merely claim that the teaching of the doctrine of the Superman should serve to create more supermen and hence a better world—better according to their gospel of valor that might makes right, then we who proclaim the Christian ideal declare that the Catholic Church claims much more in her doctrine of right makes might. Her supermen are her saints!

Sainthood is the result of victory over sin. And sin is natural since man first sinned in Adam. We must rise above the natural tendencies of our fallen nature. And when we do, do not call us supermen, but saints of God! The beauty of this doctrine lies in the spirit of self-sacrifice, the conquest of our soul in its constant struggle against sin to really earn, in the end, the everlasting reward.

"To him that shall overcome, I will give to sit with Me in My throne, as also I have overcome and am set down with My Father in His throne." This is the true Paradise Regained. And this is possible to all men, rich and poor alike, learned and unlearned, and the category of saints attest to this from the foundation of the Christian Church to the present day. The blood of the martyrs has sealed this doctrine and by God's grace still continue the good fight of saving their souls by a doing violence to their evil inclinations which arise in the best of us, the most intellectual of us, and with less excuse, as well as in the lowliest and most simple-minded of us. It is Parsifal against Kundry; first the cross and then the crown.

In vain, then, shall the boast be made that Nietzsche's doctrines are founded on facts. When, as a matter of fact, Nietzsche has distorted the facts that are based upon human experience, he has applied a cruel and destructive scalpel to the wounds of suffering, bleeding humanity, in the battle between flesh and spirit, and he has not helped to heal the wounds made by sin in this ghostly warfare. He has probed them and laughed with glee over them, having laid them bare after they have already been bared and are being healed. He takes for granted sham and hypocrisy where it does not exist. Better a thousand times that an earthly Paradise was lost in order that a heavenly one might be regained by the strength of man's will! Herein lies the true Christian valor; in this let us be supermen! Goethe has well said: "Mental culture may advance as it will, the knowledge of nature grows in depth and breadth, and the mind of man along with it; but farther than

the sublimity and moral discipline of the Christian teaching, as it shines and lightens in the Gospels, it will not go."

The moral welfare of a community does not necessarily depend on intellectual greatness in some of its members, but only upon the educated and uneducated classes, whatever degree of intellectuality they may individually possess, being obedient to the laws of the State and the moral law as well. It does not require the highest form of education or intellectual attainment to understand and keep the ten commandments. On the other hand, intellectual snobbery retards community growth, and an intellectual aristocracy would prove as intolerable, for instance, as an aristocracy based upon mere wealth.

Moreover, if intellectual superiority could guarantee moral perfection, it would be most desirable. But, as already stated, the more intellectual a man is the greater capacity he has for being immoral because of his increased responsibility. Intellectual pride alone can lead to one of the greatest of sins. Witness the wrecked souls of men of intellect in the history of the world's literature alone! How many men have strayed from God and religion and have fallen into schism, infidelity, materialism, atheism and other "isms" as a result of trusting too much to the supposedly infallible workings of their own minds?

The education of the intellect is only one form of education of man, and while it is comparatively higher than mere physical education, it is also inferior to man's moral education. Merely educate a man physically and intellectually and you may well expect a materialist. Educate him morally, religiously, and he reaches the highest form of intellectual education, you send him out into the world the most perfectly endowed being this side of mortality. But then, and then only, will he be true to his physical, intellectual and moral stature when by the exercise of his will he subjects his weaknesses to the will of God and by coöperating with divine grace makes possible and practical such perfection as leads to sainthood itself.

Bishop Spalding has summed up the errors in all such systems as that of Nietzsche when he speaks of Culture and Religion. He says: "Culture, it is said, is only refined epicureanism. Its aim is to educate man so as to fit him for the enjoyment of the greatest possible pleasure. It shrinks from vice, not because it is evil, but because it is gross and disgusting. The men of culture, like the ancient Greeks, are without the sense of sin, and consequently at best have but a conventional morality."

Nietzsche belongs to that class of philosophers who admit within themselves the divorce between the intellect and the will, instead

of recognizing the functions of both these faculties coördinate, yet individual. He did not distinguish between intellect and will as separate faculties of the Ego.

Speaking of Nietzsche, Dr. Turner in his "History of Philosophy" says: "From Plato he derived the theory of Ideas as stages of the voluntary phenomenon, and from the Buddhists the pessimism and the negation of will, which form the practical aspects of Schopenhauer's system." And further he says: "It is important to note that by will Schopenhauer understands not merely the faculty of choice, but also impulse, the blind, unreasoning impulse to self-preservation, which manifests itself in pleasure, pain, hope and fear, love and hatred—in a word, the will to live. To this blind impulse he subordinates knowledge, and although he claims that voluntarism is opposed to materialism on the one hand and to subjective idealism on the other, the whole trend of his investigation of knowledge is towards the materialistic conclusion that understanding is a function of the brain."

"With Nietzsche," says T. M. Kettle, one of his biographers, "reason deliberately abdicates, bearing with it into exile its categories of good and evil, cause and end. Schopenhauer had suggested to him that the true key to the riddle of existence was not intellect, but will." But Nietzsche in his rediscovery of the importance of the will did not realize that the will, unchecked or misguided by reason, could only make of man a dangerous libertine. To him the Christian idea of the will of man subjecting itself to a moral law or a divine will was putting restrictions upon the will, and so the Christian religion was for him too confined. "That older and more sacred fountain of civilization, the Will to Love," as Kettle puts it, was to Nietzsche an anomaly. He did not trans-value values aright, or else he would have realized that in the will to will aright, according to the Christian notion, which makes for happiness, lies the real test of strength unconfined by the forces of moral evil, which would thwart the will and make it subject to the will of the world, the will of the flesh, the will of the devil. And the will thus allowed to run riot is the will that discards the faculty that counterchecks, the reason which distinguishes the man from the brute, and which properly enlightened by religious faith gives man the proper means to realize his highest purpose as a creature of both intellect and free will.

Nietzsche is guilty of over-emphasis of the will, and in this respect he is an absolutist as his master Schopenhauer was before him. He subordinates intellect to will and emotional striving, exaggerating the influence ascribed to purpose. His doctrine narrows itself down to teaching man to be a superman, a being of

indomitable will. But that will is not exercised in striving after attainment of his highest object, the moral good, but rather consists in the will to disregard the existence of the morally good and the morally bad and to persist in the maintenance of an absolute indifference to everything that interferes with the accomplishment of the ideals of the superman. What these ideals are in the main we have already seen. Thus he falls into the ruthless error of might makes right, and would create in man a ruthless will to do and be all that would lead to the conquest of man's self and overriding in ruthless fashion any opposition or rights of the wills of others. This would lead to a survival of the fittest in the struggle of life. It is a selfish doctrine that teaches us to disregard the rights and weaknesses of others in furthering our own material ends.

Thus, too, the intellect in its search after truth is lost sight of. For truth to Nietzsche can only be relative to the cravings and desires of the will. He distorts truth and subjects it to his distorted experiences, his pessimistic point of view. He gives us nothing in return that satisfies the constant craving after happiness. In fact, he tells us we must be miserable. In this alone he appears consistent. He goes wrong in not realizing that the faculties of intellect and will are to a large extent independent, in that their objects are different, and so he is only a one-sided theorist. The truth lies in realizing that the thought antedates the action of the will where it is a question of voluntary action. Apply this to the moral consideration, and we have sins of thought which are only possible with the full consent of the will.

Furthermore, the will and the intellect must ever act harmoniously and not independently for the best results. Behind the action is the motive, and the motive is dictated to be right or wrong by the mentor of the soul, the conscience. But always it is the Ego that acts, the soul, of which both intellect and will are faculties. And the soul is something spiritual, not subject to material decay and material laws. Any impairment of the faculties is due to their physical nature; psychologically they know no decay. This is compatible with the doctrine of the immortality of the soul.

Again, the intellect is finite, limited in its activity. In its search after truth it can go wrong. The will may control its actions and prove itself the stronger of the two under certain conditions. But the will also may prove a weak instrument. And so from a moral point of view, when the intellect sees aright, it rests with the will to act properly.

When we come to consider moral conscience and the consciousness of the Ego we enter at once upon the realm of the soul or

spirit. And here it is where oftentimes reason gives way to the higher and spiritual promptings of faith; reason is supplemented by faith. And he who would see all things by the light of reason alone is apt to overstep the bounds of possibility for human intelligence. The physical brain snaps—yes, may soften, as in the case of Nietzsche, whose ending in a madhouse is significant from a physiological and psychological aspect, to say nothing of a moral viewpoint. The perfect man must be well balanced, not only physically and intellectually, but also spiritually, or better expressed, morally. Had Nietzsche taught us to be supermen along these lines, the ball he tossed would never have been lost to us.

Man must, indeed, conquer himself. But not by the methods Nietzsche advocates, nor for his purpose. Experience teaches repeatedly and conscience insists upon it that man, when he has made known to him and has realized as true the guiding precepts of moral truths, must fashion his own fate by sheer force of his will to do right and avoid wrong. The pivotal idea of all right action of ethics, in fact, is man's threefold responsibility towards himself, his neighbor and his God. By this his rights and duties are governed. The way towards moral or spiritual perfection is once and for all made clear to him. "You have the law," said Christ, and every Christian, and more particularly every Catholic, knows the law.

It resolves itself to this, that reason alone cannot satisfy the soul in its quest after ultimate happiness. Sin and the suffering and pain that it entails must be reckoned with, for to violate the moral law is to bring misery and unhappiness upon the transgressor, whose way is indeed a hard one. Once the intellect sees the right and the wrong of his actions as dictated by man's conscience it becomes his duty by the power of his will to do that which is right, if he would be happy here and hereafter. And since to be happy here and hereafter is man's aim and desire, and to accomplish this end he must do that which shall save his soul, it follows that he must do that which is morally correct and avoid that which is morally bad. Reason itself dictates this course of action as a matter of common sense. To act otherwise is to act inordinately, foolishly. But to so act man must be guided by the light of faith. For mere reason cannot dictate or supply the means which make right moral action a duty towards God and neighbor. Here religion steps in and supplies the necessary means, and man at once becomes not merely a rational creature, but a religious creature as well. Belief in God and that which he has revealed as truth to guide us in our way of life must lead man aright. Bar out from the intellect a knowledge of the supernatural and there remains only the natural, which quickly resolves itself into the merely temporal, which ends

in a hopeless dissolution. For the intellect unaided by the light of faith is limited in its search after truth. The craving of the immortal soul must be satisfied, and the possession of God, as our last end, is the only ultimate happiness, to rest in which is the Christian Nirvana. God in Christ joined to our human nature to teach us the way to heaven. He is truly, then, the way, the truth and the life. Let us take up our cross and follow Him! Let us give ourselves less concern of the many distracting things, and remember that only one thing is necessary and, like Mary, we shall have chosen the better part!

Had Nietzsche recognized the existence of not only the human will, but the divine will, he would have known that resignation to the divine will was the thing to be desired and the production of the greatest hope in man. The will to live aright according to the divine will as expressed in the moral law would have satisfied his ever-reasoning instinct and effort towards existence, that is, the immortal life with God. As it was, his existence was aimless; he had not come to a realization of the Greatest Happiness principle, the perfect union of man with God hereafter. He forgot that as all things created have a purpose, man, too, has a purpose, to know, love and serve God and so be eternally happy with him hereafter.

Nietzsche's immoralism is that of Darwin and of Huxley, who, in maintaining the doctrine of the survival of the fittest, advocate a "ruthless self-assertion" and that "the practice of what we call virtue involves a course of conduct which in all respects is opposed to that which leads to success in the cosmic struggle of existence." He and his kind argue that it is opposed to science and to evolution to be virtuous in the Christian sense, and in Nietzsche's case contrary to his doctrine of the "will-to-live" and "the will-to-power." It forswears all sympathy, all love of neighbor; it is opposed to the Sermon on the Mount; it is utterly anti-Christian. It is the philosophy of the stoic who could murder an infant that had no promise of being physically strong. It reckons with man only physiologically, but spiritually it leaves man out of the question. And so Huxley asks whether the artificial world within the cosmos could keep in a state of progression and mount higher in the course of evolution, if the least fit are to remain in the way because of sympathy.

How utterly absurd this is in the light of facts as they are! They mistake that the individual soul, far from becoming weak, becomes by that the stronger, unless we are to be enthralled by the material that moral growth is to count for nothing beside physical power. When Christ told us that the poor should always be with us He meant to call our attention to the fact that we should always

have our less fortunate brethren to aid in their equal right to be among the "select" and the "fittest." In the final analysis, too, the materially strong have to answer the question, "What does it profit a man if he gain the whole world, but lose his own soul?" Shall we judge an artificial world's progress merely by physical and intellectual power? Truly, this would be a one-sided development which does not take into account man as a moral being at all. Passing men and notions are no more certain than the ultimate passing of the material world, a world subject to the laws of decay. And in their denial of a spiritual world, the resting place of the immortal soul hereafter, who guarantees to them a survival forever of the fittest in a measured span of existence? What, then, shall profit their "will to live" when life itself shall end all earthly power and crumble in the dust? Their theories set their own limitations and evolution becomes a mere term. But the facts contradict their theories. The physical weak still mingle with the physically strong; the physically weak are often the morally strong and the physically strong are often morally weak.

These false theorizers do not stand, as they believe, "beyond good and evil;" they simply fail to take into account good and evil, rights and duties and the individual responsibility, which is the pivotal principle of Christian ethics. They only recognize a purpose for the race of men in the aggregate, or rather for a class of men supposed to make up the select or fittest of the race with the will to achieve power, which has no guarantee of ultimate stability and which in the very nature of things cannot be realized. For they cannot compel man to be free of God and not subject to decay and death as the forfeit of sin. Christianity in direct contradiction teaches retrogression of man individually as brought about by sin. Christianity alone has emphasized the scheme of redemption and the absolute state of perfection, and happiness is only to be realized, since we have the right to expect to realize it, being created for the purpose Christianity teaches, in a world beyond time. Their philosophy "is the revolt of flesh against spirit, impulse an argument to deny free will, good and bad confounded in one."

Nietzsche wandered about, as it were, in a circle oppressed by his loneliness and he dreams of that Ideal One. Restless, he found no rest, for he had not found the solution to his searchings. His end was that of the madman. He burst through the bonds of social convention, but not like the saintly hermit did he despise the world aright. Had he been a Christian he would have made a model monk. As it was, he became a mere selfish fanatic, whose doctrines serve as an enigma to unbelievers and are despised by all true Christians. His life and his work served no other purpose

than to emphasize the helplessness of reason in its search after the real truth when not guided by the light of religious faith. Unwittingly, too, he served his purpose in strengthening the claims of Christian ethics and Catholic philosophy in view of the shallowness of his own speculations.

Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche was a philosophical product of the Reformation. It was the Reformation in Germany that started men on the road of free-thinking, with the resulting schisms in religion and conflicting systems of philosophy. It was Luther's dangerous doctrine of justification by faith which dealt a staggering blow to heroic efforts on the part of the human will to win, by coöperating with God's grace, the salvation of the soul by overcoming all temptation to sin and following the straight and narrow path. For Luther insisted that we are not beyond sin, even as Nietzsche taught we are not, for instance, beyond hatred and jealousy, and considered his greatest sin as his greatest strength and comfort. In Luther we have expressed the doctrine of a passive will which leads to that mystic quietism of barren inactivity. In Nietzsche we have the strength of the will, unfettered by moral law, confounded with an expression of will power which is identical with passion and brute force. In both we have a misunderstanding of the correct function of the will, for they would have its action unhindered, thereby giving us a supposedly perfect freedom. They forgot that motives that control the will in its actions spring from the promptings of the intellect, sitting in judgment, and are not actual hindrances, but mere indications that the will has the power of choice, and that in choosing aright it makes for its own real freedom and the freedom of the soul, which it serves, towards a perfect union with the will of God.

Bernard Shaw, the English Nietzsche, has called attention to the passing of the age of faith which gave way in turn to the age of intellect, and he now sees the will coming into its own. Were Shaw to realize that religious faith springs from the best and highest efforts of the human will in its choice of acting in the direction of correct moral conduct, he and his kind would have to admit the whole truth, the seeking of which would set them free, that justification by faith is brought about by living the faith that is in us through good works, and that the will in choosing to act according to the dictates of the moral conscience grows by every such act the stronger and the freer and makes us less sentimental and the less liable to act in a manner that binds us to the "earth earthy" and will not let us soar to the empyrean of spiritual success.

Not the will to power, nor yet the will to live, but the will to love, be the standard of our belief in God and the creatures of

God. For only through the conformity of the will of man with the will of God can the soul find peace and rest. "Fiat voluntas Dei." "Thy will be done," that is the Christian prayer. The expression of love is the most perfect act of the will. And he who wills to do the will of God gives expression thereby to the love of God and of his neighbor, which is the fulfillment of the moral law.

Through all the hodge-podge of Nietzsche's error there runs like a golden thread, the more or less sincere object, to get nearer the truth and the understanding of the unknown and that "Ideal One." As Barry says in his "Heralds of Revolt:" "That which was wanting to him at a critical moment was the authority of a teacher to whom he could look up. For he had begun to vex himself with the problems of the New Testament and the Christian origins, supposing, as he said afterwards, that his toy—with the aid of the science of language—could give a direct answer to questions of religion. He ceased to be a Christian. His evangelical training could make no stand against Bible criticism as it was practiced by the eminent men around him. And the familiar painful experience followed, a void in his own heart, the loneliness of life intensified, the past melting into legendary mist, the future a blank. Nietzsche joined that throng of disorderly pilgrims who have substituted inquiry for belief and become seekers after the unknown."

What Nietzsche lacked at a critical moment was the authority of Catholic teaching, which would not have made him a slave to a system, but a freeman such as Paul of Tarsus speaks of. The real bondsmen are and ever will be the heralds of revolt. Nietzsche was never a more pathetic figure than when he was deserted and left a lonely madman to dream on, ever groping for the light of the Ideal One, after he had shut it out from his mind forever. How cruelly he deceived himself by his conceited and arrogant dependence upon his own limited and fine intellect and will to know and do that which was to make him the overman. How much easier, happier and holier his life would have been had he used his talents to seek the secret of sainthood in the religion of his fathers. Had he not been the son of a Protestant clergyman, but rather the son of Catholic parents, and had his education been Catholic, the spirit of revolt against Christianity would have been changed to admiration of Catholic philosophy and theology, and there would have been a different story to tell. But to him, Aristotle as Christianized by Aquinas, was a closed book.

Dr. Barry tells us that as a thinker Nietzsche did not solve his problems aright. "The fault," he adds, "lay in those who taught him—in Kant, in Schopenhauer, in the German philosophy which

has set out from a suicidal Unreason rather than from fact and Aristotle. Reason, made suddenly aware of its own impotence, so Nietzsche felt, would drive thoughtful men towards the wilderness in which, for example, Heinrich von Kleist had done himself to death. How could they learn resignation? Where find hope? Did any power exist more primitive than Reason, deeper down in the world's foundations? Yes, beyond Reason there was life—the will, as Schopenhauer affirmed—an ever-reasoning instinct or effort towards existence."

Let us hope that the Neo-Scholastic movement begun in Italy shall have its influence felt at last in the centres of secular education. As a certain writer recently said, "We want no exchange of German professors with false philosophy, in so far as they are in a class with all philosophers that by erroneous and destructive doctrines have made a bad impress upon the modern world of thought."

"Back to St. Thomas!" was the exhortation of Leo XIII., and back we must go, for those who have gone back to and elaborated the worn-out systems of pagan philosophers have gone farther and farther astray. They have tried in vain to substitute the pure light of reason for the light of faith. They have dethroned Christ, and not until they have recognized in Him not merely a human teacher who reached not only the intellect, but the heart of man as well, but a divine teacher, God Himself incarnate, who is all Truth, shall men know what is best and highest to know. Nay, more! Not until they realize that the Christian religion in its positive form of Catholicism is the only true religion shall they have attained the truths that shall satisfy man in his indefatigable search after truth itself. But to realize this, they must absorb, once for all, the truth as taught by the Catholic Church. They must know that God has set His seal upon revealed truth as taught by the Church He founded for all time, and safeguarded by the infallibility of its guiding and visible head, the Vicar of Christ upon earth and custodian of the treasure house of truth, the Catholic Church itself. For to have revealed to us by Christ what is true and then to have it possible for men to believe as they please and distort the truth is at once inconsistent with the very idea of the nature of God Himself as Truth Absolute, and as absurd as the very theories of truth that man has evolved out of mere human reason which must ever err when it shuts out from the soul the light from above.

And so the boasted evolution of man as a pure reasoner outside the pale of religious faith will be shown indeed to have been "like a crab backward." After the war in Europe is over the great international peace movement, which is ever gaining recognition as

the greatest movement of the hour, will eventually take hold upon the heart and mind of man. We lift up our eyes towards the horizon of hope and there shall dawn the full era of the promise of peace to men of good will, and the parting wish of the risen Christ: "Peace be with you!" shall be realized at last.

When these things come to pass in the fullness of time, then shall those who cling to the creators of false systems of philosophy come to realize that the real evolution of man began with the age of faith, which the subtleties of misguided reason and the power of adverse will in man have not been able to improve upon. Then shall they see the return of the age of faith, the fires of which have been kept alive for centuries in the bosom of that Church the structure of which has in very truth been built upon the foundation of the impregnable and imperishable rock.

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A FOREIGN MISSIONARY JUBILEE.

ON March 1, 1916, St. Joseph's Society for Foreign Missions, of Mill Hill, London, completed the fiftieth year of its existence. Those fifty years have been marked by many difficulties and trials, but God's blessing has been upon the work and extensive conquests for God and His Church have been achieved by the Mill Hill missionaries, who now number 266.

Readers of Mr. J. G. Snead-Cox's admirable "Life of Cardinal Vaughan," the founder of St. Joseph's Society, will be acquainted with the story of the beginnings of that society, and American Catholics will be proud of the part played by the American people in making its foundation possible. Indeed the continual connection between Mill Hill and America is one of the outstanding features of St. Joseph's Society.

It was not until after a long period of anxious doubt, of consultation and of prayer that Father Herbert Vaughan launched his ambitious project on the world. England was then unprepared, for the Penal Days were still a living memory, but Cardinal Wiseman favored the work and the English hierarchy espoused it. For the material means necessary to begin his foreign missionary seminary, Herbert Vaughan turned towards America—and America did not fail him in his hour of need. Cut off from the more Eastern States on account of the Civil War, Father Vaughan set sail for Panama, whither his spiritual children followed him nearly fifty years later to make some return for the hospitality accorded to their founder.

From Panama he journeyed to California, where St. Joseph's intercession and Catholic generosity proved superior to all pressing local needs and the funds of the nascent society made a substantial beginning.

Thence his begging tour led him through Peru and Chile and round Cape Horn to Brazil, and everywhere was repeated the same story of adverse local conditions, but generous subscriptions to the Foreign Missions. When Herbert Vaughan set sail for England in July, 1865, he had secured about twelve burses for the permanent education of missionary students, and he had made many friends in North and South America who continued to help on the society which they had so nobly begun.

Of the difficulties in procuring the site at Mill Hill for the Foreign Missionary College and in building the college and the beautiful chapel now attached to it, we need only make summary mention here, for every work of God encounters them. But we cannot refrain from noticing the repeated and marvelous intervention of St.

Joseph, to whom Father Vaughan's devotion was most marked, as well as the continued generosity of the Catholics of the British Isles, of America and of several countries on the continent of Europe, which have made possible the continuance and extension of the work.

And when the actual missionary work of the society was about to begin, once again Herbert Vaughan's eyes turned towards America, this time to give, which is more blessed than to receive. It was among the Colored people of the Southern States that the first Mill Hill missions were established and Herbert Vaughan accompanied his first band of missionaries to Baltimore in 1871. The Archbishops and Bishops of America, whose eloquent appeals had drawn the Mill Hill fathers to devote themselves to the Negro race, soon vied with each other in extolling the self-sacrificing labors of the young society. Churches and schools were built, missions were opened in many of the States, and priests continued to set out from Mill Hill to fill up the gaps that death had made and to extend the ranks of the conquering apostles. So great was the progress made that in the course of time it was decided that the American province of the society should be autonomous, and in 1893 the first independent American Foreign Missionary Society was established under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Baltimore. That society is still flourishing, and the work of the Josephite Fathers of Baltimore continues to abound in excellent results and to merit universal admiration.

For a time the expansion of St. Joseph's Society was eastwards and southwards, in India, Borneo and Africa, though until the '90s its priests continued to supply the Colored missions of the States. In 1875 its missionaries were sent to Madras at the earnest request of the Bishop of Madras, Dr. S. Fennelly, and within six months of their arrival the young priests passed through a serious epidemic of smallpox and cholera, followed very quickly by a devastating famine. But their zeal triumphed over all difficulties, and the arrival of more missionaries helped to relieve the only complaint that the Bishop made. "I am not without anxiety for the lives of the priests," Bishop Fennelly wrote in 1878, "for they are overtaking their strength to meet the crisis." Gradually their sphere of labor extended until it covered a large part of the archdiocese, and Father Mayer, a Mill Hill priest, was consecrated auxiliary Bishop. In the course of time the work of the society received its full recognition, and in 1911 another Mill Hill priest, His Grace Archbishop Aelen, succeeded to the Archbishopric of Madras.

Further north, in the same vast country of India, Mill Hill missionaries are also to be found. Their first arrival took place in the stirring times of the Afghan campaign of 1879-1880. As military

chaplains they shared the varying fortunes of the British soldiers and they won golden opinions from Catholics and Protestants alike. In one of his dispatches the commanding officer, General Primrose, alludes to one of the Mill Hill Fathers in the following eulogistic terms: "I cannot overvalue the services rendered on the sixteenth of August (1880) and on many other occasions by Father T. Jackson, who was always in the foremost of the fight attending upon and offering every assistance to the wounded, both European and native." Alluding to the same priest, another officer adds: "I never saw a man more earnestly devoted to his work and duty. He is one of the best and bravest men I ever met. During the action on the 27th I saw him walking about in the thickest of the fire quite unconcernedly." These and many more similar testimonies go to show the courage which the grace of God and zeal for souls will infuse into the heart of a Catholic missionary.

In 1887 the Prefecture of Kashmir and Kafiristan was entrusted to the care of St. Joseph's Society, and since then Mill Hill missionaries have been devoting themselves to the double work of native conversions and the care of the Catholic soldiers in the north of the Punjab. Though their task usually demands patience and perseverance rather than the stirring qualities exhibited during the Afghan campaign, these Punjab missionaries have not unfrequently been called upon to emulate the deeds of daring performed by Father Jackson and his confrères. The medals won by several of these priests in the expeditions against the tribes on the northwest frontier show that the field of battle finds them equal to the occasion, and in the present great war two of the priests from this mission are acting as chaplains to the troops, one of them having been recommended for the Military Cross.

Passing through India and leaving Singapore to the west, we reach the Island of Borneo, in the north of which is situated another Mill Hill mission—the Prefecture Apostolic of Labuan and North Borneo, reëstablished in 1881. Here the Mill Hill missionaries had practically virgin soil to cultivate, and the results, though encouraging, are naturally somewhat slow and obtained by prodigious labor and exhausting privations. Situated on the equator, Borneo is a roadless land for the most part, abounding in jungle, rivers and swamps. It is peopled by various races, the most noteworthy being the head-hunting Dyaks, whose one object in life—before their conversion—is to collect as many human heads as possible, regardless of the inconvenience this pastime causes to their unfortunate victims. Their huts are decorated with these ghastly trophies, but even amongst these savages the unarmed missionary goes unmolested.

Of a different character are the natives of another field of missionary labor, entrusted to the care of St. Joseph's Society in 1887—the Maoris of New Zealand. The Maoris are said to possess the finest qualities, both physical and intellectual, of any aboriginal race, and though even in the nineteenth century there are well authenticated cases of cannibalism amongst them, they make excellent and steadfast Catholics. Climatic conditions here are favorable to the missionaries, but the scattered flocks to which they have to administer provide them with plenty of hard work. Despite Protestant propaganda, which pits its abundant resources against the scanty means of the Catholic missionary, the conversion of the Maori goes on apace, amply rewarding the priest for his untiring labors.

When Cardinal Vaughan sent his missionaries to the Colored races in the Southern States, he had an end in view which went far beyond the immediate work then undertaken. He dreamed of raising up from the ranks of the converted Negroes men who would carry the faith back to their original home, and thus be the apostles of a regenerated Africa. He was not destined to see his hopes fulfilled, but shortly after his elevation to the Archbishopric of Westminster, Cardinal Vaughan was enabled to aid directly in the conversion of Africa by sending priests to Uganda, part of which was included in the Vicariate of the Upper Nile, erected in 1894 and handed over to St. Joseph's Society.

Bishop Hanlon, the Vicar Apostolic, and his little band of missionaries set out long before the Uganda Railway was completed and had to march 800 miles from the coast to their new mission around Victoria Nyanza. Their caravan was attacked by marauding tribes and the missionaries considered themselves fortunate in escaping with no further disaster than the loss of their goods. The progress made in Uganda has been astounding. Strong Protestant missions have been unable to prevent the conversion of many thousands of natives to the Church. Perhaps the character of the religion of these natives is more remarkable than their number. In the purity of their lives and the fervor of their devotion they rival the Christians of the primitive Church. The sight of hundreds of catechumens coming for baptism on Holy Saturday after their long course of instruction, then their appearance on Easter Sunday clothed in their white baptismal robes, recalls an earlier age of Christianity. Or, again, picture the scene at the capital on Christmas Eve. Confessions have been heard for two days almost incessantly, and when night falls the natives begin to gather. Many camp outside the church in the enclosure, others remain in church awaiting the midnight hour. At last Pontifical High Mass begins and the congregation is wrapped in devotion. At the Communion

an orderly procession takes place to the altar rails and more than a thousand natives receive Holy Communion. Nor is their devotion of the spasmodic variety. Among them are found many daily communicants, and many, too, have suffered for the faith.

In the adjoining districts excellent results are beginning to appear after some years of patient labor, and only lack of men and means prevents the gathering in of an increasingly richer and more abundant harvest.

About ten years later another portion of Africa in Belgian Congo was entrusted to Mill Hill. Thither the English-speaking missionaries went at the urgent request of the late King Leopold II., at a time when the world was ringing with cries of Congo atrocities. Here again a rich harvest has been gathered among the tribes of the Upper Congo, who flock round the missionaries eager for the light of faith. Journeys in these parts are mainly by boat, and the mighty Congo River has already claimed three missionary priests as its victims. A motorboat recently given by generous benefactors has decreased the number of accidents and added greatly to the efficiency of the missionaries' labors. Here as in Uganda the dreadful sleeping-sickness has made great ravages, in some places whole Christian communities having been practically exterminated and one Congo missionary of St. Joseph's Society has succumbed to its deadly attacks.

The time was now at hand when Mill Hill should again renew its connection with America and once again send its missionaries to her assistance. The late Monsignor Agius, Apostolic Delegate to the Philippines, and Monsignor Rooker, the late Bishop of Jaro, appealed with irresistible pleading to the Very Rev. Father Henry, superior general of St. Joseph's Society, for priests to be sent to the Philippines. The dearth of priests consequent on the departure of the Spanish friars had made havoc of once flourishing parishes and whole provinces were on the verge of being lost to the Church. Rebellion and war had reduced the inhabitants to poverty, which a subsequent cattle plague made more extreme. The need of priests was urgent, but means were wanting. An appeal in the American papers, urged on by Monsignor Freri, director of the New York branch of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, and the liberal contributions of the Propagation of the Faith and of the Commission for Negro and Indian Missions, made it possible for Mill Hill to send eight priests in January, 1906. Their numbers have been gradually increased, so that at the present time thirty-one Mill Hill missionaries are at work in the Diocese of Jaro.

The work has been prodigious. One priest has in many cases to look after two or three parishes, having from 10,000 to 20,000 souls

under his care, with a corresponding number of sick-calls, involving long journeys and copious wettings from the rains above and the floods beneath. To the exhortation to spare themselves frequently made by their superior comes the unanswerable reply: "All right, but have we to let the people die without the sacraments?" Added to this are the difficulties of contending with Aglipayanism—the native schismatic Church—and with the emissaries of Protestantism. Still the people are being won over gradually, and instead of being objects of derision and targets for stones, which at one time were hurled in great numbers, the priests have become objects of reverence and esteem. Ruined churches and convents have been repaired and many souls reconciled to the Church of their childhood, while 8,120 baptisms were conferred in the single year 1915.

Mill Hill's latest mission has forged another link in the long chain of connections between that society and the American Continent. In November, 1912, three priests left Mill Hill for the Caribbean Sea to take up the care of three islands not far distant from Panama—the Islands of San Andres, Old Providence and Cora. Previously the Josephite Fathers of Baltimore had begun the work on these hitherto neglected islands, and in 1912 the Roman Congregation of Propaganda requested Mill Hill to continue the good work. As the only means of transport are sailing vessels, communication between the islands and with the mainland is very difficult, and the undeveloped condition of the islands also impedes the movements of the missionaries.

The inhabitants are a mixed race, showing some trace of English, Irish and Scotch descent, and the majority of them have adopted the Baptist creed. Still, progress has been made, and for this American priests and American support are mainly responsible, while upon the foundation thus laid the small band of Mill Hill missionaries are building and have already extended the work.

Mill Hill has therefore representatives on every continent, and from every land comes the same report of difficulties encountered and partially overcome, and of continual conversions to the one true Church. True, the divine seed in one place yields fruit a hundredfold, in another sixtyfold and in a third but thirtyfold, and often one reaps where another has sown. But the work of God progresses, limited only by the scanty supply of men and means. It would be impossible to count the number of souls converted by St. Joseph's Society during the fifty years of its existence, but the grand total of 19,298 baptisms administered in the single year 1915 will give some idea of the extent to which God has blessed the work of His devoted laborers.

For a work of such world-wide extent it is but natural that one

college could not suffice. For the regular supply of an ever increasing number of missionaries, colleges subsidiary to Mill Hill were soon required, and in 1884 a preparatory college was opened at Freshfield, near Liverpool, which of late years has been well filled. The continent of Europe has also been generous in supplying subjects to So. Joseph's Society and St. Joseph's College at Roosendaal, Holland, founded in 1890, which is now the house of philosophy for the society, has been especially prolific. This work was supplemented in 1912 by the opening of a preparatory college at Tilburg, Holland, which is having a truly phenomenal success, while the college at Brixen, in the Tyrol, has trained a number of students for the Theological College at Mill Hill.

Notwithstanding his many cares and interests as Bishop of Salford, and afterwards as Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Vaughan never ceased to keep the first place in his affections for the Foreign Missionary Society at Mill Hill, of which he remained superior general throughout his life. It was the child of his prayers, his labors and his tears, and to Mill Hill he directed his steps whenever his multifarious duties allowed him to seek a few hours of repose. He would spend hours in the chapel communing with his God and with his favorite saint, St. Joseph, and rise up comforted and refreshed, ready for more work in the vineyard of the Lord.

To Mill Hill he was taken in March, 1903, this time, as he himself said, "to die." His last illness was upon him and he wished to prepare himself for death in the company of his spiritual children in the college which he had built. Truly he gave an edifying example to all in his sufferings patiently borne, his childlike confidence in God, his faith, his meekness and humility. On the day before his death was enacted in St. Joseph's College chapel a scene never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it. Clothed for the last time in his scarlet robes, the great Cardinal made his profession of faith in the presence of his Cathedral Chapter and of the college community, and then with true humility—a virtue hidden from those to whom he was but a stately churchman—he begged forgiveness for any want of kindness and consideration he might have shown throughout his busy life, and, disclaiming all credit of any good work he had accomplished, he placed all his trust in the infinite mercy of God.

On the feast of the Sacred Heart, June 19, 1903, Herbert Vaughan gave back his noble soul to God. Into his unfinished Cathedral at Westminster his mortal remains were taken, there to receive the homage which was his due. But the precious treasure was not to remain there. Not in the stately church, which owed to much to

the Cardinal's energy, but in Mill Hill where his remains find a resting place, for so the Cardinal had willed.

Here, under the shadow of the Crucifix, on the College Calvary, Cardinal Vaughan was laid to rest. To those who knew the Cardinal, or who have since learnt to revere his manly character and his saintly life, his grave has become a place of pilgrimage, one of the sacred shrines of Catholic England. Upon the simple granite monument, which was all the Cardinal would allow to be erected over his hallowed grave, are inscribed the words more descriptive of Herbert Vaughan's true character than all his many titles, "Servulus perpetuus gloriosae et beatae Mariae Virginis et Sancti Josephi"—"The perpetual little slave of the glorious and blessed Virgin Mary and St. Joseph."

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DANTE'S MESSAGE TO MANKIND.

DANTE'S message to mankind has one purpose, namely, to lead erring mortal back from his evil ways to the path of righteousness. Before considering this message as contained in the *Divine Comedy*, it will be interesting to see what the other four great poets of life—Homer, Virgil, Milton, Goethe—propose as a beacon to guide man to his eternal home. Each of these, a child of his age, reveals the struggles and tendencies of the times in which he lives, and shows just how much light guided men towards their true destiny.

Homer makes man fret and die to no avail. The light shed by Achilles' wrath is as darkness, while the *Iliad* itself is "a land of darkness as darkness itself." A never-ending night of superstition and error, without the least glimpse of any star of revelation, broods over kings and peasants, over gods, demigods and heroes. The "blind bard" of Chios is at times a teacher of the highest natural virtues, but he was as "a blind man leading the blind," when there is question of guiding his hearers to heaven, man's true home. The darkness of the *Æneid* of Virgil is not starless. It is pierced by an occasional ray of hope. The Roman poet even points to evident signs of a future dawn, but these forecasts are so many shooting-stars across the firmament, lighting up the heavens for a moment, then sinking into original gloom. In the *Eclogues* Virgil sings of a golden age that is about to come, of a Child Who will bring peace and sweet contentment to much afflicted mortal, of a land where labor and toil shall be no more, where strife shall cease, where true love and charity shall knit men's hearts. Yet these words fell meaningless on ears dinned by the clash of arms or softened by the smooth speech of flattery.

The singer of "*Paradise Lost*" should "justify the ways of God to man," but he falls far short of his aim. He succeeds in producing on the minds of his readers not a contempt for God's archenemy, but a secret admiration for his indomitable will and vast intellectual powers, before which the intellect of the "Father Almighty" is but puny. Milton is Christian, but his Christianity is distorted. A genuine product of the Reformation, the "*Paradise Lost*," designedly or not, creates a spirit of rebellion against established law and order. The reader drinks in unconsciously Satan's "never-ending hate" for everything godly, till his faith in God's goodness and majesty slowly but surely becomes weaker and weaker. One closes the great English epic with the feeling that the only lesson of life is:

"To reign is worth ambition, though in hell;
Better to reign in hell than serve in heaven."

Goethe's "Faust" is the worst book wherein mankind may learn of its eternal destiny. It is the mouthpiece of the modern world, making bodily gratifications the "be-all and end-all of life." It teaches man to pluck the flower while he may; to drink deep draughts of life's cup of pleasure, heedless of physical or moral consequences. Life's riddle can only be solved by self-indulgence. Its lesson is that a broader view of life can be obtained only on a heaped-up pile of sin and suffering. The hero commits crime after crime, suffers wreck and ruin of soul and body, but is saved at the end by the slender thread of another's prayer. He reaches the solution of life by following brute passion whithersoever it may lead; he feels the utter void ever waiting on pleasure, he has regrets and even remorse, but never is he truly sorry for the ruin caused in his soul and in the souls of others. Faust's brief lesson is, "Enjoy life and chance the future." What a deceptive beacon to lead man across the sea of life!

The Divine Comedy of Dante fulfills a loftier purpose. It points out the direct road to God. Rest is to be found not in the ways and byways traversed by false gods and goddesses, as Homer taught of old; not in sacrificing life that the empire might increase in grandeur and power, as Virgil would have us understand; not in strength of will and keenness of intellect, as Milton implicitly teaches; not in following lower instincts as "Faust" directs, but in a thorough knowledge of self and of the heinousness of sin, in sincere repentance for past failings, in the imitation of Christ and of His saints, in the love and contemplation of God. Such is the lesson taught mankind by the poet of Florence; such the solution of life proposed by the most Catholic of Catholic poems.

An exile, poor, disappointed, friendless, Dante is seeking for peace, "the peace which the world cannot give." The dark, tangled wood in which he went astray in the beginning of his journey to the other worlds is the symbol of the state of the soul sunk in sin and deprived of all heavenly light. Reason, personified in Virgil, is ever reminding the poet that he was born for higher things, that God is his last end, and that he must make any sacrifice, undergo any shame, rather than lose his end. Pain and sorrow, two infallible teachers, have shown him how futile are the efforts to obtain lasting peace on this earth. Ingratitude of friends made him turn his thoughts to the one, true, changeless Friend Whose moods he did not have to watch and Whose home was in heaven. Dante's heart was preëminently a heart of faith, hence misery, instead of dejecting the exile, made him a man as well as a poet. Suffering, instead of begetting discord, developed harmony in his soul; it gave fire to his genius, weakened the music that rested in him and brought it forth.

As faith is the source and spring of the highest life and aspiration, so Dante's song is the highest song of life that has been or ever will be sung.

The Divine Comedy shows the why and wherefore of our existence so clearly, points out the true relations between creatures and man and man and God so unmistakably, describes sin with its horrible consequences so vividly, that we might say that the master-work of the poet-statesman of Florence was the forerunner of the wonderful "spiritual exercises" of the soldier-saint of the sixteenth century. Both Dante and Ignatius understood human nature thoroughly. Both had a keen insight into the hearts of men. Both observed carefully the drifts and tendencies of their respective times. Each in his own way tried to bring man back to a sense of his duties, to make him look above the strifes and turmoils of the world to a land far beyond the stars. Neither the poet nor the saint said new things, nor propounded new theories, nor advanced personal views, nor broached novel questions. Each took world-old truths and presented them to man—one in the beautiful raiment of poetry, the other in an unpretentious garb of strict logic. Faith and reason are so combined in proposing the fundamental truths and doctrines of the Christian religion that any one seriously undertaking to follow out the maxims and rules of life proposed either by the Divine Comedy of Dante or the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius will soon be transformed from sinner into an ardent lover of God. Grant the "principle and foundation" of the spiritual exercises, then holiness of life and even perfection must of necessity follow; grant an efficacious desire of attaining one's last end, then the journey of the soul in the "*Divina Commedia*" must necessarily be undertaken.

What, then, is the message of the "*Divina Commedia*?"

Every page in the *Inferno* throbs with human life. Every line is a heart-beat carefully recorded, as every phase of sinful life is delicately revealed and every possibility of fallen nature scrupulously catalogued. The language is universal. Its lesson is for all times. Hatred for sin, the one obstacle in man's way to God, is so inculcated from the moment we enter the frowning forest till "we issue to behold the stars" that we cannot help concluding that the *Inferno* is a warning signal of danger ahead telling us to take precautions against the awful day of reckoning. The sad but instructive legend on the very portal of the eternal prison, "Abandon all hope ye that enter here," speaks terribly of God's wrath. It tends to keep man far, far from that house of woe "reared by power divine." "The lamentations and loud moans that resound through the air pierced by no star of hope" at once strike terror into our hearts just as we cross the threshold of hell. From then on our eyes

are wearied by constant scenes of violence; our ears dinning by sad recitals of guilt; our hearts grieved at the pitiable condition of the lost. We see everywhere the doleful consequences of sin. From its consequences we learn to hate sin itself. We see the sensual "lashed and tossed by constant tempests of warring winds," and we ask ourselves whether it be worth the while to run the risk of a woeful eternity for the sake of a few momentary gratifications. We see the intemperate tormented by cold, rain, sleet and hail, and we bewail the folly of such as "make their stomach their god." We notice the wrathful and gloomy in the Stygian Lake, and we are told that life is not a Calvary without a Tabor, nor a night without a dawn. Farinata in his fiery tomb warns the proud not to lash their petty intellectual selves against the immovable rock of truth and righteousness. The sentient trees everlastingly preyed upon by foul harpies force from us a tear of sympathy for such as would rob the living temple of its spirit to free themselves from the care and care of life. Francesca's heartrending story of love, "that tragedy of tragedies sounded from the depths of eternal woe," cautions man and woman to keep ever intact the faith plighted before God's altar, for sad indeed is Francesca's crime of infidelity, sadder still her punishment.

If the suffering souls were of "angelic nature immortal," we should be affected far less; but when we see men and women like ourselves objects of God's unending hate, then the lesson comes nearer home. We meet with kings who died in their pride, with queens who recall happier days, with princes who served ambition instead of their God, with warriors who fell with curses on their lips and hatred in their hearts, and we hear them in their torments "pitifully invoking a second death," but in vain.

"Nor all the gold that is beneath the moon
Or ever hath been, of these toilworn souls
Might purchase rest for one."—Inf. 7-65.

Ask these sorrowing spirits the cause of their eternal condemnation. The one simple and sole reply is: Because they did not fulfill the end for which God created them; because they knowingly and willingly transgressed God's law, and were overtaken by death in their sins. Hence now they are doomed an everlasting prey to rankling sorrow and remorse.

The *Inferno* then contains the beginning of Dante's message to man, namely: Know thyself and hate sin as the greatest of all evils. This self-knowledge, this hatred for sin, however, is not sufficient. Man must desire efficaciously to purify his soul of all blot, for

"It were unseemly with eye obscured by any cloud
To go before Him who stands foremost in heaven."

—Purg. I., 99.

Sober reflection during the journey through the "land of sorrow" will have inspired man with a fear of God's anger and will have strengthened his resolve to win by daily penance "the sweet fruit which that stern lesson should bear." The poet says that prayer and penance alone can make our souls pure once more. What is absolutely necessary is a resolute will to undergo with God's help every torment, as each torment is a stepping-stone to God.

"Arise, therefore! Conquer thy panting with the soul
That conquers every battle; so be it that it sinks
Not down with its heavy body."

Hence sinful man, abashed and sorrowful, must stand a penitent on the threshold of Purgatory.

The Purgatorio paints in living colors a sin-stained soul thirsting for peace and original justice. The soul, indeed, is saved, for it has fought the good fight, but it is still an exile from the Father's home; an exile, not as those victims of Divine Justice who dash themselves in despair against the dread portal of hell, but a willing exile singing songs of thanksgiving and of love as it lands on the purifying shore. The lessons contained in this second part of the Divine Trilogy are salutary. Unless "one has eyes and sees not, ears and hears not," one cannot help noticing the deep message contained in the very scenes of the Purgatory. The venerable old Roman, guardian of the Isle of Purgatory, represents the freedom of the soul from the slavery of sin, for Cato is worthy above all others to direct the spirits who suffered much and made many sacrifices rather than become a slave to Satan, man's common enemy. Pia di Tolmei, "sinner to her latest hour," but who died "repenting and forgiving at peace with God," and 'Buonconte da Montefeltro "saved by one little tear, 'una lagrimetta,' and a prayer to Mary," teach man not to be negligent in God's service, nor stake his future on a deathbed repentance. Kings and princes seated apart in a flowery valley bewail their tardy repentance, owing to their too great attachment to riches, power and worldly grandeur. They now see the world's "vanity of vanities" and fully realize that all honor is but grass and all temporal glory but the flower of the field. The angel at the gate brands our foreheads seven times with the letter P, "peccata," denoting how deep-rooted are our sins and how intense must be our determination to be cleansed wholly and not in part.

"Look when entered, that thou wash these scars away."

How the repentant proud do penance! They are borne down by the weight of heavy stones placed upon their backs. The envious have their eyes pierced and sewed with an iron thread. The wrathful dwell in a land of fogs—

"Of every planet reft and palled in clouds."

The slothful are urged on by two spirits filled with God's holy love; the avaricious weep; the gluttons meekly suffer hunger and thirst in joyful hope of thus satisfying God's anger, and sooner or later of seeing God's face. Can any one follow the poet through such scenes of genuine penitence and not consider it a violation of every principle of reason to gratify and indulge the body at the expense of the soul, to set his heart on perishing pleasures against the dictates of conscience, to make earth his heaven, to substitute man for God?

"The world is blind.

Light have ye still to follow evil or good,
And of the will free power, which, if it stand
Firm and unwearied in heaven's first essay,
Conquers at last, triumphant over all."

Besides lessons of piety and repentance inculcated by "those who dwell content in fire," there is a soft symbolism underlying each picture drawn by the master artist—a symbolism which teaches man to look above the transitory and view the eternal truth beyond sign or symbol. The steep eminence, whose ascent is difficult at first, "but more a man proceeds less evil grows," symbolizes the difficulty accompanying first repentance, but once the sinner is determined to enter with courage on the way of well-doing, his progress becomes as easy "and as pleasant as a vessel going down stream." A mead, flowery and fair, represents the transient splendor of the world; but beware lest you repose among these "flowers of a hundred hues," "for beneath each fragrant bosom a serpent lies." An eagle clasping Dante and carrying him off to heaven is a symbol of illuminating grace which enlightens the intellect and moves the will. The penitent poet, humbly begging of God's angel to unbar the gate of Purgatory, represents the humility and sincerity of the sinner craving absolution of God's minister in the sacrament of penance. The gloomy clouds in the land of the wrathful symbolize the melancholy influence of anger over the mind and heart of man. The hideous hag who holds us spellbound by her siren song is a true picture of impurity, which, though loathsome in itself, seduces whatsoever

man steadily gazes on her form. The steep and narrow stair, along which the poets must climb singly, represents man's journey to his eternal home, for singly must man journey, as singly must he enter heaven. Finally the Purgatory itself is a symbol of our whole life, for by the Purgatory we are taught that freedom from sin can be purchased only at the price of continual struggle and sacrifice, that the peace of God which the world cannot give can only be had and maintained by a clean conscience and an upright will, and that only those who have the wedding garment of purity can expect "to mount to the stars," the home of our Mother who is in heaven and of our Father Who created us for Himself.

To Dante's eyes a purified soul is beautiful beyond all things beautiful that were ever seen in the world—fairer than the mellow light of morning, brighter than the dazzling beams of the noonday sun, purer than the lily of spring or newly driven snow. It is worthy to bask in the eternal sunshine of God's presence.

Can there be a message for mankind in the "sublime magnificence" of the "Paradiso?" A message there surely is, but only for such as would rise above the poisoned atmosphere of this earth and mount higher and higher, far beyond the moon's pale disc or the sun's golden orb, and make straight for the fixed stars, where countless multitudes of the redeemed, drowned in eternal light, "gaze on the splendors of the glorified Humanity of Christ and on the radiance of the purple orb of the Trinity." Few follow Dante on this celestial journey, fewer still read the deep moral in every canto of the "Paradiso." No superficial reading, but only serious study of the third part of the "Divine Comedy," will reveal the eternal maxims therein contained. In the "Paradiso" the soul has reached its end—true blessedness in God. It has conquered and is crowned with bliss eternal. Nor is it alone in its glory. Thousands upon thousands of spirits of the just made perfect join in the sweet hosannas of the angels:

"O mortal men! be wary how ye judge:
For we, who see our Maker, know not yet
The number of the chosen."—Parad. xx., 125.

Rich and poor, learned and unlearned, souls of all ages and of every clime, are to be found among the blessed. They converse with the poet "as man speaks to man;" they tell of their trials and temptations when on earth, their sensibilities and their passions, the ordeals through which God made them pass in order that the gold of their virtues might be the more refined for the eternal treasure-house of the saints. Here the promises of the Eight Beatitudes are literally fulfilled. Here the saints look back on their life passed on

this earth and thank their Maker for having given them grace to set their hearts not on shadows, but on realities; to fix their gaze not on delusive phantoms, but on the clear light of faith. To save their souls was the one aim to which they directed all their duties, realizing all the while that sorrows and sufferings were mere rounds on the ladder reaching up to heaven.

"Whoso laments that he must doff the garb
Of a frail mortality, thenceforth to live
Immortally above, he hath not seen
The sweet refreshing of that heavenly shower."

—Parad. xiv., 25.

How fitly these words apply to such as have grown terrestrial by the indulgence of their senses by following the whims and vanities of time, and who naturally fear death as life's greatest calamity. Though Dante's Paradise is indeed "the holy Jerusalem where the blessed shall not need the light of a lamp, nor the light of the sun, because the Lord God shall enlighten them, and they shall reign forever and ever," still the poet in every canto informs us in unmistakable terms that heaven is a reward; to obtain it one must take care to merit upon earth, for it is worthy of all labor and suffering:

"It is part of our delight to measure
Our wages with the merit and admire
The close proportion."—Paradise vi., 122.

What is the reward that Dante places before mankind if man would only forego sinful pleasure and be guided by the principles of faith? None other than God Himself, the Uncreated, Everlasting Fountain of life, of love, of beauty, Who alone can satisfy man's thirst for happiness.

"O perennial flowers,
Breathe now, and let the hunger be appeased
That with great craving long hath held my soul,
Finding no food on earth."

A mere desire to reach heaven and even performance of good deeds are not sufficient for obtaining one's last end. The poet assures mankind that not only faith in Christ is needed, for

"None ever hath ascended to this realm
Who hath not a believer been in Christ."—Parad. xix., 101.

but also there is required the guidance of the Church, Christ's Holy Spouse, who by her theology, personified in Beatrice, must enlighten

man, keep him from error and lead him safely to his eternal home. Human reason alone has led the poet step by step through the regions of sorrow and almost up to the top of the Mount of Purification, but Divine Theology must direct his steps in the immediate journey to the terrestrial as well as to the heavenly Paradise. Hence at his very entrance into heaven an increase of light surrounds the traveler to signify that a new and more enlightening beam other than human science must guide man to his Creator, must explain His marvelous works, and must, as far as may be, unravel His mysteries. Hence those outside the pale of the Church and who are not in sympathy with Dante's thoroughly Catholic views find it very difficult to follow Dante in the celestial journey and understand his doctrine concerning God and creation, man's original justice and his fall, the utter powerlessness of any creature to make atonement to God for original sin, the consequent necessity of a God-Man to make reparation on the cross, the soul's immortality and the resurrection of the body.

Hence the "Paradiso" has no message for the Rationalist, who, relying on human reason alone, rejects the supernatural, considers the story of Adam and Eve a myth and scoffs at the Redemption as the outcome of pious sentimentality. Hence also one who is given over entirely to sensual gratifications and who makes this world a Paradise will fail to appreciate the delicacy with which the poet inculcates his lesson on the excellence of religious vows, their obligations and their subsequent merit to a high degree of glory, on the reasonableness and advantage of a sincere conversion to God which oftentimes gains for a soul a lofty place among the blessed. To the sincere Catholic and devout Christian the message of the "Divine Comedy" is teeming with consolation. The poet speaks of our home far beyond the stars, not as an idle visionary playing with fancy, but as one having authority. He tells us what he has seen and heard. After taking us step by step from sphere to sphere of the blessed, and from choir to choir of the angels, to the very throne of the Godhead, the Ever-blessed Trinity, by Whose light the heavens are illumined, around Whom hover the thrones, dominations and powers, as so many dazzling sparks fired with God's love, Dante exclaims:

"O speech,
How feeble and how faint thou art to give
Conception birth? Yet this to what I saw
Is less than little."—Par. xxxiii., 112-113.

Thus the immortal poet of Florence tries to sum up all he has said about the "Summum Bonum," which he places before mankind

as the one object of all ambition; which must be attained by a thorough knowledge of self, by a firm will to conquer the one obstacle on man's road to heaven, namely, sin, by an unswerving faith in Christ's doctrine and by a humble submission to the teaching of the Church. In short, by a whole-souled conversion to God, Who has destined each soul for Himself. Such is Dante's message to mankind.

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Book Reviews

THE WESTMINSTER VERSION OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES—THE NEW TESTAMENT. Vol. I., Part II.—*The Gospel According to St. Mark.* By the *Rev. Joseph Dean, D. D., Ph. D.,* Professor of Sacred Scripture, St. Joseph's Diocesan College, Upholland. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

The Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures is progressing so steadily and meritoriously as to bring joy to all who are watching its progress. It seemed a great undertaking when first announced, and even those most in favor of it hardly expected to see its completion assured at so early a date. But already the whole of the New Testament is in hand and a beginning has been made with the translation of the Old Testament.

Two very valuable and interesting parts have come from the press recently containing the Gospel of St. Mark and the Apocalypse. The text flows with the same even continuity, as in former contributions, and the references and notes are as full and clear. The introductions in both cases are so well done as to be worthy of quotation.

I. ST. MARK.

Scripture and tradition say very little about the author of the second gospel, who is better known by his Roman surname Mark than by his Jewish name John.

He is not mentioned in the gospels. St. Epiphanius makes him one of the seventy-two disciples, even one of those who after the discourse at Capharnaum "walked no more" with Jesus (John vi., 66). A sixth century eulogy identifies St. Mark with the "man carrying a pitcher of water" (xiv., 13). Recent commentators suggest that he is the "young man" who sought to follow Jesus from Gethsemane to the house of Caiaphas (xiv., 51). None of these views are easy to reconcile with the explicit statement found in Eusebius, and perhaps to be attributed to St. John the Apostle, that St. Mark neither heard the Lord nor followed Him.

The Acts of the Apostles supply more reliable information. In Acts iv., 36, we are introduced to St. Mark's cousin, St. Barnabas, a Jew of Cyprus (*cf.* Col. iv., 10). In xii., 12, we meet St. Mark himself, already a convert, living with his mother in Jerusalem. St. Peter knew them well, for after his miraculous deliverance from prison he went straightway "to the house of Mary, the mother of John, surnamed Mark, where many were gathered in prayer." Shortly afterwards, Barnabas and Saul, who had come to Jerusalem with relief for the brethren, returned to Antioch "taking with them

John, surnamed Mark" (xii., 25), and when they set out on their first missionary journey (47-48 A. D.) "they had John as their attendant"—not a mere servant, but probably a subordinate colleague in the work of the ministry (xiii., 5). At Perga in Pamphylia "John withdrew from them and returned to Jerusalem" (xiii., 13). The reason of this withdrawal is not known, but St. Paul evidently did not consider it justified. After the Council of Jerusalem we find St. Mark back in Antioch, and when St. Paul proposed a second missionary journey (50-53 A. D.) "Barnabas wished to take John, called Mark, with them"; but St. Paul, mindful of the previous withdrawal, dissented. So "Barnabas took Mark and sailed to Cyprus," while St. Paul chose Silas and went through Syria and Cilicia (xv., 36-41).

We cannot trace St. Mark's movements during the next ten years, but in the interval St. Peter, and even the once offended St. Paul, claimed his services. In three Epistles despatched from Rome, St. Mark is associated with the two Apostles. About 61 A. D. St. Paul sends greetings to Philemon "from Mark and Luke, my fellow-workers" (24), and to the Colossians "from Aristarchus and from Mark, Barnabas' cousin; (ye have received instructions about him; if he come to you, give him welcome); . . . these alone of the circumcision are my fellow-workers for the kingdom of God, and they have been a comfort to me" (iv., 10-11). The Apostle speaks dubiously of St. Mark's intended visit to Colossae, and possibly is was deferred, for presently (perhaps about 64 A. D.), St. Peter too sends a salutation from Rome—the "Babylon" of his first Epistle—in the name of "my son Mark" (v., 13). Subsequently, St. Mark journeyed to Asia, and it may be in 66 A. D. that St. Paul bids Timothy, who was probably at Ephesus, "pick up Mark and bring him with thee" to Rome, "for he is useful to me in the ministry" (II. Tim. iv., 11).

No further mention of St. Mark occurs in the New Testament. The general voice of tradition is against distinguishing "John Mark" of the Acts from "Mark" of the Epistles, and it is now generally admitted that he who appears in the Acts as the associate of Peter, Paul and Barnabas, reappears in the Roman Epistles, under his Roman surname alone, as the "son" of Peter, the "fellow-worker" of Paul, and the "cousin" of Barnabas.

The Fathers and ecclesiastical writers throw little further light on St. Mark's life. They agree in calling him "the disciple and interpreter" of St. Peter. Many take this latter term to refer to assistance given in the rendering of St. Peter's native Aramaic into Greek; though it may merely intimate that St. Mark in his gospel gave written expression to the oral teaching of his master.

Eusebius relates that St. Mark was said to be the founder of the Alexandrian church. The tradition was widespread and is not disproved by the mere silence of the Alexandrians Clement and Origen, or by our inability to determine the precise time of St. Mark's ministry there. The time, place and manner of his death are likewise uncertain.

II. THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE GOSPEL.

That St. Mark is the author of the second gospel is attested by external and internal evidence.

The earliest and most explicit witness is Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, "a hearer of John and the companion of Polycarp," another disciple of St. John. It is probably this latter who, as Papias reports, used to say: "Mark, Peter's interpreter, wrote down what the Lord had said or done—so far as he remembered it—accurately, but not in order. For he had neither heard the Lord nor followed Him, but later, as I said, he was a follower of Peter, who gave such instructions as circumstances required, and not an orderly account of the Lord's words. Hence Mark was not at fault in writing some things simply as he (*i. e.*, Peter) remembered them. For his one care was to omit nothing that he had heard, and to speak truthfully thereon."

There is manifest reference to the second gospel in the writings of St. Justin (flor. c. 150 A. D.), and in the opening lines of the mutilated Muratorian canon (c. 200 A. D.), though St. Mark is not expressly mentioned. St. Irenaeus, a disciple of St. Polycarp of Smyrna, and later Bishop of Lyons, writes (flor. c. 185 A. D.): "After the departure of Peter and Paul, Mark, Peter's disciple and interpreter, delivered to us in writing what Peter had preached." And again, "Mark, Peter's interpreter and follower, began his gospel thus: "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, Son of God. . . . At the close of his gospel Mark says: "And the Lord Jesus, after speaking with them, was received into heaven and sitteth at the right hand of God." These words are the more valuable in that they formally identify St. Mark's work with our second gospel, and clearly recognize his authorship of the contested final verses. From the testimony of Clement of Alexandria (flor. c. 200 A. D.), we learn incidentally the birthplace, occasion and destination of our gospel. He relates, as a tradition, that when Peter had preached the word in Rome . . . many there besought Mark, who had followed him from of old and remembered his words, to write down what he had said; and that Mark composed the gospel, and gave it to those who had made the request of him." Tertullian in North

Africa, Origen in Alexandria, and many later Fathers and writers testify to St. Mark's authorship and clearly assert that his gospel embodies St. Peter's preaching.

We may add, respecting these writers, that those who refer to the time of St. Mark's composition—with the possible exception of St. Irenaeus—suggest a date prior to St. Peter's death (c. 64-65 A. D.). On the other hand, St. Mark does not appear to have been St. Peter's colleague in the ministry at Rome till after the middle of the century. The date of composition, then, probably falls not long after 60 A. D.

The internal evidence of authorship amply confirms the main statements of the above witnesses. The author was clearly a Greek-speaking Jew. "The Greek gospel is manifestly not a mere translation of an Aramaic work," but represents a Greek original. Yet the simple sentences devoid of elaborate syntax, the ready use of Aramaic words and phrases, the familiarity with Jewish customs and beliefs, and with Palestinian topography betray the writer's nationality.

Again, the author, if not himself an eye-witness of the events recorded, had surely been in constant intercourse with one. The whole narrative is clear, remarkably precise in detail, and handled with animation. The various scenes are vividly presented, the touches lifelike and unexpected, and impressions strong. The whole coloring is rich, fresh and warm. Everywhere it is the living Christ whom we see.

Furthermore, there are indications that St. Peter was the eye-witness in question. It is noteworthy that St. Peter's discourse in the house of Cornelius (Acts x., 34-43), so truly outlines St. Mark's gospel as to be called his gospel in miniature. Nor is it without significance that St. Peter's inspired conception of Jesus—"He is Lord of all"—dominates the second gospel. "There is certainly but little in this gospel which did not fall within the limits of St. Peter's personal knowledge." With St. Peter's call the narrative of the ministry begins (i., 16); his confession at Caesarea Philippi marks its turning-point (viii., 29); the angel's message to him is its close (xvi., 7). True, St. Mark omits several striking "Petrine incidents" (e. g., Matt. xiv., 29: xvi., 18: xvii., 27); but this we attribute, with Eusebius, to St. Peter's reserve in sounding his own praises, while we point out four references to St. Peter peculiar to St. Mark (i., 36: xi., 21: xiii., 3: xvi., 7), and observe that St. Peter's faults are not forgotten (viii., 33: xiv., 37-68); indeed, the account of his three denials is given with special details. His figure may not loom large, but we feel we have the story from his standpoint.

Lastly, there are signs that the work was destined chiefly for gentile converts. The author makes no express reference of his own to the Law of Moses, and in significant contrast to St. Matthew, only once explicitly quotes the Old Testament in his own narrative (i., 2-3: yet *cf.* vi., 34; xv., 24, 29, 36: xvi., 19). He translates Aramaic words and phrases (*e. g.*, iii., 17: v. 41: vii., 11, 34), and inserts explanatory comments on many matters in no wise obscure to Jewish readers (*e. g.*, vii. 2-4: xii., 18: xiv., 12). A few touches in the gospel even suggest its connection with Rome. Latinisms are relatively frequent (*e. g.*, v., 43: xv., 15, 19, 39), and the value of the widow's "mites" is even explained in terms of Roman money (xii., 42). Again, the Rufus of xv., 21, recalls the Rufus of Romans xvi., 13.

III. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GOSPEL.

The second gospel has much in common with the first and third. Almost every section of St. Mark has its parallel in St. Matthew or in St. Luke, frequently in both. Similarity of matter is largely accompanied by similarity of language. This gives rise to the Synoptic Problem, which is concerned with the manner of origin and mutual relations of the first three gospels, a question treated in the appendix of St. Matthew. Here we merely point out the more distinctive features—doctrinal, historical and literary—of St. Mark compared with the other evangelists.

Doctrinal. The distinct purpose of the second gospel is to portray Jesus as "Lord of all." It is suggested by the very headline: "The gospel of Jesus Christ, Son of God." True, the question of Christ's divine personality also forms the main theme of St. John's narrative, but the standpoint and method of the two evangelists are widely different. St. Mark's view is distinctively historical; St. John's is eminently, but not exclusively, doctrinal. In the one case there is no attempt to flash the Godhead upon us; Our Lord is not wholly silent, but He is reticent; nay, of the Jesus of St. Mark men have said that "He did not set great store on His equality with God." In truth, the simple, unstudied narrative is left to speak for itself and to convince the reader that "truly this man was Son of God." His Divinity reveals itself as it were unconsciously and without effort. In the other case, we have speech pregnant with mystery, sublime reasoning, profound discourses and divine claims: "I and the Father are one." In Mark once only does Jesus Himself declare directly and expressly that he is "the Son of the Blessed One" (xiv., 61). Elsewhere He accepts, as He must, the attribution of absolute power (i., 40: ii., 7, 10); twice, at His baptism and transfiguration, the Supreme Witness bears

testimony to Him; He allows even unclean spirits to give momentary expression to their recognition of Him (iii., 11: v., 7); He claims to be "Lord of the Sabbath" (ii., 28), reads the hearts of men (ii., 8) and even the deep counsels of God (xiii.), and sometimes utters language befitting the lips of God alone (viii., 34-38; xiii., 26-27); once He almost lifts the veil entirely (xii., 1-9); but otherwise the mystery of His Person is left to reveal itself principally through multiplied manifestations of superhuman power.

Yet no other evangelist brings Christ's perfect manhood into such bold relief. On fourteen occasions Jesus assumes the title "Son of Man." He is subject to fatigue and to hunger. His soul's emotions are expressed in word, look and gesture; He is touched with compassion, moved to indignation, stricken with grief. He prays and fears, sighs and wonders, suffers and dies.

St. Mark certainly does not emphasize Our Lord's Messiahship. This aspect of His Person would not in itself appeal to gentile converts. Only near the close of the gospel do we find Jesus' first explicit claim to be the Christ (xiv., 61). Moreover, St. Peter knows it, but is not allowed to tell any man (viii., 29). Outside the circle of the twelve, blind Bartimaeus is the first to proclaim it openly (x., 47), and at last the crowd takes up the cry (xi., 10). It is precisely the insistence on a progressive self-revelation of Christ that is more marked in the second gospel than in the others; and this was probably set forth to meet a difficulty likely to arise even in Roman minds: how came it that the Jews did not at once acclaim their Christ?

Historical. As already stated, there are few paragraphs in St. Mark lacking parallels in St. Matthew and St. Luke; yet in the narrative of the ministry his choice of matter is significant. He assigns a large place to miracles; in fact, in this "gospel of miracles" almost a fourth of the whole record is devoted to them. Brief as St. Mark's gospel is, it contains almost all the mentions of miracles to be found in St. Matthew's, and adds four omitted by that evangelist (i., 23-28: vi., 12-13: vii., 31-37: vii., 22-26); two of these are peculiar to itself. This demonstration of power was well calculated to impress gentile converts. Jesus is seen commanding all the forces of nature, acting as "Lord of all"—of wind and sea, of disease and death, of all material things and all earthly conditions. His power over devils is particularly emphasized, appealing strongly to readers once in bondage to the powers of evil.

St. Mark's predilection for the miracles becomes more striking when contrasted with his meagre account of the discourses. He does not report half as many parables as either St. Matthew or St. Luke; only four are explicitly proposed as such (iv., 3-9: 26-

29: 30-32: xii., 1-9), and one alone is peculiar to him (iv., 26-29). The Sermon on the Mount is omitted; other discourses appear in a much abbreviated form; the eschatological discourse (xiii.) alone survives at considerable length.

It has been said that St. Mark's is "the chronological gospel." This merits a qualified assent. From the opening of the Judæan ministry (x.), he is in general agreement with St. Matthew and St. Luke. In his account of the Galilean ministry (i., 14-ix.), he does not group events on the scheme of St. Matthew, nor attempt the literary arrangement of St. Luke, but his narrative is probably arranged with a stricter eye to actual sequence of events that are theirs. It is practically an agreed point among students of gospel harmony that St. Mark's gospel should be taken as the basis of the whole arrangement.

Lastly, St. Mark is highly circumstantial. With true historical instinct he enriches his record with those minute details of time, place, person, occasion and environment which give certainty and distinctness to narrative, and often pass unnoticed by the other evangelists. "There is perhaps not one narrative which he gives in common with St. Matthew and St. Luke to which he does not contribute some special feature." Dr. Swete calculates that "as a result of this characteristic fulness of St. Mark, some eighty verses in his gospel find no direct parallel in the other Synopists."

Literary. We may note that the body of his work consists of a series of simple sentences usually connected by "and," and frequently combined with his favorite "straightway." No fewer than 80 of the 88 sections of Westcott and Hort's text open with "and." We may likewise emphasize St. Mark's constant use of participles (*e. g.*, v., 25-27) and the frequent occurrence of irregular and broken constructions.

Although the gospel is written in "the Greek of one to whom Greek is not his mother tongue, and who knows the language in its biblical, popular and colloquial forms, not in its literary usage," its style is distinguished by life and force. St. Mark presents his reader with a series of vivid, living pictures, which has charmed and impressed every student of his gospel. An initial line or two frequently gives the setting of an incident, and a fine dramatic effect is obtained by a preference of the direct form of speech, a fondness for mentioning the speaker's movements, gestures and looks, and for noting the impression produced on the bystanders. The freedom with which St. Mark handles his tenses (*e. g.*, xii., 41-42), his frequent use of the "historic present," and his not uncommon redundancies often serve to heighten the coloring or to impart life and movement to the narrative.

THE NEW TESTAMENT. Vol. IV., Part III.—The Apocalypse of St. John.
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Yonkers, N. Y. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

In literary form the mysterious book with which the New Testament concludes stands apart from all those by which it is preceded. While they present the form of historical or of epistolary works, the Apocalypse or "Revelation" wears the distinct garb of a prophetic writing. The enigmatical style and the symbolical visions of this last book of the Bible forcibly recall those of the prophetic works of the Old Testament, and its contents are, in the eyes of the writer himself, those of a "prophecy." Like the prophets of old, the author looks upon himself as a *seer* to whom heaven has disclosed divine secrets concerning the kingdom of God, and has given the mission to impart them to men for their consolation, warning and guidance. He, too, speaks with a divine authority, whether his message refers to the past, bears on the present or foretells the future. He writes primarily on behalf of the chosen people of God, and denounces punishment upon the nations outside. In his eyes God is the righteous Judge of the actions and the intentions of men and the almighty Ruler of heaven and earth, whose cause must ultimately prevail. His prophecy, also, corresponds to a particular stage in God's revelation to the world; and this stage, as in other cases, is the last, so that his utterances have a distinct eschatological character. It thus appears that the Apocalypse is the one prophetic book of the New Law, and that to regard it merely as a part of the Jewish and early Christian literature known as Apocalyptic, is to misconceive its nature.

The author of the Apocalypse is the Apostle St. John, as is clearly attested by external and interval evidence.

The earliest witness in favor of this apostolic authorship is St. Justin, who was born shortly after the death of St. John and lived for some time in Ephesus, the city in which the beloved disciple spent the latter part of his life and to the Church of which the first of the seven letters of the Apocalypse was addressed. Next comes the testimony of St. Melito (flor. 170), the Bishop of Sardis—also one of the Apocalyptic Churches—who, according to Eusebius, wrote a book on the *Apocalypse of John*. More important still is the testimony of St. Irenæus (flor. 180), who distinctly ascribes the Apocalypse to "John, the disciple of the Lord," and who in his early life was intimately acquainted with St. Polycarp, the close follower of that apostle.

The tradition thus validly started was embodied in the Roman list of the sacred books, which is known as the Canon of Muratori. It was followed by Tertullian, in North Africa; by Clement and

Origen, in Alexandria; by St. Hippolytus, in Italy; by St. Theophilus, in Antioch; which fact tends to prove that the Syriac version, known as the Peshitto, contained from the first the Apocalypse, no less than did the old Latin version.

Coming now to internal evidence, we note that, in accordance with prophetic usage, the writer of the Apocalypse gives his own name as "John" (i., 1, 4, 9: xxii., 8), and he gives it in a manner which points to the Apostle St. John as the author of the work. In these passages he betrays no anxiety to make himself prominent by appealing to an apostle's authority, as a pseudonymous writer would naturally feel prompted to do. At the same time he is not afraid to speak of his outward circumstances; he gives himself out as a witness of Christ, an exile of Patmos, one of account in the Asiatic churches—all of which statements could be easily verified by his readers. Hence, we conclude, the "John" thus naturally named four times in the book is no other than the Apostle St. John, the only John known in history as vested with more than local authority over the churches of Proconsular Asia.

This identity comes out also from the general tenor of the Apocalypse, when the book is examined in the light of the first three Gospels. In vocabulary and style the "Revelation" is distinctly the work of a Jew by birth and education, like the Apostle John. The feelings of the author against the opponents of Christ are complete echoes of those of John, "the son of thunder" (Mark iii., 17), who would fain have called down a consuming fire from heaven to avenge his Master's honor (Luke ix., 54), who was well aware, through Our Lord's parables relative to the consummation of the world, that the enemies of Jesus would remain unrepenting unto the end, and finally meet with utter extermination and eternal punishment in the pit of fire (*cf.* Matt. xiii., etc.). Again, the deep interest in eschatological topics which is evinced by the writer throughout the Apocalypse readily suggests that of the apostles who asked Jesus privately, "Tell us when shall these things be, and what shall be the sign when all these things shall be fulfilled," and who received an answer the imagery of which is in striking coincidence with that of the "Revelation" (*cf.* Mark xiii., 3, etc.). Just as the Fourth Gospel is chiefly occupied with the Judean ministry, which is only occasionally touched upon by the Synoptics, so the Apocalypse completes the eschatological teachings of Christ, which are but briefly sketched in those same Synoptic narratives. Like the Fourth Gospel, it ends with a solemn attestation of the truth of its contents.

The question of vocabulary, grammar and style is too intricate to be treated here with the fullness which it demands. The student may be referred to Dr. Swete's very careful and scholarly handling

of the subject in his introduction. Upon the surface there is evidently a vast difference between the two works in this respect, yet on closer inspection an underlying unity can also be discovered. In the first place the richness of vocabulary displayed in the Apocalypse should be recognized. "If we are reminded by an occasional transliteration that the author was a Jew by birth and education, it is clear that he had lived long enough in the Greek cities of Asia to have ready to his hand all the Greek words that he needed for the purpose of his book. The Greek vocabulary of the Apocalypse does not suggest that the writer was crippled by a want of appropriate words. His store is ample for his needs, and it seems to have been chosen with care." We are thus prepared to find that those astonishing departures from the most elementary rules of grammar which meet us in the Apocalypse are not to be explained by mere ignorance of the language. "His eccentricities of syntax are probably due to more than one cause—some to the habit which he may have retained of thinking in a Semitic language; some to the desire of giving movement and vivid reality to his visions, which leads him to report them after the manner of shorthand notes, jotted down at the time; some to circumstances in which the book was written. But from whatever cause or concurrence of causes, it cannot be denied that the Apocalypse of John stands alone among Greek literary writings in its disregard of the ordinary rules of syntax, and the success with which syntax is set aside without loss of perspicuity or even of literary power. The book seems openly and deliberately to defy the grammarian, and yet, even as literature, it is in its own field unsurpassed." It is only when full allowance has been made for the rich vocabulary which St. John had acquired in Asia, for his disregard (or, rather, masterful manipulation) of grammar, and for some other less important phenomena, that we are in a position to trace certain similarities to his Gospel, such as the use of parallelism in sentences (*e. g.*, John i., 4-5; Apoc. xxi., 23), and the reinforcement of a positive by a negative clause (John i., 3; Apoc. iii., 3). After detailing the relevant evidence Dr. Swete finally declares that "it creates a strong presumption of affinity between the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse, notwithstanding their great diversity both in language and thought."

The Apocalypse was written towards the end of the reign of Domitian (96 A. D.). This date is attested by St. Irenæus, whose personal acquaintance with St. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, gives the greatest weight to his testimony. The statement of St. Irenæus was generally accepted by subsequent Church writers, and it is corroborated by internal evidence. The Apocalyptic picture of the Christians at the time when the work was composed is that of men

hunted down, imprisoned and put to death for their faith—a condition which decidedly points to the fully developed policy of the Flavian Emperors against Christianity. St. Jerome definitely ascribes the Apocalypse to the fourteenth year of Domitian's reign (95 A. D.), and this is most likely the exact date.

The internal evidence, however, is not without its difficulties. The more natural interpretation of Apoc. xvii., 10-11 would appear to be that which sees in the five kings that have fallen, Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius, Claudius and Nero, in the king that is reigning Vespasian (A. D. 69-79), in him that is to remain but a short time, Titus, and in the eighth Domitian, the *Nero redivivus*. Here, as elsewhere, it is Domitian's reign that is the centre of dramatic interest, but at first sight it seems to demand that the actual writing of the work should be assigned to the time of Vespasian. The sum-total of the evidence, however, points so powerfully the other way that it seems better to understand the above passage differently. Even apart from the general historical circumstances already touched on, the death-stroke of the first beast, it should be noted, has been healed (Apoc. xiii., 3, 12, 14); *Nero redivivus* has already appeared, and indeed is even spoken of in Apoc. xvii., 11, as already on the way to destruction. A further indication of some consequence is to be found in Apoc. vi., 6, which is thought to contain a historical reference to an edict of Domitian's against vine-growing in the provinces, which the vine-growers of Asia Minor succeeded in persuading him to drop. On the whole, therefore, it seems better to explain Apoc. xvii., 10-11, as a vision projected into the past, though referring to the present. A vision of this kind would be rendered more possible by the fact that its counterfeit was a common feature in the non-canonical apocalypses, with which St. John was very likely acquainted; and his promiscuous use of past, present and future tenses (*e. g.*, in Apoc. xi.: xii., 11, with note: xx., 7-10) lends further confirmation to this view. However, it would in any case be preferable to suppose that this particular vision was an earlier fragment than to assign an earlier date to the whole Apocalypse on account of it.

The place where St. John recorded his Apocalyptic visions is the Island of Patmos. As he was directed to "send" a letter to the Church of Ephesus (*i.*, 11), the tenor of which was revealed to him, the natural inference is that at the time of writing he was not yet back at Ephesus from his exile in Patmos.

The difficulties which surround the interpretation of the Apocalypse are confessedly very great. They arise chiefly from the prophetic contents of the book and from the symbolical character of its style; prophecy, especially when it bears, as is usually the case with the Apocalypse, on the distant future, is necessarily obscure;

and enigmatic figures of speech, such as appear constantly in that inspired book, can but add to the obscurity of prophetic utterances. Much of this obscurity, however, can be removed by reading the Apocalypse of St. John in the light of its organic connection with the ancient prophecies of Israel and with the early writings of Christianity.

The language of the book and its imagery bespeak the familiarity of the author of the Apocalypse with practically the whole field of the prophetic literature of Israel. Numerous as are the symbols employed by St. John, their use never betrays on his part either a studied imitation of ancient models or even a deliberate choice of expressions for the scenes which he describes. They are thus seen to be thoroughly congenial to the Oriental and prophetic mind of the apocalyptic writer. Thence it readily follows that the best means to dispel much of the stylistic obscurity of the Apocalypse of St. John is to interpret it in the distinct light of the symbolical language used by the ancient prophets. These ancient prophets supply, as it were, the root-form of the apocalyptic images and expressions, and this primitive form once realized, it becomes comparatively easy to perceive the amount of adaptation present in a Christian work such as the Apocalypse.

Together with the obscurity which arises from the symbolical form of the Apocalypse, there is that which is entailed by its prophetic contents. And it is particularly with regard to these contents that it behooves the interpreter to view the book in the light of the prophetic utterances of the Old Testament. The message of the apocalyptic seer, as that of the prophets of old, is concerned with the destinies of the kingdom of God. To his mind, as to theirs, there is a conflict raging between the pure worship of the true God on the one hand and heathenism and its consequent immorality on the other. To both him and them the conflict is a personal one. On the one side stand God's chosen people, "His kingdom and priests" (Apoc. v., 10), obeying His commands and helped by His intervention from heaven, and on the other side are found the nations worshipping false gods, whose authority and power they uphold. St. John, like the prophets of old, beholds victories and reverses, and, like them, he traces such events to the will of God, Who grants the one and allows the other. For him, as for them, the final issue of the conflict is never doubtful: God and His righteousness will ultimately prevail, through the advent of One of the race of David, Who is both a Redeemer and a Judge. He and they look forward to the final consummation, when perfect justice will be done to every one according to his works. He and they confidently expect a catastrophic end of the present order of things, together with the sud-

den setting up of a kingdom of eternal bliss for the victors, and the casting out of the vanquished into an abyss of endless torment. He and they direct primarily their message of comforting hope to their contemporaries and leave it in writing for the warning and the consolation of future ages. To his eyes, as to theirs, this manifestation of God's righteousness and glory is not far distant, for he and they form a single procession of messengers sent to prepare the way for the One Whom they know is coming after them.

As might well be expected, the language of the Apocalypse also has the light thrown upon it by that of the other inspired works of the New Testament. The author of this last book of the Bible is a Christian writer, who naturally uses the terms and expressions which he employs in the same sense as they possess in the rest of the New Testament literature. In view of this the interpreter of the Apocalypse will realize the grammatical or doctrinal import of numerous words and expressions found therein, in proportion to his familiarity with the other New Testament writings, where they appear oftener or in a clearer context. In view of this, too, certain expressions or images which might appear to him particularly strange or obscure when he meets them in the Apocalypse—such, for instance, as the first-born of the dead; Jerusalem; the Lamb; the Spouse; the “reign” of Christ before the restoration of all things; the Apocalyptic “thousand years” of that reign, etc.—lose all or at least much of their strangeness or of their obscurity, when they are read in the light of their parallels in the other writings of the New Testament.

A few words may here be added as to the seven churches to which the narrative of the visions was to be taken, with some indications of the peculiar appropriateness of the message delivered to each. The further history of some of them, and of the Christianity of the province of Asia, can to some extent be traced in the letters of St. Ignatius of Antioch, who was martyred under Trajan (98-117 A. D.).

Of Ephesus and the beginnings of the Ephesian church something has been said in the introduction to St. Paul's Ephesian epistle. From Ephesus the bearer was to travel northward to Smyrna, a distance of 35 miles. Its ample harbor and favorable position insured its commercial prosperity, and it was renowned for its beauty. It prided itself on its ancient loyalty to Rome (*cf.* ii., 10). The strong hatred of the Jews for Christianity is confirmed by the account of the martyrdom of St. Polycarp (155-6 A. D.).

After leaving Smyrna the road followed the coast till it reached the River Caicus; the bearer would then turn up its valley for Pergamum, a distance of about sixty miles. Pergamum at this time

appears to have been still the seat of proconsular government, though Ephesus was before long to supplant it. It is there that the throne of Satan, *i. e.*, of the Roman emperor, is set up, exacting through the proconsul the worship of himself, and enforcing it with death (*cf.* xiii., 11, note; also *Ancient King-worship*, by C. Lattey, S. J., Catholic Truth Society: "Lectures on the History of Religions").

Rather over fifty miles by road southeast of Pergamum lay Thyatira, a thriving centre of trade, though not the equal of Ephesus or Smyrna. Bronze work (ii., 18-27) was probably carried to a high pitch of perfection in the city. In ii., 25-28, we may see an allusion to the character of its original foundation; in hellenistic times it was needed as a garrison-town, though in a weak position. Here again there was danger of idolatry and impurity (*cf.* ii., 14, with note), reinforced by the prophesying of a "Jezebel," a forerunner of the later Montanist prophetesses (*cf.* Epiphanius, *Haer.* li., 33; I. Cor. xiv., 34-35).

From Thyatira the bearer speeds to Sardis, a little over thirty miles to the south. It was the ancient Lydian capital, commanding the cities of the coast; but in the security of the Roman peace its strong position was of no service, and it lived largely on its ancient fame—it had "the name of being alive;" but was much decayed. So it was also with the Christianity of the town. There may be a reference in iii., 4, to the woollen manufactures and dyeing industry which it shared with Thyatira. "In Scripture white apparel denotes festivity, victory, purity, the heavenly state: all these associations meet here" (Swete). Twice Sardis had been taken on the side thought impregnable (*cf.* iii., 3).

Following the valley of the Cogamis, a tributary of the Hermus, eastward for about thirty miles, the messenger comes to Philadelphia, a city ever threatened with an "hour of trial" (iii., 10) from earthquakes, and therefore not powerful (iii., 8). In A. D. 17 a severe shock, followed by lesser ones, had caused the population to encamp outside the city (*cf.* iii., 12), and in consequence of Tiberius' generous help at this crisis its name had been changed to Neocæsarea in his honor (or in honor of Germanicus, through whom the help was tendered), but the name soon died out again. The judaisers were strong in the city, but they were to be converted (iii., 9), and for Christianity, as for commerce, Philadelphia was to be "a great and effectual door" (I. Cor. xvi., 9) to the central plateau beyond (iii., 7-8).

About fifty miles by road southeast from Philadelphia lay Laodicea on the Lycus. It had probably been evangelized by Epaphras, like Colossæ (Col. i., 7: ii., 1: iv., 12-13; see also introd. to Col.);

St. Paul, like St. John, doubtless intended his message for the churches of the Lycus valley in general. Laodicea was a wealthy and self-satisfied town (iii., 17-18), famous for its fine wool of glossy black, for a special kind of cloak manufactured there and called after the city (iii., 18), and for its medical school, with the "Phrygian powder" for the eyes produced therein (iii., 18). The hot springs of Hierapolis discharged themselves in a lukewarm condition over the cliff right opposite to Laodicea: lukewarm Christianity is as nauseous as lukewarm water (iii., 15-16).

HISTORICAL SKETCHES. Compiled by Augustus Drive, priest of the Society of Jesus. *The Sodality of Our Lady.* 12mo., pp. 197. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

This history of the Blessed Virgin's Sodality begins with a chapter entitled "Words of the Sovereign Pontiff," which is followed by one entitled "Words of the Saints," and this is succeeded by one containing "Words of the Jesuit Generals." In these three chapters we read what the Sovereign Pontiffs, the saints and the superiors of the Society of Jesus thought about the Sodality of Our Blessed Lady. Then follows the history proper.

To those not already familiar with the subject it will be a surprise to state that few institutions in the Catholic Church, fruitful as it is, have received such beautiful tributes of praise as the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin. Gregory XIII. (1584), Sixtus V. (1587), Clement VIII. (1602) and Gregory XV. (1621) took great pleasure in encouraging them, and Benedict XIV. crowned the spiritual munificence of his predecessors by his Golden Bull, "*Gloriosæ Dominæ.*" After calling to mind in magnificent terms the purpose of St. Ignatius in forming his religious phalanx, he adds: "Among all the holy labors of their institute, the Jesuits, following a very sagacious idea already utilized in a thousand places, have diligently undertaken to enroll youth in pious confraternities or sodalities of the Blessed Virgin, Mother of God; and by inducing them to consecrate themselves to the honor and service of her whom the Holy Ghost calls the Mother of Beautiful Love, of the fear of God and of true knowledge, they help them to rise to the heights of Christian perfection and lead them to the haven of eternal salvation. It is impossible to conceive of the influence these associations have exerted in all classes of society.

Some who from their earliest youth trod the way of innocence and piety under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary, persevered to the end and irreproachable conduct and deserved to crown their exemplary lives by final perseverance.

Others, tearing themselves away from the allurements of the vices which wretchedly enslaved them and from the paths of iniquity in which they were entangled, brought back so the straight way by the assistance of the most clement Mother of God, began thereafter to lead a life of temperance, of justice and of piety.

Not a few, thanks to the tender devotion which they had conceived at an early age for the Mother of God, scaling the highest points of divine charity and bravely abandoning the false goods and perishable pleasures of this world, sought in the religious life a holier existence, and thus less exposed and nailed to the cross with Jesus Christ through the vows of religion, devoted themselves altogether to the work of their own perfection and the salvation of souls.

We ourselves, in our own youth, were a member of the Sodality of the Assumption in the Professed House of the Jesuits at Rome, and remember with pleasure that we took part in the pious exercises of the sodality, to the great good and spiritual consolation of our soul. We also regard it as a duty of our pastoral charge to take under our apostolic protection and to encompass with our favors these miseries in which solid virtues grow, and which serve so powerfully in the formation of Christian youth and the salvation of souls. At the time of the tercentenary of the canonical erection of the "*Prima Primaria*" (1884), His Holiness Pope Leo XIII., formerly a soladist at the Roman College, expressed also his kindly feeling towards sodalities:

- "Among all the associations abundant in fruits of salvation," he says, "which have been established throughout the entire world in honor of the **Blessed Virgin, Mother of God**, the one which indisputably occupies the first place is the sodality called '*Prima Primaria*.' This sodality, always remarkable for the number of its associates, developed so rapidly that it was not long before it spread to the extremities of the world, so that even in our days it counts affiliations in all, even the most distant countries."

The saints, in their turn, were never tired of praising the advantages of Our Lady's sodalities. Their vindication by St. Alphonsus is celebrated.

"Certain people," says the holy doctor, "disapprove of confraternities because they sometimes give rise to quarrels and because many join them from temporal motives. But as churches and the sacraments are not condemned because there are so many who make bad use of them, neither should the sodality. The Sovereign Pontiffs, so far from condemning them, have approved and highly commended them, and also enriched them with many indulgences."

St. Francis de Sales, in the "*Introduction to a Devout Life*,"

earnestly exhorts people in the world to join them, and gives several reasons why they should do so.

The generals of the Jesuits who were witnesses of the good which Jesuit scholastics as well as others derived from this excellent organization recommended it in the highest terms.

The history of such a confraternity, beginning as it did like the mustard seed of the Gospel as long ago as 1563, and continuing without abatement and with ever-increasing and widespread fruitfulness down to the present time, is replete with interest. It will serve to excite the devotion of the reader and to swell the ranks of devout sodalists and faithful clients of our Blessed Lady.

ESSAYS ON CATHOLIC LIFE. By *Thomas O'Hagan, Ph. D.* 12mo., pp. 166. Baltimore: John Murphy Co.

Of the ten essays in this volume, seven have already appeared in various Catholic periodicals. The other three were read before the Eucharistic Congress at Montreal and before the Catholic Press Convention at Columbus and the American Educational Convention at Pittsburgh, respectively.

The periodicals in which the other seven essays appeared include the "Magnificat," the "Columbiad" and the "American Catholic Quarterly Review."

They are already known, therefore, to a large circle of Catholic readers and hearers, and these will all bear witness to their general excellence.

It may be said of Mr. O'Hagan's Essays that they are all interesting, informing, instructive and well written. They are worthy of perpetuation in book-form. Perhaps the most important of them are "The Influence of Religious Home Training," "The Irish Dramatic Movement" and the two on "Catholic Journalism."

THE LIFE OF MONSIGNOR ROBERT HUGH BENSON. By *C. O. Martindale, S. J.* In two volumes, with illustrations. Octavo, pp. 400 and 480. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

Without comparing subjects or authors, we may say that in several ways this "Life of Monsignor Benson" well deserves a place near the biographies of other distinguished Anglican converts which have come from the press in recent years. It is the story of a young man of distinguished family who finds his way "per crucem ad lucem," as so many other earnest, educated, spiritual men have done. Such stories are always interesting because they bring before us wise, brave men who are seeking first the kingdom of heaven and are prepared to sacrifice everything in order to reach it. This

struggle for light seems to appeal to us most strongly when made by the prominent Anglican converts of recent years. No one can read of the sufferings through which they passed as they gradually learned that God was calling them away from home, friends, honors and distinction without being deeply moved. One is sometimes tempted to say, with Christ in the garden, "If possible, let this chalice pass."

Monsignor Benson prayed for light and followed it gratefully and bravely. He gave the best that was in him, without stint, in return for the priceless gift. His personality, his family history as well as his own, his peculiar talents and the use he made of them—all combine to make up a life of absorbing interest.

One is tempted to wish that he might have labored among men longer, but let us judge him by what he has done rather than by what he might have done. Surely he accomplished much in a short time, and his reward ought to be very great.

Father Martindale helps us to know him very intimately, and we are pleased and edified by the intercourse, as well as benefited.

A RETREAT FOR WOMEN IN BUSINESS. In Fourteen Conferences. By *Rev. J. A. McMullan, C. SS. R.* 12mo., pp. 182. New York: Joseph F. Wagner.

Father McMullan's "Retreat for Woman in the Business World" ought to appeal to three classes—those who have made it under his direction, those who cannot do so and those who wish to conduct a similar retreat. It has the very excellent quality of practicability, because it has been tried not once, but several times, and proven.

Two things about it strike one at once—its completeness and its simplicity. It includes instructions on the external truths and means of grace, and the language is simplicity itself. It might well be said that Father McMullan does not force his hearers along, but he draws them. Is not this an admirable quality of a retreat? Does it not make for true conversion rather than temporary panic?

SHORT SERMONS ON GOSPEL TEXTS. By *Rev. M. Broesaert.* 12mo., pp. 147. New York: Joseph F. Wagner.

This celebration of sermons for the ecclesiastical year are brief, but not obscure, as summaries of serious things are so apt to be. On the contrary, they are clear and straightforward. Their brevity is due rather to concise thinking and simple expression than to paucity of thought.

They are practical and will be useful for those who wish to give fruitful instruction within a strict time limit.

FATHER JOGUES, S. J.

A CABLEGRAM from the Rev. Charles Macksey, S. J., of the Gregorian University, Rome, to the Rev. John J. Wynne, S. J., announces that the cause of the Beatification of Father Isaac Jogues has been introduced before the Congregation of Rites for definite consideration and settlement.

Although the death of Father Jogues at the hands of the Mohawk Indians occurred in 1652 on the site of the present village of Auriesville, the process of having him declared a martyr and worthy of the veneration of all who hold the Christian faith was not actually begun until the year 1903. Prior to that time considerable preparation was made by the compilation of documents concerning Jogues and other missionaries who had labored with him and who were put to death by the Iroquois in Canada—Brebeuf, Lalemant, Daniel and Garnier. The result of these investigations was laid before a tribunal of ecclesiastics in Quebec, headed by the present Cardinal Begin, of that city. Prominent among the witnesses before this tribunal were persons who had made studies in the lives of these martyrs, among them the Rev. Arthur Jones, of Montreal; the Rev. Daniel Lowery, representing the Albany Diocese, as Jogues was tortured and put to death in the limits of that diocese, and the Revs. T. J. Campbell, S. J., and John J. Wynne, of New York city. The evidence then presented has since been properly submitted to the authorities in Rome who advocate the canonization of persons eminent for holiness, and to the devil's advocate, whose office it is to oppose the canonization in every way.

This part of the process is so thorough and searching that the consent of the advocates on both sides to the formal introduction of the cause before the Congregation of Rites is usually equivalent to the declaration that the persons involved led saintly lives.

How long the Congregation of Rites may require before declaring these martyrs beatified and deserving of veneration, it is impossible to say. In canonizing such men the Church will only be approving a universal sentiment in favor of their veneration which exists not only among Catholics, but among Protestants also.

Among other items of evidence presented at Quebec was a letter from a prominent Protestant divine who had gone so far in his veneration for Isaac Jogues as to place a stained glass effigy of him in his church.

The one who is now looking after the process of his beatification in this country is the Rev. John J. Scully, S. J., located at Auriesville, N. Y., in charge of the shrine erected on the site of the martyrdom.

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

"Contributors to the *QUARTERLY* will be allowed all proper freedom in the expression of their thoughts outside the domain of defined doctrines, the *REVIEW* not holding itself responsible for the individual opinions of its contributors."

(Extract from *Salutatory*, July, 1890.)

VOL. **XLI**.—OCTOBER, 1916—NO. 164

THE HOSPITALLERS OF THE HOLY GHOST.

THE Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost were the embodiment of a philanthropic movement that took form in the heart of a French layman towards the end of the twelfth century.

It would be interesting and instructive to know the details and the early history of their organization. For to them more than to any other humanitarian factor does the world owe the origin and development of the modern hospital system—a system that has revolutionized the ways and methods of alleviating acutely ill and afflicted humanity.

In the year 990, Ricuin, the Bishop of Maguelonne, gave in fief to one Master Guillem the nascent seigniory of Montpellier, one of the finest sections of the romantic, sea-laved country of Provence.

During the administration of his lineal descendant, Guillem VI. (1121-1149), there was founded in this city-State a School of Medicine which surpassed even the celebrated University of Paris. And in 1160 it had grown sufficiently to induce the illustrious Placentius of Bologna to open within its walls a College of Law. As Montpellier was Papal territory and a place of rising importance, although not yet the see of a Bishop, Alexander III., in 1162, convoked there a council for the purpose of adjusting the case of the anti-Pope Victor and for considering the problems occasioned by the Albigensian heresy.

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Early in the twelfth century some members of the Guillem family—chronicles do not record which—erected a hospice for indigent sick and for travelers. This guest-house afforded temporary aid and shelter to many who sought relief from their maladies and afflictions in the great medical institution of Montpellier. And when science failed them, as it was bound to do in some cases, there was left to them hope at least of being relieved in another way. For Montpellier possessed a miraculous shrine dedicated to the Mother of God under the name of Notre Dame des Tables. Among the celebrated pilgrims that paid homage to the Blessed Virgin at this privileged spot were Popes Urban II., Gelase II., Calixtus II., Innocent II., Adrian IV., Alexander III., Clement IV., Clement V. and Urban V.

To the sick and poor that visited Montpellier the Hospice St. William was a great blessing; to the citizens it was an inspiration and reminder of the Christian and humanitarian dispositions of the Guillems.

Fame and prosperity might tempt, but they could not captivate Lord Guillem VI. In 1149 he resigned in favor of his son Guillem VII. Having put in order his temporal affairs, he bade goodby to fame, wealth and ease and entered Grand-Selve, a Cistercian monastery in the Diocese of Toulouse. He died there some years later in the odor of sanctity.

Guillem VII., the new Lord of Montpellier, had taken to wife Matilda of Burgogne. From his last will and testament, dated September 29, 1171, we learn that he had four sons. The oldest, Guillem VIII., inherited the father's title and estates; the second, Guillem Bourignon, was named for the mother. We shall refer to him again. The third son bore the name of Raymond. His father intended him for the Church. He was to retire to Grand-Selve to pursue ecclesiastical studies and sanctify himself until called to fill the neighboring See of Agde. The fourth son was named Guy (Gui, Guido), the diminutive of Guillaume (William), a term of endearment, given no doubt because he was the youngest of the children. To him the father bequeathed one hundred ducats.

At this time the Knights Templars were held in universal esteem in France, but nowhere more than in the chivalrous land of Provence. The foremost families prided themselves in giving a son to this once so illustrious military order. The Guillems were to be no exception. Guy was selected to be their representative. He was to spend six years with the Templars. At the proper time he was to make profession of the monk-warrior life as practiced in that organization and receive no further allowances after that.

However, in the event that one of the other sons were to die be-

fore Guy had completed his course and taken vows, the head of the family was to recall him and provide for him at the rate of twenty marcs of silver.

It is the received opinion, though unfortunately it cannot be substantiated by documentary evidence, that this fourth son of Guillem VII. was no other than Guy of Montpellier, the founder of the Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost.¹

Virchow, basing himself on the researches of M. Germain, does not subscribe to the traditional opinion. Nevertheless, we prefer it and shall follow it, because the results of Germain's inquiry are all negative,² and, moreover, in some cases positively erroneous. He errs, for instance, when he assigns the subordination of Montpellier to Rome to the year 1228, during the pontificate of Gregory IX. In reality it took place in 1254 under Alexander IV.

Besides, if Guy was not of this family, it is not easy to account for the generosity of Guillem VIII. to the new foundation, as we shall presently see. But we are anticipating.

Guillem-Bourgognon, the second son, died in 1182. His possessions reverted to the head of the family. Guy, if he was then with the Templars, must have been called home, as his father had directed.

Nowhere do the annals of the Templars of Montpellier refer to him, though they do speak of Guillem VIII., who in 1189 exempted them from all taxes and impost.³ This silence is significant.

We are inclined to believe that he never entered the Templars at all, but, following the bent of his dispositions, unconsciously prepared himself for the great task that God had reserved for him.

Being a gentleman of leisure and means, he spent much of his time in the exercise of the spiritual and corporal works of mercy. To give greater efficiency to his services of the sick, he very likely qualified in medicine and surgery.

Naturally, most of his attention and labor would be bestowed on the ancestral Hospice of St. William, which at this time was taxed considerably beyond its capacity.

For several notable miracles wrought in 1189 at Notre Dame des

¹ Gui de Montpellier, "Etude historique," par l'Abbé Paulinier; Montpellier: Boehm et fils, 1870; p. 3. "Le Messager du St. Esprit," Lierre, Belgique, September, 1906; pp. 263-266. "Histoire du Languedoc," par Dom Vaissette, Tom. III., p. 546. "Histoire littéraire de la France," Tom. XVI., p. 599.

² Publications de la société archéologique de Montpellier, 1859, No. 27: "De la charité publique et hospitalière à Montpellier au moyen âge," p. 502 et seq.

³ Cf., "Geistlichen Ritterorden, Prutz," by Delaville Le Roulx; Vol. VIII., p. 281.

Tables drew to Montpellier many that were afflicted and great multitudes of pilgrims, most of whom depended almost entirely on public charity.

We can more easily imagine than describe the feelings of the pious and sympathetic nobleman at the sight of so much unrelieved misery. Various plans of alleviating it most likely suggested themselves. Two things were clearly imperative—larger and better equipped quarters and more improved methods of caring for the sick by persons specially trained for this task. These two points stood out in bold relief. The more Guy reflected on them, the more he felt himself urged to undertake their realization. He was not blind to the difficulties that must follow such a step. Nevertheless, confiding in Him Who to all appearances was inspiring the work, he decided to undertake it. He enthusiastically set about recruiting fellow-workers. Providence visibly blessed his apostolate.

Before long artisans and builders were busy at work in Pylas-Saint-Gely, a picturesque suburb of the city. And as by degrees their labors took definite shape, there rose a building, massive and spacious, which was destined to be a landmark in the history of hospitaller organizations. It was dedicated to the Holy Ghost, and must have been opened to the public sometime during the last decade of the twelfth century.

Followers and coöperators flocked around the founder. For there was something magnetic about his venture, something fascinating and irresistible. Donations, too, were not tardy in forthcoming. Thus we find in the archives of Montpellier that in 1197 Guillem VIII. waived all claims to and ratified the sale of a garden and some fields that Marie de Fabregues and Bertrand de Montlaur donated to Guy, the procurator and founder of the Hospital of the Holy Ghost.

In his testament, dated November 4, 1202, Guillem VIII. left to the leper colony of St. Lazarus 100 sous; to the ancestral Hospice of St. William, 200 sous, and to the Hospital of the Holy Ghost, 1,000 sous.

Guy and his first disciples were all laymen. "Their organization possessed the noble characteristic that all its members were laymen."⁴

Before long these pioneer-nurses perceived the wisdom and propriety of consecrating themselves and their enterprise to God by an act of religion. Encouraged by their spiritual superiors, they at first lived in community as a pious brotherhood. They followed, by way of experiment, a quasi-religious rule. They took in the

⁴ H. C. Burdett, "Hospitals and Asylums of the World," London, 1893; Vol. III., p. 42.

indigent sick and cared for them in a systematic way, they aided the afflicted and buried the dead.⁵

The new foundation attracted the attention not only of individuals, but of communities as well. It was an eminently successful experiment and prospered beyond expectation. The founder had the great satisfaction and consolation of seeing the tiny seed he had planted grow into a majestic tree, which was enveloping powerful branches, laden with fruit and foliage. Houses similar to that of Montpellier were opened and managed by him in Barjac, Largen-tiere, Milhan, Brioude, Troyes, Marseilles and even beyond the Alps in the Eternal City.

That Lotario de Conti, before his elevation to the Sovereign Pontificate, had visited Montpellier on his way to Paris, is certain. That he was acquainted with Guy and his new foundation seems highly probable.

This would explain the great interest he took as Innocent III. in the Hospitallers and their various establishments.

On April 22, 1198, hardly three months after his election, with a score of other far more important and pressing matters awaiting adjustment, Innocent III. took time to address instructions to the Bishops of the Province of Aix to the effect: (a) not to molest any one that was disposed to aid the Hospitallers; (b) to authorize them to build churches and open private cemeteries; (c) to let them select from the secular clergy chaplains for themselves and for their establishments.

And on the following day, April 23, he formally approved the new organization under the title of "The Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost."⁶

In his continuation of the "Ecclesiastical Annals of Baronius," the Dominican Bzovius, referring to this approbation, says: "In that year (1198) Innocent III., among other deeds worthy of the Sovereign Pontificate, confirmed the erection of the Hospital of the Holy Ghost founded by Guido at Montpellier."⁷

And the Abbé Paulinier, who seemingly had access to the auto-graph notes which Baronius prepared for his proposed thirteenth volume, quotes therefrom as follows: "We find several indults accorded to different persons by Innocent III. in the first year of his pontificate, and in particular the one by which he confirmed and enriched with indulgences and extended to the whole world the

⁵ Cf., Johann Wolfil, "Lectio-num Memorabilium et Reconditarum Centenarii," XVI., p. 508.

⁶ Cf., "Dictionnaire des Ordres Religieux," Helyot, Tom. II., col. 206 et seq.; "Encycl. Theol." Migne, Vol. XXI.

⁷ "Annali-um Ecclesiasticorum," Tom. XIII., p. 7, div. 7.

Order Regular of the Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost, which had recently been founded by Guy of Montpellier."⁸

The Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost must not be confounded with any of the charitable Brotherhoods that provided shelter and protection for the pilgrims that visited the Holy Land. These were organizations of warrior-monks. But the Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost were essentially religious nurses of the sick.

The hospital idea did not, of course, originate with Guy and his disciples. To care for the sick—a precept of charity—is as old as Christianity, but it was by means of his order that he reformed the old methods and made popular the new, thus laying the foundations of that civic-ethical institution which in its fuller development is a crowning achievement of modern civilization.

The Hospitallers were under the special protection of Rome; they observed a rule composed by their founder, and were authorized to open branch houses which shared in the same privileges as the mother hospital.

Among the houses directed by the Hospitallers at the time of their first approbation were the two Roman Hospitals of Our Lady across the Tiber and of St. Agatha at the entrance of the city. These houses were far from sufficient to meet the needs of so large a community.

Additional hospital facilities were sorely needed. And the horrid evil of infanticide then gangrening the social body had to be checked.⁹ Innocent, with his characteristic promptness, decided to erect an additional institution sufficiently ample in scope to satisfy all humanitarian needs that clamored for redress.

He selected for its location the Leonine quarter—a section which is now known as the Borgo Santo-Spirito and embraces the right bank of the Tiber from the Bridge St. Angelo to the south colonnade of St. Peter's. In the days of old it constituted an English settlement known as the Schola Saxonum.

In 715, Ina, one of the Saxon heptarchs, built them a church, which they dedicated to the Mother of God.¹⁰ He himself made a pilgrimage to Rome in 718, and in memory of his visit added a hospice to the church.

Later on, Offa, a ruler of the Mercians, had other buildings added and endowed the whole plant. These pious foundations were badly damaged by fire in 817 and again in 847, and during the war between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines they were practically demol-

⁸ "Le Messager du St. Esprit," October, 1906; p. 301.

⁹ Cf., Helyot, Vol. II., col. 206-207; Lucae, "Holstenii Cod. regularum observationibus critico-historicis a M. Brockie," illustratus Tom. V., p. 499.

¹⁰ "Ecclesia Sanctae Dei Centricis Virginis Mariae in Sassia."

ished. The property which they once occupied, as well as the endowments, were now at the disposal of the Sovereign Pontiff. They could be put to no better use than the erection of the proposed hospital and foundling asylum.

The year 1204 brought both sorrow and joy to the founder of the Hospitallers. It brought sorrow by the death of his brother and the passing of the ancestral estate to Peter of Aragon, the son-in-law of the last of the Guillems, and joy by an invitation from the Pope, his august patron, to repair to Rome with a colony of his Hospitallers to take charge of the new institution in the Leonine quarter.

Guy took with him six companions. They were truly seven gifts of the Holy Ghost to the population of Rome. On July 19, 1204, the Sovereign Pontiff published a Bull, which was in reality the second charter and constitution of the rapidly developing order. Innocent evidently united in this document the ripper experience of the founder and such canonical regulations as his wisdom judged best calculated to secure the stability and success of the foundation.

The Bull is addressed to Guy, Master of the Hospitallers of St. Mary in Saxia and of the Holy Ghost in Montpellier; it provides as follows: A hospital is erected in St. Mary of the Saxons; a community of Hospitallers is established; four priests are attached to the new institution; they, too, must make profession in the order, and are subject to the Sovereign Pontiff; the houses of Rome and Montpellier are united under one government; there is to be one master general for both houses; the members enjoy exemption and can be excommunicated by the Pope only; the Italian province can solicit alms in Italy, Sicily, England and Hungary (France and Germany are left to the French); in localities under interdict only one collection is to be taken up; the collectors are under the protection of the Holy See; interdicts are not to affect funerals of the Hospitallers; the farms and vineyards owned by the order are exempt from tithes; they are authorized to open oratories and burial grounds; in matters of the sacraments they are subject to the Ordinaries; in case of general interdict they are to conduct divine services privately; that is, without ringing bells and the church doors closed; novices are to make a year's novitiate; professed members cannot withdraw from the order without permission from the master general; turbulent members can be dismissed on the request of the majority of a chapter; members are exempt from all ecclesiastical and secular allegiance; in conclusion, Innocent recommends the work to the paternal solicitude of his successors.¹¹

¹¹ "Bullarium Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum" Taur. Edit. Tom. III., p. 189 et seq.

The name, St. Mary in Saxia, was soon changed into that of Santo-Spirito in Sassia. We cannot fix the time of this change. Neither can we tell why the Hospitallers were dedicated to the Divine Spirit, especially at an epoch when devotion to the Blessed Virgin enjoyed phenomenal popularity among the people. It is true, works of mercy are generally appropriated to the Holy Paraclete, but in the present case we incline to the conjecture that the favorite devotion of the founder was a determining factor of his choice.

If we examine his coat-of-arms we find it to consist of two fields. The one on the right is devoted to the Hospitallers, and the one on the left to the family of the Guillems. The right half consists of a white cross of twelve points in sable. Above it is a dove-emblem of the Holy Ghost, in a cloud of silver over a foundation of gold. The left half consists of a disc in gules on white, the family symbol of the Lords of Montpellier.

The chapel of the new hospital was dedicated to the Divine Spirit, possibly at the suggestion of Pope Innocent. He was deeply devoted to the Holy Ghost. Some think it was he that composed the immortal sequence, "*Veni Sancte Spiritus*."¹²

Innocent watched over Santo-Spirito with fatherly love and solicitude and missed no opportunity to further its interests. On January 3, 1208, he raised its chapel to the dignity of a station and endowed it with the same indulgences as the great basilicas of Rome.¹³ He, moreover, organized for its benefit a corps of lay auxiliaries known as the Confraternity of the Holy Ghost.¹⁴

In the decree of erection the Pontiff directs that on the Sunday after the octave of Epiphany the Holy Sudarium, commonly known as Veronica's Veil, be carried processionally from St. Peter's to Santo-Spirito, accompanied by Cardinals and other dignitaries; that the chief pastor himself pontificate and preach at the hospital; that there be a distribution of alms to the 300 inmates and to 1,000 other poor; that each of these receive three denarii—one for bread, one for meat and one for wine; in conclusion, he requests his successors to observe the same.¹⁵

Great must have been the joy that inundated the soul of the venerable grandmaster at the sight of such tokens of appreciation from the very Vicar of Christ on earth. Greater still and more lasting joy was to be his before the year had run half its course.

¹² Cf., "Dictionary of Hymnology," Julian; p. 1236.

¹³ "Bullarium," Tom. III., Ex. Baluz, Ep. 179.

¹⁴ Morichini, "Degli Instituti Di Publica Carita * * * in Roma," Vol. I., p. 39.

¹⁵ Epis. Innoc. III., Paris, 1682; Tom. II., p. 98; Lib. X., Ep. 179.

Guy appeared on the stage of life ready-made and equipped for his special mission. At the psychological moment he starts a new movement in the ethic-social sphere. He stands by to direct its course until it is well launched, then, as his appearance was—unheralded and serene—so is his departure. He appears in silhouette, as it were, against the sky of a new day. He fades from sight as soon as the dawn bursts into dazzling light.

All we know of his death is that sometime during the first half of the year 1208—seemingly in the spring—full of good works and merits, he went to his eternal reward. For on June 10 Innocent III., in a Bull addressed to the Hospitallers, refers to Guy's death at Rome as a recent event.¹⁶

In this communication, Innocent, in compliance with their request, made Santo-Spirito the head of the Hospitallers and its rector, superior general of the whole order. He also approved the election of P. de Granerio as master general.

The first body of Hospitallers consisted exclusively of men. But about the time of the founder's death a female branch developed. This departure was in perfect keeping with the tastes of the time. For most of the leading types of religious life provided for members of both sexes, as we see in the case of the Benedictans, Carthusians, Dominicans and Franciscans.

Speaking of the pontificate of Innocent III., Cardinal Morichini¹⁷ says: "There was added to the Hospitaller Brothers of Rome a female branch, also known as the Nuns of St. Tecla. They observed the same rule as the Brothers. In the early days of their existence their chief occupation was the care of foundlings. But they also shared in the nursing of the sick, according to accepted usage. Later their services were restricted to the care of orphans and foundlings." It was in this capacity that they were first employed in Santo-Spirito. They received the title of St. Tecla because their convent was attached to a church which was dedicated to the first Christian female martyr. They were also known as the Sisters of the Holy Ghost, or simply as the Hospitallers.

Innocent III. died June 16, 1216. He was succeeded by Honorius III. The new Pontiff judged the union between Montpellier and Rome to be detrimental to the Italian province, so he ordered their separation May 13, 1217. The decree is addressed to Cinthius, the master general; it repeats and confirms certain obligations and privileges of the Hospitallers; Santo-Spirito is received under the

¹⁶ "Bullarium," Tom. III., pp. 215-216.

¹⁷ "Roma Antica et Moderna," Vol. I., p. 278.

special protection of the Holy See; its master is subject to the Pope only.

Materially the severance of the two provinces brought on a number of controversies. Montpellier felt hurt and asserted its seniority. On March 15, 1229, Gregory IX. directed that henceforth the order was to have a Cardinal-protector; that Santo-Spirito was its mother house; that Montpellier depended on Rome, but was allowed to collect alms in France, Navarre and Germany. The Bull was addressed to John, rector of Santo-Spirito.¹⁸

Matters do not seem to have moved smoothly, for in 1254 Alexander IV. annexed the archhospital to the Italian province. By this act Montpellier was subordinated completely to the Roman commander and even lost the right to collect alms.

The French were loath to comply with demands that seemed unjust and harsh to them. But Rome was well justified in making them, as we shall see. Gregory X. (1271-1276) insisted that they submit and assign their revenues to Santo-Spirito. At last they gave in, as we learn from a document by Nicholas IV., on June 20, 1291. As a sign of their submission they paid an annual tribute of three pieces of gold.¹⁹

It was natural that in France Guy's work should develop with great rapidity and bear fruit of genuine excellence. Means and vocations abounded. Would that it had been likewise blessed with firm steersmen and brainy financiers. This seems to have been the weak side of the French province.

In imitation of the military orders, the Hospitallers followed the system of grouping their manors and other landed possessions into distinct commanderies. They frequently appointed laymen over these commanderies, who, abusing the trust committed to them, took advantage of the position to enrich themselves. This caused untold misery to the religious.

Their temporalities were regarded by canon law as possessions of the Church. As such they were free from tax and under the protection of the Holy See. This is why Honorius III., on May 13, 1217, ruled that these unjust stewards be first admonished, and if they continued contumacious, be adjudged guilty before God and denied Holy Communion.²⁰

Another evil the Hospitallers had to contend against was the tendency of bestowing their hospitals and dependencies as benefices on clerics. This abuse was checked in 1336 by the Council of Clermont.

¹⁸ "Bullarium," Tom. III., p. 443.

¹⁹ Helyot, Tom. III., p. 204.

²⁰ "Bullarium," Tom. III., p. 320.

The administration of their temporalities continued vexatious and unsatisfactory. For a time it was entrusted to a body of lay trustees known as the "Militia" or "Knights of the Holy Ghost." This experiment was a failure, too. Members of this organization would take over the estates and pay the order a stipulated sum in return. Instead of controlling the lay element, the seculars soon controlled the Hospitallers. The knights grew in power and insolence. They were the dominant element in the order for many years and managed to extend their body and influence even to other countries.

In 1459 Pius II. found himself forced to intervene. A radical remedy had to be administered. The knights were officially suppressed and their doubtfully acquired possessions turned over to the Order of Our Lady of Bethlehem.

To make assurance doubly sure and prevent all lay intrusion in the future, Sixtus IV., in 1476, decreed that only professed Hospitallers could be appointed to any commandery or post of trust in the order.

The name of Sixtus IV. shall ever shine in the history of the Hospitallers as one of their foremost patrons. It was his good fortune to realize the dream of Innocent III., which was to make Santo-Spirito a centre where Christian charity could gather under her wings every form of human misery and pain.

The original buildings and equipments of the archhospital were no longer adequate and suitable to satisfy the needs and demands of the growing city. Of this Sixtus was convinced.

Accordingly, he decided to rebuild it on a larger and more magnificent scale. Along the right bank of the Tiber he erected the principal building, a splendid sample of early Renaissance. Its length was pleasingly broken in the middle by an imposing octagonal dome. The interior was enhanced with niches and frescoes, the latter depicting scenes from the life of Sixtus.

A covered gallery was added to the main hall by which arrangement accommodations were secured for 1,200 priests. Besides the principal ward, there was a special lodge for surgical cases, an asylum for the insane, a nursery for foundlings, a protectory for boys, a similar institution for girls, a home for the aged, an apartment for the Hospitallers, a residence for the commander and his household of chaplains, surgeons and nurses. There was also a well equipped operating room, a pharmacy reputed the best in the city and a splendid collection of works on medicine, which in the course of time developed into the celebrated library, Biblioteca Lancissiana. At times this unique colony on the Tiber had a population little short of 5,000 souls.

Improvements on such a scale necessarily entailed expenses correspondingly great. To raise the required funds Sixtus decided to interest the laity by reorganizing the old Confraternity of the Holy Ghost.

The lay association had declined with the death of Innocent III. Eugene IV. (1431-1447) during his pontificate attempted to revive it, but it took the tact and skill of Sixtus to place it once more in a flourishing condition.

On March 21, 1477, he opened its register to all the faithful. Up to this it had been a men's society only. Sixtus himself and the members of the Sacred College now joined it and inscribed their names. The most illustrious personages of Europe followed their examples. Non-residents of Rome registered by proxy. In the course of time the Book of the Confraternity, as the register was called, became a remarkable collection of signatures.

Ferdinand Gregorovius, writing to Virchow November 14, 1877, said: "I was delighted to learn that you explored the archives of Santo-Spirito. I remember having seen the register of the confraternity, which is a remarkable collection of autographs. It covers mainly the period of Sixtus IV. The most illustrious men of Europe had themselves received into the confraternity. I had hoped to find the name of Copernicus also, but was disappointed."

The offerings made by the sodalists were consigned to the hospital fund. For their temporal alms the faithful were requited by favors of the spiritual order. They enjoyed privileges similar to those granted during the great jubilees. The Pope also granted them a plenary indulgence for the hour of death.

Deceased associates were buried with special honors. The corpse was shrouded in a particular habit, four torch-bearers and sixteen sodalists attired in funeral camises accompanied the body to the grave. Mass was said for all the deceased members every Monday and in honor of the Holy Ghost, and for the living on Thursdays.

On Pentecost the celebration began with the exposition of the Holy Sudarium at the basilica of St. Peter's. A procession was then formed in which the Sovereign Pontiff participated. Relics of St. Andrew, St. Paul and St. Katharine were carried in the procession. On reaching Santo-Spirito either the Pope or one of the Cardinals pontificated and preached.²¹

In 1513 Leo X. introduced some modifications and changed the name of the confraternity into that of "Della Carita."

Sixtus IV., like his predecessor, watched over the organic well-being of the order. On February 11, 1483, he addressed a letter

²¹ Cf., "Bullarium," Tom. V., pp. 246-290.

to Pio de Ruvere, in which he directed that the members elect their superior, subject to the approval of the Holy See; that the orphans be treated in a paternal way; that the female Hospitallers share in the immunities and privileges of the Cassinesians of St. Justina; that the order have a Cardinal-protector.²²

A brief survey of the mode of life observed by the Hospitallers has its place here. Their life was based on the traditional principles of religious discipline.

According to Le Saumier, Eugene IV. made the order follow the rule of St. Augustine. This was about the year 1440. The chaplains formed a community of canons-regular. The correction of this category was reserved to the Cardinal-protector.²³

The lay Brothers and Sisters at first observed the rule of their founder, but later on it was practically replaced by that of St. Augustine. The oldest edition of their rules and constitutions extant is that of 1564. They were promulgated by Bernardine Cyrilus. The introduction states that they are conformed to the old rule and contains the following preamble: "Freely we have offered ourselves to God the Holy Ghost, to the Blessed Virgin and to our masters, the sick (*dominis infirmis*), that we may be their perpetual servants, having promised by oath and solemn vow, by a free act of our will, no one compelling us (to observe) chastity, poverty, obedience and humble patience."²⁴

The two branches formed but one organization and were governed by the same code of regulation, under one and the same commander. "The rule binds alike the Brothers and Sisters, because in a community of the Holy Ghost it would be unbecoming if the admission and discipline of members differed."²⁵

Spiritual exercises, study, labor, recreation—everything was regulated. Members were not permitted to leave their community unaccompanied or remain away overnight. Neither might they when out accept anything except water. In the fifteenth century the order reached its zenith. It then directed approximately a thousand establishments and numbered over 10,000 professed members.

They recited the Roman office. Candidates made a year's novitiate in some house of the order. They held an annual chapter at Pentecost. The grandmaster was empowered to visit and direct the establishments of the order. But it does not seem that this right was exercised. Tarrugi da Monte Pulciano, who was com-

²² "Bullarium," Tom V., p. 289.

²³ Cf., Chap. xxvi., "Reg. Hosp. Sp. Stl."

²⁴ Migne, "Dict. Rel.," Vol. II., col. 218.

²⁵ Chap. xcvi.

mander from 1595-1601, is the only one that visited the houses and kept a record of the visitations.

If a Brother or Sister contracted leprosy, they were not to be dismissed, but cared for as any other patient.

The city of Halle as early as 1241 had a hospital of the Holy Ghost for infectious cases.²⁶ It was likely to a house of this kind that members so afflicted would be transferred.

The costume of the Hospitallers in the earlier years of their organization seems to have been a wide habit without cincture. It was supplied with a cowl. In a volume printed A. D. 1600 a Hospitaller is represented in such a garb. His beard is shaven, but his locks are long. In his right hand he holds a bunch of keys.²⁷

Later on a more distinctive uniform was adopted. The Sisters wore a plain habit tightened to the waist by a girdle, the veil and the mantle. To the habit and mantle were attached the white cross of the order. The professed chaplains continued to wear the ordinary ecclesiastical dress of the country in which they lived.

To the soutane and mantle was affixed a patriarchal cross of twelve points—the distinctive badge of the order.

In France the canons when at office wore with the surplice a small blue-edged cape. On the left arm they wore an ornament called an "aumusse." It represented the maniple. In Italy the choir dress was nearly the same. In Poland they used a violet mosette.

We have mentioned the badge of the Hospitallers. It consisted of an upright and two parallel bars. The edges were so cut as to form in all twelve points. The significance of the twelve points is not known. This form of this cross seems to date from the introduction of Christianity into Gaul. The perpendicular bar, it is claimed, represents St. Lazarus, and the two horizontal ones his sisters, Martha and Mary. A somewhat similar cross is found in our days in connection with sanitary advertisements. Might it be a vestige of the badge of the pioneer Hospitallers?

The commanders wore the same kind of cross, but it was made of gold. The center was enameled azure and ornamented with a golden dove emblem. In choir they wore violet, in keeping with their rank.

In Italy the nuns were eventually excluded from curing the sick. Accordingly, they restricted their labors to the care of orphans and foundlings. They had establishments in Tivoli, Formelli, Tolentin, Vitterbo, Ancona, Eugubio, Florence, Ferrara, Alexandria and Murcia.²⁸

²⁶ Dreikaupt, "Chronik des Saalkreises," Halle, 1750; Bd. I. S. 952.

²⁷ Cf., Johann Wolfel, "Lectio-num Memorabilium;" Centenarii xvi., p. 740.

²⁸ Migne, "Dict. Relig.," Vol. II., col. 220.

At Santo-Spirito the girls were kept, as a rule, until ready either to marry or to consecrate their lives to God as Oblates. In either event the house gave them a modest dowry.

The boys on reaching a certain age were transferred to a trade school in Viterbo. Those who made good, after mastering a trade and serving a while as apprentices, were helped to set up little shops of their own.²⁹

During the pontificate of Innocent X. (1644-1655) the co-existence of male and female Hospitallers in Italy began to grate on Italian conventionalities. Yielding to popular bias, Alexander VII. (1655-1667) abolished the female branch for Italy.³⁰

The French Hospitallers, male and female, toiled side by side, as we see in the houses of Besancon, Dijou, Montpellier, Poligny and Stephanfeld. In some cases they had distinct establishments, as, for instance, at Bar-sur-Aube, in Neuf-Chateau.

Neuf-Chateau merits special notice. It was founded in the lifetime of Guy, and continued to prosper under the supervision of his disciples until 1760. After that the Sisters continued their work under secular direction, weathering by their tact and devotedness even the great Revolution.

They were less fortunate during the stormy period that terminated in the revolt of 1848. On March 1, 1842, the people whom they had served so long and so loyally demanded their banishment. Deeply pained, but not daunted, the six survivors withdrew to Rouceux, a municipality in the Vodges district.

Ten years later Bar-sur-Aube, having recovered from its ultra-democratic fever, recalled the Sisters. In 1860 they numbered thirty-two members. They conducted small houses of education for poor girls, mostly orphans, at Bar-sur-Aube, Rouceux, Busseng and Poligny. We have been unable to ascertain if this glorious shoot of a once glorious tree escaped the blows aimed by modern infidel France against Christ and His own.

Poland had several communities. The first was that of Pradnik, founded in 1221. Twenty-three years later it was transferred to Cracow. A few houses were likewise started in Spain and in India.

England, strange to say, never possessed a house of the order. the Hospitallers of Jerusalem and the Knights Templars were the only representatives of this type of religious recorded for Great Britain.³¹

²⁹ "Roma antica et moderna," Roma, 1750; Tom. I., p. 120.

³⁰ Morichini, op. cit., Vol. I., p. 94.

³¹ "Monasticon Anglicanum," History of the Abbies, Hospitals, etc., in England and Wales; Sir William Dugdale; eight volumes; London, 1846.

But King John donated the estate of St. Michael of Wintele to Santo-Spirito. At first an annual gift of 100 marks was given and later the property transferred to the order. It was formally accepted by Honorius III., January 3, 1218.³²

Virchow, on examining old inventories of Santo-Spirito in 1871, found that besides the above other properties in Scofrath and Wimpin had been donated to the archhospital.

We now come to the houses of Germany. Shortly after Guy of Montpellier's appearance every large and small city of Germany had its Holy Ghost Hospital and chapel.³³

Thanks to the indomitable industry and the untiring researches of Virchow, we know more of the German establishments than we do of all the others in Christendom combined. These studies are incorporated in a series of essays on public medicine and infectious diseases.³⁴

Co-eval with the Montpellier foundation, and possibly even prior to it, there were some hospitals in Germany that were dedicated to the Divine Spirit. Volz places in this category the Holy Ghost Hospitals of Freiburg, in Breisgau, Pfullendorf, Breisach and Ueberlingen.³⁵

He accepts that the Freiburg house existed as early as 1120. And as regards that of Memming, it is certain that it was erected in 1010 by Henry, Lord of Kirchheim and Weissenhorn.³⁶

The Heiliggeistspital of Bremen may have belonged to this class, too. There was attached to it a church of the Holy Ghost. In 1236 a quarrel arose over it between the cathedral chapter and the Deutschorden, members of which had taken charge of the hospitals and claimed a right on the church.³⁷ The Red Star Crusaders of Inowracław in 1268 directed a church and hospital of the Holy Ghost, which belonged to the Matthiasstift in Breslau.³⁸

In Germany both branches of the Hospitallers labored in the same establishments. The records (for 1288-1304) of Halberstadt speak of a hospital conducted by converse Brothers and Sisters of the Holy Ghost.³⁹

³² "Bullarium," Tom. III., pp. 335-336.

³³ Cf., Burdett, "Hospitals and Asylums of the World," London, 1893; Vol. III., p. 512.

³⁴ "Gesammelte Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der Öffentlichen Medizin, und der Seuchlenlehre," von Rudolf Virchow; Zwei Bänder; Zweiter Band; Berlin, 1879.

³⁵ Das Spitalwesen und die Spitäler des Grossherzogthums Baden; Karlsruhe, 1861; S. 10.

³⁶ Cf., Schelhorn, Kleine Historische Schriften; Memming, 1789; S. 237.

³⁷ Cf., Schumacher, in Bremisches Jahrbuch, 1865; Bd. I. S. 184.

³⁸ Wuttke, Stadtebuch des Landes, Posen, S. 326.

³⁹ Cf., G. A. von Mulverstedt: Was there a monastery in Bukan, near Magdeburg? P. 23.

The Hospital of Rothenburg, on the Tauber, had a master and a mistress (*meinisterin*) in charge of the staff. And at Aalborg there was a prior with thirteen Brothers and a prioress with twenty-three Sisters.⁴⁰

In 1183 the Knight Wittebeg gave the Michaelsberg, near Ulm, to the monastery of Reichenau for hospital purposes. A body of canons of St. Augustine organized the work. It developed into the Ulmer Heiliggeistspital.⁴¹ That both branches of the Hospitallers were represented in this house is clear from the regulations that governed it. In 1376 its Brothers were honored with the cross of the Hospitallers of Mount Sinai.

The Memminger Hospital was likewise conducted by a mixed organization, which was founded in 1093 at Vienne, in Dauphany, but amalgamated later with the Holy Ghost. They began their work with a hospice for travelers. In 1178 this was enlarged into a hospital. In 1215 Friedrich II. bestowed on the mother house of these religious the right of patronage for Memmingen.⁴²

Most of the hospitals not directly founded by the followers of Guy were converted into Holy Ghost institutions in the course of time.

The Hospital An den Schwellen at Basel was founded prior to 1265, but was not affiliated to the Hospitallers until 1409.⁴³

The oldest hospital of Mayence was erected near the Domkirche. In 1145 Archbishop Heinrich conveyed its management to the canons of Gottshal, in Rheingau. In 1236 Archbishop Sifrid transferred it to the Rhine, near the Gereonskapelle. At the same time he entrusted its direction to the Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost.⁴⁴

The Hospitallers of Elburg, founded in 1242, and also that of Thorn, were dedicated to the Holy Ghost. The Deutsche Orden exercised patronage over both.⁴⁵

At the end of the fourteenth century there were over 150 Holy Ghost hospitals in Germany. We give the list compiled by Virchow. The date indicates the year of the foundation, or the year in which a preëxisting hospital was converted into a Holy Ghost institution, or the time when such a house is first mentioned in history:

⁴⁰ Munster, *Kirchengesch. von Daenemark und Norwegen*, Vol. II., S. 656, cited by Hurter, *Ch. Hist.*, Vol. IV., p. 227.

⁴¹ Virchow, *Archiv.*, Bd. XVIII., S. 296.

⁴² Cf., Joseph Fohr, von *Hormayr-Hortenburg*, *Die Goldene Chronik von Hohen-Schwangen*; Munich, 1842; p. 56.

⁴³ Virchow *Archiv.*, 1860; Bd. XVIII., S. 294.

⁴⁴ Schaab, *Gesch.*; Mainz; Vol. II., S. 173.

⁴⁵ Virchow *Archiv.*, 1861; Bd. XX., S. 460.

1207 Zurich	1220 Stephansfelder
1228 St. Gallen	1230 Oppenheim
1233 Bern	1236 Mainz
1225 Constanz	1272 Speyer
1257 Villingen	1422 Nieder Ingelheim
1275 Pfullendorf	
(twelfth century)	1238 Coblenz (on the Leer)
1297 Freiburg in Br. (1120)	1286 Coln
Breisach (twelfth century)	1291 Crefeld
Thirteenth century, Meers-	1344 St. Goar (?)
burg	1355 Meyen
1322 Pforzheim	1209 Halberstadt
1363 Neberlingen (twelfth	1241 Halle
century)	1246 Guedlinburg
1386 Radolfzell	1267 Helmstedt
1411 Waldshut	1284 Magdeburg
1204 Brandenburg	Krakow
1214 Spandau	Crivitz
1231 Salzwedel	1237 Stettin
1251 Stendal	1256 Stralsund
1278 Berlin (1272) ?	1262 Greilswald
1299 Perleberg	1269 Demmin
1300 Pritzwalk	1272 Anclam
1309 Wittstock	1309 Barth
1313 Werben	1311 Stolp (vor den Thor)
1319 Gardelegen	1319 Coslin
1321 New Ruppın	1325 Treptow a Toll.
1343 Grausee	1364 Stargard
1363 Prenzlau	1368 Gollnow
1377 Angermunde	1369 Schivelbein
Havelburg	Helgard
1390 Treuenbriezen	Colberg
Seehausen	Rugenwalde
Frankfort a. O.	Byritz
Königsberg i. Neum.	Damm
Muncheberg	Treptow a. R.
Orderberg	Wollin
1553 Kyritz	Uckermunde
1214 Breslau	Pasewalk
1261 Bunzlau	Greifenhagen
1264 Gorlitz	
1273 Brieg	1242 Elbing
1275 Glatz	Thorn

1263 Sagan	1292 Sangerhausen
1240 Ulm	Eisenach
1258 Biberach	Naumburg
Rothenburg a.-n.	1301 Wittenburg
Kirchheim	1256 Hanover
Mergentheim	1300 Gottingen
1291 Wimpfen and Reutlingen	Northheim
1322 Markgronnigen	
1223 Memmingen (1010)	1236 Bramen
1252 Augsburg	1247 Hamburg
1281 Rothenburg a Tauber	1465 Rendsburg
1291 Munchen	1334 Lubeck
1319 Wurzburg	
1331 Nurnberg	1218 Parchim
1349 Melrichstadt	1250 Wismar
Weilheim	1260 Rostock
1355 Aub	1298 Schwerin
1358 Passan	Mollen
Straubing	Oldeslo
Dinkelsbühl	Ratzeburg
1451 Eichstadt	1299 Ribnitz
1278 Frankfort a.-M.	1361 Gadebusch
1358 Limburg a. L.	1363 Stargard in Meckl.
Fritzlar	1370 Plau
1218 Hoxter	Fourteenth century Sternberg
1280 Dortmund	1555 Neu Brandenburg
1290 Steinau (1209)	1577 Robel
1296 Glogau	1256 Königsberg
1302 Ober-Bentzen	Danzig
1320 Freistadt	Marienburg
1343 Strehlen	1396 Pr. Holland
1451 Kohen	1510 Riesenburg
Namslau	
Luben	1225 Riga
1268 Moroclaw (?)	1376 Reval
1209 Wien	
Brixen	
Sterzing	

During the Reformation many of these houses were changed into municipal hospitals (*Burgerspitaeler*). The *Burgerspital* of Wurzburg, Bern and other cities were formerly Holy Ghost Hospitals. In some cases the original name was retained. The Holy

Ghost Hospital of Berlin, which until 1885 occupied a site on the Heiligen strasse, is an example.

Houses were not necessarily laicized by the change of the directorate. The ecclesiastical authorities of Basel, for instance, directed the Holy Ghost Hospital of that city to be handed over to the secular administration.

Even before the sixteenth century cases are on record where the civil authorities took a part in the management of hospitals entrusted to the Hospitallers. In 1487 the municipality of Schassburg (Liebenburgen) and the officials of the Antonius Orden of Hungary agreed that after the death of the rector the city council he empowered to name his successor.

The Hospital of Hermanstadt (Liebenburgen) and the Councilors of the city clashed during the administration of Pietro Mattei de Capucinis (1443-1478). The master general appealed to the local Bishop, who took up the case in 1456. Peace was temporarily restored. Later Matthew, King of Hungary, also intervened, taking the side of the city against the rector.

Another case is found in the history of the Holy Ghost Hospital of Rostock. The canonical rights of this house were supplemented by additional favors granted it by the Prince-Bishop Hermann von Schwerin. The rector of Rostock could invite any clergyman he wished to preach on feast days, which was a restriction, of course, on the local chaplains.

In the course of time a number of suburban hospitals were changed into retreats of well-to-do, retired persons. Thus originated the "Pfrunderanstalten." People of means selected these houses to spend the evening of life. Vacancies were quickly purchased as soon as available. Some of the hospitals were converted into lazar houses.

For exact information on the conditions of each house, the individual charters and annals must be studied. The earliest houses in Germany depended on Montpellier, and with it, when it lost its self-government, they passed under the authority of Santo-Spirito in Rome. The Italian commander appointed the local superiors and rectors. As a token of dependence a small annual tribute was imposed.

A record dated 1207 states that Innocent III. confirmed the foundation of the Hospital of Zurich and imposed an annual tax of one gold gulden to be rendered to Santo-Spirito.⁴⁶

The same Pontiff in 1209 confirmed the Holy Ghost Hospital of Halberstadt. It was the gift of the Count of Blankenburg. A tax of two silver marks was imposed.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Schopflin, *Historia Zaringo; Badensis V.*, p. 131.

⁴⁷ *Epist. Innoc. III.*, p. 164, lib. XI., Ep. 69.

A tribute of one mark was paid by a Holy Ghost chapel near Vienna.⁴⁸

The house of Pforzheim was founded September 16, 1323, by the Margrave Rudolf and his wife. It was under the direct jurisdiction of Santo-Spirito.

Tribute was sometimes paid by branch houses to the parent hospital. The Hospital of Hermanstadt, already alluded to, was subject to the house of Ofen, and with it, under the jurisdiction of Vienna, to which it paid an annual tax of "one mark or four ducats."⁴⁹

The insane asylum of Stephansfelden, in Alsace, was formerly a Holy Ghost Hospital. The Counts of Werdlen erected a house for indigents and foundlings sometime prior to 1220. At an early date it was entrusted to the Hospitallers.⁵⁰ A number of filial houses depended on Stephansfelden. Among them was Memmingen.⁵¹ Memmingen, in turn, assumed the management of Wimpen about the year 1650. An annual tax of seven pieces of gold was paid for the two houses.⁵²

The oldest Holy Ghost Hospital of Germany is that of Brandenburg. It is mentioned as early as 1204.⁵³ Zurich was founded in 1207, Halberstadt and Wien in 1209, Spandau and Breslau in 1214, Riga in 1225, Lubeck in 1234 and Hamburg in 1247. It would seem that there were some in the Duchy of Baden prior to 1204, but the claims cannot be sufficiently substantiated by records. A review covering the territory now embraced by the German empire shows that there were at least fifty Holy Ghost Hospitals in 1291.⁵⁴

But to return to France. By the end of the fourteenth century there were, it is claimed, over 400 houses of the order. Their history was never written. Rorbacher, for instance, does not even mention this great movement, though his history consists of twelve large volumes. Information from other sources is likewise deplorably scant. The Sardinian troops looted the archives of Santo-Spirito on entering Rome in 1870 and destroyed many documents that no doubt contained much valuable information.

The French Hospitallers were chiefly disturbed by the evil of lay intrusion. Sixtus IV. managed to check it in 1476. But then came the Reformation, which in France took the form of Calvinism.

⁴⁸ Epist. Inn. III., p. 219, lib. XL, Ep. 169.

⁴⁹ Fried. Muller, *Geschichte der Liebenburgischen Hospitaller bis Zum Jahre, 1625*; Wien, 1858; S. 27.

⁵⁰ Schopflin, *Asatla Illustrata*, 1761; T. II., p. 451.

⁵¹ Cf., Scheithorn, *Kleine Historische Schriften, Memming*, 1789, S. 237.

⁵² Brocke, *Holstenii Cod. regul. V.*, p. 502.

⁵³ Riedel, *Cod. diplom. Bd. VIII. Abth. I. S. 45.*

⁵⁴ Virchow, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 41.

In 1559 the followers of Calvin had seventy-two places of worship. They multiplied with great rapidity. Within two years they had over 2,000 churches. Men of the greatest prominence, such as Condé, Anthony of Bourbon and De Coligny, joined the ranks of the heretics. Within thirty years France had eight so-called "Wars of Religion." In the very first of these (March, 1562) the venerable foundation of Montpellier, the cradle of the Hospitallers, was mercilessly plundered and destroyed by these polished Huns.

Nearly a century later, in 1660, an attempt was made to rebuild it. But the work never went beyond the first stage. Grass and moss-covered patches of stonemasonry—pathetic traces of an abortive effort—were all that modern investigators could find.⁵⁵

During the civil-religious war that rent France over the succession of Henry III., the order was sorely afflicted. In 1593, when Henry IV. abjured heresy and peace was restored, the French Hospitallers had lost nearly all their houses and were practically ruined.

Among the surviving members, Anthony Pons distinguished himself by his efforts to restore their lost fortunes. He seems to have been as injudicious as he was zealous, for his methods of recruiting members and raising funds aroused public indignation.

Spasmodic efforts were made by various individuals, always well intentioned, but unsuccessful in the end. On September 4, 1617, Oliver Trau de Tarrada secured the commandership for France and Navarre. He displayed great energy and determination. In 1619 Paul V. ratified his nomination on condition that he would make profession in the order. He was also encouraged by Gregory XV., and in 1625, aided by Louis XIII., who induced Urban VIII. to give back home rule and self-government to the French Hospitallers.

Unfortunately for De Tarrada, he sacrificed too much of the religious character of his society to secure its restoration and rehabilitation.

He revived the "Knights of the Holy Ghost" and also countenanced other irregularities, notably that of receiving members of other religious societies.

On September 25, 1646, Innocent IX. instructed the vice legate of Avignon and all Bishops of France to oblige such regulars as had joined the Hospitallers to return to their own orders.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Cf., Publications de la Société archéologique de Montpellier, 1859, No. 27; De la Charité publique et hospitalière à Montpellier au moyen-âge, 502, par M. A. Germain; also Guy de Montpellier; étude historique par l'Abbé Paulmier, Montpellier, 1870.

⁵⁶ Bullarium, Tom. XV., p. 65.

In 1656 M. Desecures was nominated master of Montpellier. His nomination was contested, but after some delay Alexander VII. approved it and he entered on office in 1659. He became involved in difficulties with the government and was finally exiled in 1668. It was during his administration the Hospitallers attempted to rebuild the archhospital of Pyla-Saint-Gely.

Desecures was banished, but could not be silenced. He clung to his title and defended it against Campon and De Bazoche, two rival claimants. De Bazoche had the support of the Crown.

To clear the situation a general chapter was convoked for April 27, 1671, but before it was held the Government nominee departed this life. Clement X. now took matters in hand, and in February, 1672, appointed Du Colombier on the condition of joining the order.

His appointment nettled the king. Taking advantage of the chaotic state of the order, he declared it extinct and assigned its revenues to the military order of St. Lazarus and Mount Carmel.

François Marie Phœbus was commander of Santo-Spirito during these events. Early in 1673 he appointed Du Colombier his vicar for France. The new vicar, a man of uncommon courage and energy, entered the lists against his royal antagonist and fearlessly attacked the decree of dissolution.

Finding him a stronger opponent than he expected, the king sent him to the Bastile for eight years.

Aroused but not frightened by this act of royal tyranny, the various detached and independent houses of the order united and under the standard of Parnajon, head canon of the French province, continued to fight for their existence. They argued that they depended on Santo-Spirito and that consequently the Crown had no jurisdiction over them or their temporalities. They were aided in their fight by De La Costa, the chief of the lay Knights of the Holy Ghost.

In 1689 and in 1690 the State reiterated its decree of dissolution and declared null and void whatever the Hospitallers had done since 1672. Some of the more resolute heads of hospitals continued to withstand the execution of the decree, applying to themselves that possession is nine points of the law. They admitted that Montpellier was dissolved, but they disclaimed all relationship with that community.

Their defense was resolute. It was more—it was politic. They knew the king's weakness for soldiers. They volunteered to raise for him a regiment at their own expense. Louis took the bait and wonderful to say, immediately saw their case in exactly the light in which they saw and defended it.

A chapter was convoked for February 15, 1692, at the Grand

Augustines in Paris, the chapel of the Royal Order of the Saint-Esprit. The Hospitallers were reorganized and in March of the following year they were officially recognized, as were their temporalities, by a royal decree.

Thibault de Montmorency, the new commander, perfected the organization and recast its rules and constitutions. Influenced by the Knights of the Holy Ghost, who had assisted in gaining the victory, Montmorency gave the restored order a distinctively military character.

The Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost now comprised "Ancient Knights," "First Officers of the Sword," "Knights of Honor," "Knights of Obedience," "Knights Servants" and "Knights Minor Officers."

An unholy traffic in brevets soon ensued. Diplomas were sold at fixed prices. It cost £400 to be a Knight Minor Officer or a Knight of Obedience or a Knight Servant. To be a Knight of Honor cost three times as much.

A reaction was bound to come. The old Hospitallers, who had taken the vows of religion, protested against these innovations. They denounced the laymen as intruders and innovators and demanded that a committee be appointed to investigate matters. Their request was granted. On May 10, 1700, the committee reported in favor of the religious. Whereupon Louis ordered De Montmorency to return his commission and rescinded all his official transactions.

The commander obeyed, and soon after—possibly as a result of the shock—departed this life. But not so the host of tinsel knights. They contested the latest decree and actually induced the monarch to reopen the case.

On January 1, 1701, Louis named a committee of eight to examine if the Hospitallers were religious in the ordinary sense or not. The most distinguished members of this committee were Père La Chaise, Bousset and Cardinal De Noailles.

They were very slow in their deliberations. In 1707 Paul Sigismond, a member of the Montmorency family, was authorized to engage a number of doctors of civil and canon law to study the same question. It was understood that he ambitioned the commandership. His lawyers gave as their opinion that since the order was a mixed body, consisting of laymen and religious, it could, like the military orders, be governed by a lay commander.

Such was their verdict. It provoked no opposition on the part of the Hospitallers. On the contrary, for reasons unsurmisable, they supported the candidacy of Montmorency. Their ranks were henceforth to be open to laymen, who would belong to the order

on the score of obedience and hospitality and attend to the temporalities. The canons and religious were to continue the specific work of the society. The Hospitallers proper were to select from their numbers a grand prior, who was to have special jurisdiction over the professed and assist the lay commander in the general government of the society.

They were confident of approval. But, contrary to their expectations, Louis XIV. enforced the decision of May 10, 1700, on the ground that they were religious in the strict sense. This ended the controversy.

After the death of Louis XIV., as all students of history know, the star of French prestige waned with great rapidity. Religion felt the change. The spirit of darkness displaced the spirit of faith. Nature asserted herself in her worst moods. Vocations diminished. Religious apathy paralyzed the masses.

So impoverished were the Hospitallers in consequence, both as to numbers and to resources, that in 1760 the male branch became extinct and their establishments fell under secular control. During the great Revolution even the names—the last vestiges of the Hospitaller order—were with few exceptions obliterated.

Fortune was kinder to the Italian Hospitallers. Under the fostering care of the Sovereign Pontiffs they prospered and continued to flourish. Paul III., in 1540, added to the Roman archhospital the handsome Church of the Holy Ghost. It is a sample of Renaissance architecture and was designed by Antonio da Sangallo. It contains a bronze baldachino, which is ascribed to Palladio. The façade, with its dove emblem of the Holy Ghost over the entrance—the work of Mascherino—was built in 1587 by order of Sixtus V. The paintings and decorations of the interior were executed by Jacques Zucca, Live Agresti, Marcel Venusti and Paris Nogari. The brick campanile, with its virile corner pilasters, was erected under Sixtus IV. It is one of the noblest towers of early Renaissance.

These improvements and a notable diminution of alms during the pontificate of Julius III. (1550-1555) put the finances of the order into alarming conditions. The preceptor was replaced by a committee designed to relieve the situation. The new method did not succeed. On June 13, 1556, Paul V. restored the office of preceptor and appointed to it Francis Cappellus, a Veronese priest of great energy and business capacity.

In Session XXI. (chap. 8) the Council of Trent abolished the office of alms collector and forbade any one but the ordinaries to publish and apply to the faithful indulgences in the future. This regulation, whilst remedying certain serious abuses then rampant,

incidentally reduced the income of many eleemosynary institutions. For their agents and collectors could no longer distribute spiritual favors in return for temporal alms.

The Hospitallers were greatly affected by this regulation, for their representatives had up to this enjoyed special faculties. Wolfius di Tabernis, a chronicler of the sixteenth century, records for 1435 that certain Knights of the Holy Ghost were located at Groning, in Wurtenburg; that they wore the Hospitaller cross; that they had faculties to absolve from all cases.

To help the Hospitallers, Pius IV., on October 11, 1564, revived such of their privileges as did not jar with the Tridentine regulations. Two members of any given chapter could collect alms. But they could receive no fee. The same Pope also reformed the business methods of Santo-Spirito and made new regulations for its notaries. He also canceled the privilege of exemption and made the hospitals dependent on the local ecclesiastical authorities. On account of the number of its inmates and their diversified conditions Santo-Spirito was often a party to legal transactions and proceedings. To safeguard the interests of the institution and remove certain otherwise unavoidable inconveniences, Clement VIII., on February 10, 1605, exempted it from all civil jurisdiction and directed that all future cases be tried before the Papal Vicar or his delegate.

Difficulties arose out of this new arrangement. These were covered by supplementary regulations put into effect on July 3, 1606, by Paul V. The same Pontiff, on December 13, 1605, directed Octavius Tassanus to open a savings bank for the benefit of the poor in connection with the hospital.

The charter of this bank—a document of translucent simplicity—provides for the safety of the deposits, authorizes certain investments, requires 2,000 scuti to be always available, forbids credit drafts on depositors, imposes weekly and annual statements.

The keys of its safe were three in number and held by the preceptor, the superintendent and the treasurer. The money chest could be opened only in the presence of these three officials.⁸⁷ This enterprise was a success financially and otherwise. The income for the hospital in 1624 was over 100,000 gold crowns (about \$180,000).

During the eighteenth century the Hospitallers continued the even tenor of their good work. The marvelous apostolate of St. John the Baptist De Rossi (1698-1764) at Santo-Spirito during this time deserves notice.

De Rossi was idolized by the colony on the Tiber. He was all

⁸⁷ Bullarium, Tom. XI., pp. 281-286.

but worshiped by its consumptives, whose départment was dedicated to St. Hyacinth. De Rossi had an individual key for their ward, so that he could enter at will. He spent so much time there that for a while it was feared that he had contracted the disease himself. But God spared him.

One day after making the usual rounds of the sick he started back home. He had advanced about 200 steps—just as far as the Bridge Saint-Angelo—when he felt inwardly moved to return to St. Hyacinth. He obeyed the impulse.

On reaching the door he met some men who were carrying a man on a stretcher. The patient was in the last stage of consumption. De Rossi, fixing his eyes on him, said solemnly, "Brother, are you ready?" With confusion the man answered that he was not. The saint then took him in tow, helped him to make his confession and gave him the last sacraments. A few days later the man died with signs of true compunction and resignation.

On another occasion, having visited St. Peter's, De Rossi started for La Trinite des Pelerins, which is on the far side of the Tiber. He did not intend to stop at Santo-Spirito, which is quite close to the south colonnade of the piazzi, and accordingly started in the opposite direction.

Strange to say, after having walked for some time, he found himself in the pharmacy of the hospital. On awakening to the reality of his surroundings, he noticed a patient who was evidently very low. Something told the saint that the man needed his services. He questioned him and in the end found out that the wretched fellow had received the last sacraments eleven times, but every time unworthily, because of a deliberately concealed sin which he was ashamed to confess. With his usual sweetness and tact, De Rossi straightened out the man's tangled condition and moved him to sorrow for the past. An hour later the fellow was dead.⁸⁸

More remarkable still is the following episode. This time De Rossi started out with the intention of visiting the House of the Incurables. It was located in old Rome. To his astonishment he found himself in the Leonine quarter in front of Santo-Spirito. He did not enter, but once more started for the incurables. He walked briskly in the proper direction, as he thought, but lo and behold! he finds himself in the plaza of St. Peter's. This alarmed him. Was he losing his mind, or what was the matter? He entered the basilica for a short visit, and then, with his intention well renewed, he starts once more for the Hospital of the Incurables.

⁸⁸ P. 198.

After proceeding for some distance, during which he pondered on this inexplicable incident, he discovered to his utmost surprise that he was approaching the main entrance of Santo-Spirito.

No wonder he was dazed. By degrees he mastered his feelings and paused to reflect. A groan issuing from the vestibule brought him to his full senses. On approaching he saw a youth with several ugly gashes in his head. He was bleeding profusely. To all appearances he was the victim of a brawl. Some one had dragged him to the hospital and left him there.

De Rossi summoned help and remained with the fellow until consciousness returned. His attentions were poorly acknowledged. As soon as the man realized his condition, he burst into a tempest of curses and invectives against heaven and earth. De Rossi prayed and waited until the infuriated Italian cooled down and grew more rational. "Forgive the scoundrel that had tried to kill him? No, never!" De Rossi was not disconcerted by this reply. He had a special facility to soften obstinate characters. To make the story short, the man eventually did forgive his enemy, received the sacraments and died soon after—saved by the mercy of God and the tact of the saintly De Rossi.⁵⁹

The miracles of grace wrought by the Divine Spirit on souls during their sojourn with the Hospitallers would cover many volumes. Two other canonized saints besides St. John Baptist De Rossi were intimately connected with Santo-Spirito.

One of these was cheerfulness personified. He was a perfect charmer. Sometimes he would playfully put his old beretta on a patient and then laugh until every one within hearing distance would shake with mirth. When he sang, the sick forgot their pains and smiled with happiness. He had a way of giving people a little slap on the cheek that almost put them into ecstasy. When he spoke of the good God he fairly trembled with emotion. He had a peculiar lump on his left side. The knowing ones whispered that it came to him in the Catacombs whilst keeping vigil for Pentecost. A globe of fire had embodied itself in his side and pressed out several ribs. Yes, he was a jovial saint, this warm-hearted Padre Filippo del Neri.

One Sunday morning Cesare Baronius, the great annalist, came to St. Philip to go to confession. Philip would not hear him, but sent him to Santo-Spirito to visit the sick.

Baronius remonstrated, but in vain. Philip made him go. As he walked through one of the wards he found a dying man who had not had a chance to receive the sacrament of penance. Baro-

⁵⁹ Pp. 199-200.

nus heard his confession and gave him Communion. The man died immediately after.⁶⁰

St. Philip was frequently accompanied in his visits by another priest, a man of soldierly bearing. He was not quite as demonstrative as Philip, but he could read the hearts of men like a book. His knowledge was more than speculative. Some of the old chaps smiled and gave an insinuating wink. Their surmises were not altogether unfounded, for Camillus de Lellis before his conversion had trod for a time the primrose path.

St. Camillus, it will be remembered, founded a society known as the Fathers of a Happy Death. Like their founder, they were greatly devoted to the sick at Santo-Spirito and spent much of their time with them.

During the pontificate of Leo XII. (1823-1829) a school of medicine was opened in connection with the archhospital. An idea of the work done at Santo-Spirito may be formed when we recall, for instance, that from 1831-1840 134,916 patients were received and nursed.

Of this number 123,461 were discharged and 11,455 died. The average mortality a year was 8.27 per hundred. During the same decade the orphan and foundling department housed 31,000 children.

Unrest and disaffection seized on the Italians of the Pontifical States during the early decades of the nineteenth century. In Italy, as nearly a century before in France, the hospitals now fell under secular control and the Hospitallers dwindled down to a corporal's guard. Monsignor Antoine Cioja, their last master general, and Dom Pierre Ziochini, his vicar, realized that their sun was set. Nobody was surprised, therefore, when Pius IX., on July 1, 1847, pronounced the dissolution of the order.⁶¹

The Hospitallers had directed Santo-Spirito for 643 years. Their grandmasters, beginning with Alexander Neroni in 1515, were generally Italian prelates. History has preserved the names of seventy of these. Peter Barbo, the nephew of Eugene IV., was the most distinguished of these. As Paul II. he later ruled the Church from 1464-1471. During the Papal government Santo-Spirito was open to all without discrimination. It was Catholic in its sympathies, like the Church that had given it existence.

Twelve canons cared for the spiritual needs of the inmater. Once a month additional priests, mostly religious, assisted in hearing confessions.

⁶⁰ The Life of St. Philip Neri, edited by Autrobus, Vol. II., p. 3.

⁶¹ Morichini, *Degli istituti di Carità per la sussistenza et l'educazione dei poveri*, in Roma; p. 111.

An atmosphere of piety and Christian resignation pervaded the institution. Pictures of a religious and cheerful character adorned the walls. Prayers were said at fixed periods, in which the "seignors malades," as the sick were styled, were urged to join.

Every department had its patron saint. The tubercular ward was named for St. Hyacinth. Its inmates observed his feast by special services and a modest banquet. On such occasions would be brought into requisition gifts sent by the Holy Father to his sick children.

There was music thrice a week during meals. On Sundays flowers, fruits and dainties were brought by callers that represented various benevolent associations.

The dead were laid to rest on the neighboring hill of the Janiculum. Delegates of the Bona Mors fraternity accompanied the body to the tomb to give it honorable burial.

With the change of government in 1870 came a change of executive policy for Santo-Spirito. Its religious character disappeared. It is now conducted on a purely secular basis. It is no longer a branch of the mighty tree that gave it being. The sap of Christian charity no longer flows in its limbs and sanctifies its ministrations. A staff of mercenaries replaces the community of devoted Hospitallers.

They are no more—the Hospitallers of the Holy Ghost—they have gone the way of all flesh. By the Tiber, at the foot of the Vatican Hill, stands their mutilated monument. It, too, in the course of time must disappear. Let it not be so with their memory. Let civilization remember the debt of gratitude it owes to these generous pioneers of the great hospital movement. Theirs was the heaviest, the task of beginning; they laid the foundation of the new system of aiding the sick and the afflicted. Let them share in the credit of its glory and success.

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THE CATHOLIC NOTE IN TENNYSON.

ONE of the most interesting of studies for the Catholic reader is to measure the writings of the great masters of literature by the standard of Catholic belief. In the case of Tennyson, all who have read the Victorian laureate even casually have time and again come across passages or references in his works that made them wonder at his Catholic sympathies. The general reader, however, by very force of time and circumstance rarely is able to do more than make pleasurable note of the fact that Tennyson—the Protestant spokesman of a distinctly Protestant country—seems often very friendly to us. He cannot investigate into the why and the wherefore of it, and he may even accept the fact as a mere accident. Yet there is good reason for it all.

To arrive at a clear idea of the significance of the Catholic note in Tennyson—or in any other modern writer of English literature—it is necessary for us first to run through a brief review of the literature of England, to trace its nature and character from the beginning, from the time of Caedmon, the poor monk of Whitby who sang of God and the creation and the beauty of Catholic belief, down through the centuries to the Reformation.

And what is the conclusion that such a review brings to us? Plainly this: that the Catholic note sounds all through our literature; that whether others like it or not, the Catholic note in the literature of any Christian country is inevitable. True, judging by externals, English literature, as we use the term to-day, is not Catholic; for, as Cardinal Newman tells us, the Reformation forced the literature of England away from its ancient holdings and turned its stream into an entirely new channel. But, if we go up stream, so to speak, and follow this channel back to its first source, we find not only that it flows originally from the great deep river of Catholic thought, but that some of the clear waters of the old stream still pour unsullied along its present course. It is these sparkling currents that we see running like silver threads through Tennyson's poetry.

In reality, the Catholic note in literature is inevitable. Truth is the essence of Catholic belief and, also, truth is the essence of literature; therefore, in the last analysis, our literature is and must be Catholic. In other words, when a poet gets down to the real foundations of life, down to the basic facts and questions of human existence, he is forced to turn to Catholic truth for the solution he is seeking. He may do this unwittingly, or he may do it unwillingly, or he may seize on Catholic traditions and beliefs merely

to use them for decorative purposes. But Catholicity he cannot escape. This is demonstrated time and again in Tennyson. Tennyson did more than sing sweet songs and write grand epics; he probed down into the foundations of life—he reached for the heights and tried to measure the soul of man—and the deeper and the higher he went, the more Catholic he became.

Now Tennyson certainly was far from being a Catholic. The son of a Protestant clergyman, schooled in England's most English and most Protestant university, and eventually made poet laureate—the national spokesman—of a distinctly Protestant country, he was one whom we would expect, indeed, to be, if anything, more anti-Catholic than merely neutral or simply non-Catholic. He was the heir to all the bitter prejudices of three hundred years. So we need not be surprised if occasionally we find things in his writings unpleasant and unfair to Catholics—references to "Papists," and so forth. The wonder is that there is not more of them. As to this, it is interesting to make note of the words of a Catholic writer published many years ago while Tennyson was still living. "He regards as sacred whatever links the soul to a divine truth," this critic said. He has many friends who are Catholics, and we have heard that he has expressed sincere anxiety to publish nothing relative to the Catholic religion calculated to give offense to its followers."*

But whatever ill-sounding references to Catholic externals we may encounter in Tennyson, in his philosophy and in his feeling he is very strongly Catholic: and thus, against the tide of all his environments, his traditions and his prejudices, does he reach back to the faith of his fathers and pay tribute to our holy religion. Tennyson lived at a time, we must remember—a hundred years ago—when science was in a very special manner engrossing the mind of the world, and many Christians were excited and fearful for their ancient faith: in a time when it was not as widely recognized as it is to-day that between science, properly speaking, and religion (as Catholics of course have always realized) there is really no clash at all. In his epilogue to "The Idyls of the King" Tennyson himself describes the time when he says:

. . . "For some are scared, who mark
Or wisely or unwisely, signs of storm,
Waverings of every vane with every wind,
And wordy trucklings to the transient hour,
And fierce or careless looseners of the faith."

Against the materialistic utterances of the scientists of his day—

*J. C. Earle in "The Catholic World," Vol. VII., p. 146.

the Darwins and the Huxleys, whose declarations were actually frightening the thoughtless world—against their shattering doctrines the poet Tennyson lifted up a strong voice, and, singing the faith and hope of the common people, he became a veritable bulwark for them against materialism and infidelity. But whence did all this strength of his, and this Christian force and conviction, come, if not from the deep foundations of Catholic truth that lay imbedded in his faith, no matter how heaped over with latter day error and misapprehension they might be? When Tennyson seized upon the staff of Truth and stepped bravely forth to defend the hopes of his age, it was down to the bedrock of Catholic belief that he struck that staff for his support. He was a religious man, and his faith was well grounded—as well as can be the faith of any good man who has all things but the one great mainstay of pure unadulterated Catholic truth; and so he met the scientific doubtings and questionings of his time with daring and force and positive conviction. In this phase of his life Tennyson was distinctly Catholic; for he did as any Catholic thinker would do:—what was true in science and what measured squarely with Christian faith, he accepted and expounded; but what was false in science he showed to be false and cried it down.

I have said that the deeper and higher Tennyson goes in his researches into the meaning of life, the more Catholic he becomes. It is true that at times he seems to resort to that least impressive use of Catholic coloring, to which I have referred—the decorative; as in “*Mariana in the South*,” where the refrain “*Ave Mary*” is repeatedly used with a beautiful effect, it is true, but yet without intrinsic purpose; and it might be said that sometimes the tribute he pays to Catholic ideals is an unwilling one. Certainly, whether he liked it or not, his play “*Becket*,” had to be Catholic, or not be at all. But the Catholic note is in him, willing or not. As for “*Becket*”—could a Catholic writer say more than Tennyson put into these words uttered by St. Thomas of Canterbury, when he defies his enemies?

“Ye think to scare me from my loyalty
To God and to the Holy Father. No!
Tho’ all the swords in England flashed above me
Ready to fall at Henry’s word, or yours—
Tho’ all the loud-lunged trumpets upon earth
Blared from the heights of all the thrones of her kings,
Blowing the world against me, I would stand
Clothed with the full authority of Rome
Mail’d in the perfect panoply of faith,

First of the foremost of their files who die
For God."

That is as Catholic as the Pope himself!

It is in Tennyson's greatest poems that the Catholic note sounds the most clearly. All through "The Idyls of the King" we hear it, strong and sure—for the "Idyls" is almost wholly a Catholic poem. And in "In Memoriam" and in "The Princess" we hear it again, at least echoing and reëchoing, if not always ringing and definite. And then time and again in his shorter poems, the Catholic note unmistakably greets us. Could anything be more Catholic than his "St. Simeon Stylites?" From beginning to end it is a Catholic poem, such as only a Catholic heart could feel, a Catholic mind conceive. The picture the poet gives us of the aged saint, wracked by pains and penances, yet crying out with his last breath the glorious lesson of sacrifice and renunciation, is something to thrill the heart of any Catholic. "Mortify your flesh like me!" the old saint cries to the people who gather to venerate him:

"Mortify
Your flesh, like me, with scourges and with thorns;
Smite, shrink nor spare not. If it may be, fast
Whole Lents, and pray!"

The climax of this fine poem, when St. Simeon sees heaven opening to him, and calls for a priest to bring him the Blessed Sacrament, is as fine as anything ever written by a Catholic poet in any language. Then there is "St. Agnes Eve"—a poem which could not have been written by any man who did not comprehend the spiritual, who was not deeply sensitive to the yearning of the religious heart, and to the heaven-hunger of the saints.

And so we come to Tennyson's three best known and longest poems, "The Idyls of the King," "In Memoriam" and "The Princess."

Of "The Princess" (to touch upon it only in the briefest manner) this can be said: that it is very largely Catholic in its philosophy and its teaching. It sets forth the great fallacy of the day, that knowledge is all in all; and it shows plainly that knowledge and intellectuality are mere empty nothings without moral elevation and spiritual growth. In this poem Tennyson stands out unquestionably for a good old-fashioned Catholic belief—a belief that is much assailed at the present time—that woman's sphere is the home; that woman is at her best when blessed and crowned with motherhood.

When we discuss "The Idyls of the King" we are treating of a poem so Catholic, not only in its form and its externals, but in its

very essence and inspiration, that we find it difficult to believe at times that its author is not a Catholic, so sympathetically and so spiritually does he handle the theme. The two chief sources from which Tennyson drew his material for his "Idyls" were two historic priests—Goffrey of Monmouth, a Benedictine monk, and Thomas Malory. It was from the chronicles of these two ancient writers of legendary lore that Tennyson got the idea and the story for his great poem.

Now the question is, was Tennyson in this case merely a singer of songs and a teller of tales, who simply made good use of a rich old legend to weave an alluring and poetic story? If this were so, still we could go on discussing the unmistakably Catholic note in the poem, and show how comprehendingly, how sympathetically Tennyson was able to write of Catholic knights and Catholic ladies, of priests and the Mass and prayers, and so on. But we can go further; we can ask, did not Tennyson find in the legends of Geoffrey and Malory something more than simply an heroic tale? Did he not go deeper than the mere surface and find therein a great theme of man's immortal soul?

The answer is Yes. To any one who reads "The Idyls of the King" with thought and reflection it is plain that they are far more than the chanting of legendary lore. The warfare they picture is a far greater warfare than that of knights in armor, riding to battle on noble steeds. "The Idyls of the King" in reality sets forth the battle of man's soul to win eternal happiness with God in heaven.

It is not by mere speculation that we arrive at the meaning of "The Idyls of the King." Tennyson himself has told us in plain words just what they mean. In the epilogue to "The Idyls" he says, addressing the Queen:

"Accept this old imperfect tale,
New-old and shadowing Sense at war with Soul,
Rather than that gray king
Of Geoffrey's book, or him of Malleor's.

In other words, the story of "The Idyls" is not the mere legend of Arthur ("that gray king"), but the record of "Sense at war with Soul"—of the spiritual battling for supremacy over the carnal and the material. To confirm even further this interpretation so clearly set forth by the poet himself, we have the evidence of his letter to one of his critics, Dr. Condé Pallen, telling Dr. Pallen that in the latter's book, "The Meaning of the Idyls of the King," which elaborates this self-same interpretation: "You see further into their meaning than most of my commentators have done."

With this all so clearly defined it is not difficult for us to read

"The Idyls" with eyes open to their high and beautiful significance. Little by little the whole scheme of the poem reveals itself; and while the plot of the story is never lost, the inner meaning of it all is borne home to us with very increasing emphasis.

"Sense at war with Soul" then is the keynote to "The Idyls of the King." The symbolism is beautifully and consistently worked out from beginning to end. "King Arthur" is the soul, the immortal and the spiritual man, strong and beautiful and pure, who comes "from the great deep" of eternity, and whom the warlike barons—the senses and the passions of man—at first rejected, refusing to submit to the sovereignty of the spiritual.

"Queen Guinevere" is the body, "the fairest under heaven." The knights are the faculties and energies of man, consecrated to God and pledged to the soul, their king, by holy vows. The Round Table is the perfect spiritual organization of man, the soul reigning as king, the knights infused with his high spirit and lifted up by the inspiration of his holy purpose. And, finally, the Holy Grail—the mystic chalice—is the perfect life of spiritual contemplation which all strive to achieve, but which only the sinless may attain.

From the very beginning of "The Idyls" there is no mistaking Tennyson's meaning. In the very first idyl he lays the foundations of this epic plainly and in full view when he tells the story of "The Coming of Arthur"—that is, of the coming of the spiritual man—into the land of Leodegran—

"Wherein the beast was ever more and more,
And man was less and less, till Arthur came;"

and we hear Arthur, the soul, speaking thus of Guinevere, the body:

"Shall I not lift her from this land of beasts
Up to my throne, and side by side with me?"

This is Catholic poetry of the very highest and finest kind; and when further we come to the story of the founding of the Round Table we reach a richly Catholic note in that scene where the knights with their king are gathered about the Table Round:"

"I beheld
From eye to eye thro' all their order flash
A momentary likeness to the king;
And ere it left their faces, thro the cross
And those around it and the Crucified
Down from the casement over Arthur, smote
Flame color, vert and azure, in three rays.
And falling upon each of three fair queens,

Who stood in silence near his throne, the friends
Of Arthur, gazing on him, tall, with bright
Sweet faces, who will help him at his need."

The scene is plain to us—Arthur and his knights gathered there in the spacious hall; above the king's throne a great window of stained glass pouring its rich light down upon them, haloing and glorifying them with that mystic illumination of "flame color, vert and azure," that reveals the "three fair queens"—the three theological virtues, Charity, Hope and Faith—come to pledge the knights to high and holy vows and disclosed to them only in the light that flows from the Divine atonement of Our Saviour, Jesus Christ. Even the liturgical colors are brought out—"flame color, vert and azure," the red and green and blue of Charity, Hope and Faith, And then comes the climax of this purely Catholic symbolism, the vision of "The Lady of the Lake," the spirit of Religion, who gives to the soul the "cross-hilted sword" of spiritual weapons to fight the passions of the body and to "drive the heathen" of sin out of the world:

"Clothed in white samite, mystic, wonderful;
She gave the king his huge cross-hilted sword
Wherewith to drive the heathen out: a mist
Of incense curled about her. . . . She dwells
Down in a deep calm, whatsoever storms
May shake the world, and when the surface rolls
Hath power to walk the waters like our Lord."

Thus, as we follow the poem through, we see the whole story of the human soul played out like a great drama. We see the kingship of the soul undermined and attacked by the false and treasonous knights of sin. We see sin creep in to destroy the perfect order and harmony of that charmed order where only the virtues should reign. We see the guilt of Guinevere, the queen, typifying the sins of the flesh, while in the fall of Merlin—the spirit of Wisdom—is pictured the sin of the mind. In the allegorical character of Vivien, who causes the downfall of Merlin, Tennyson denotes with unusual strength and emphasis the sin of impurity, "the bitterest enemy the soul can have. Justice, knowledge, harmony, order, truth, true love, man's energy and woman's insight, all go down before the attack of impurity," says Stopford Brook. "Vivien is set against the tender innocence of Elaine; Enid, the true wife, against Guinevere, the false." In Lancelot is depicted the man who though remorseful for his sin still tempts God, still plays with the occasions of sin—the man who has not the spiritual strength to

wholly give up evil, much as he desires to be pure. But Galahad is the spotless one, the virgin knight, the utterly pure, the perfectly spiritualized man, whose armor is never tarnished nor even shadowed. He alone it is who achieves the Holy Grail of spiritual life, the goal all would win. There is Percivale, too; but Percivale, though given a momentary glimpse of the Holy Grail, was still guilty of one sin—the sin of pride. The virtue of humility—the all essential to spiritual insight—was not his.

Thus the "Idyls" bring us to "The Last Tournament," in which the final battle between Sense and Soul, between Good and Evil—is fought, and then to the "Passing of Arthur," in which one of the most Catholic of all Tennyson's utterances appears. It is the dying king who speaks:

"Pray for my soul," he says:

"Pray for my soul. More things are wrought by prayer
Than the world dreams of. Wherefore, let thy voice
Rise like a fountain for me, night and day,
For what are men better than sheep or goats
That nourish a blind life within the brain
If, knowing God, they lift not hands of prayer
Both for themselves and those who call them friend?
For so the whole round earth is every way
Bound by gold chains about the feet of God."

And so "The Idyls" end, sounding, indeed, a triumphant Catholic note—not only proclaiming our merciful doctrine of prayer for the soul of man, but crying exultantly of immortality:

"Nay—God, my Christ—I pass, but shall not die!"

If "The Idyls of the King" is Catholic by sympathy, so to speak, "In Memoriam" is largely Catholic by affirmation. It does more than sing by inference the beauties and glories of Catholic religion, for time and again it proclaims distinctive Catholic truth.

"In Memoriam" is a meditation on the immortality of the soul. To fully understand this poem we must know something of its inspiration—of how it came to be written and why.

It is a remarkable fact that the two greatest love poems in the English language—the sonnets of Shakespeare and the "In Memoriam" of Tennyson—found their inspiration not in the love of man and woman, but in the ideal of friendship, in the love of one man for another. Those who have studied the sonnets of Shakespeare cannot forget with what deep passion the poet glorifies the friend of his heart. But Tennyson's love for his friend, Arthur Hallam, was higher still, and his passion one of the purest ever immortalized

in verse. His Arthur was more than the friend of his heart—he was the friend of his very soul, who opened heaven for him and made immortality and eternity at once the aim and the living motive of the poet's daily life. Their friendship was, as he himself has sung:

“A friendship as had mastered time;”

a friendship that made Tennyson strong to reject all the temptations with which the Evil One assailed him against the reality of God and Heaven. It is thus, as Brother Azarias points out in his “Phases of Thought and Criticism,” that Tennyson answered the doubtings and misgivings of unbelief:

“What but a murmur of gnats in the gloom, or a moment's anger
of bees in their hive?—

Peace let it be! For I loved him, and love him forever; the dead
are not dead, but alive!”

This wonderful friendship between Tennyson and his Arthur began in their school days, when they were together in the classroom or at recreation. And though their friendship, as reckoned by time, lasted only three or four years—for Arthur died soon after he left the university—in reality it was an eternal friendship that endures forever and forever.

But Tennyson's “In Memoriam” is far more than the mere record of the love of one man for another; it is an affirmation of the love of God for man and of man's deep need of God.

The death of his friend was a heavy blow to Tennyson. He grieved so deeply that there were times when he feared the actual loss of his mind. For a time nothing but darkness seemed to envelop him. But out of that darkness his soul went groping to the light. And though he did not ever reach the fullness of that light which pours out its perfect radiance from the day-spring of Catholic Truth, he did attain to such a degree of faith and certainty that no Catholic can read “In Memoriam” without having his belief confirmed, his soul strengthened, his whole being set more firmly on the path to God—that path which leads so roughly and so narrowly up the dark hill of Calvary in the shadow of the cross. This is the great lesson to learn from Tennyson's “In Memoriam”—that it is through the desolation of the cross, through grief and loneliness and sorrow, through negation and denial and sacrifice—that the soul draws nearest God.

“I hold it truth with him who sings
To one clear harp in divers tones
That men may rise on stepping stones
Of their dead selves to higher things.”

Just as in "The Idyls of the King," we see played out before us the drama of "sense at war with soul," so in "In Memoriam" we witness the great drama of doubt at war with faith. We see the heart bowed down, the soul sick unto death with a sorrow that seems cruelly unnecessary and crying out against its suffering; but little by little we see that soul rise up from where it lay prone under the weight of its cross and mount its Calvary and win finally to the glory of its resurrection against all the harassing demons of doubt and misgiving that scourge it on its way.

The value of Tennyson's argument in "In Memoriam" from the Catholic viewpoint lies in the proof it gives that it is by Faith and not by Reason that we may attain to happiness and peace of soul; and furthermore that not all the reasoning within the power of the mind of man will ever lead to faith. Something more than cold reason and analysis is necessary:

"If e'er, when faith had fallen asleep,
I heard a voice 'Believe no more,
And heard an ever-breaking shore
That tumbled in a godless deep,
A warmth within the breast would melt
The freezing reason's colder part,
And like a man in wrath the heart
Stood up and answer'd, 'I have felt'."

But Tennyson is not satisfied with affirming his own faith—with voicing the faith of his people, to confront and dispute the doubt and questionings of the rationalists of his day. He goes further, and strong in his belief he denounces those meddlers who would destroy man's peace of mind and blight his heart with their poisonous infidelities. Such men, little and conceited and shallowpated, lived and preached and printed in Tennyson's time as they do to-day and fitly he calls them—

"The flies of latter spring
That lay their eggs, and sting and sing,
And weave their pretty cells and die."

At some points of "In Memoriam" Tennyson is not wholly Catholic—not that he denies, but that he fails to reach the fullness of the truth. Though he believes with all the faith of the saints in the soul's immortality, still his speculations on the future state—on Eternity and Heaven—will not always bear the searching light of Catholic teaching. For instance (as Brother Azarias points out), his belief in the

"Eternal process moving on,
From state to state the spirit walks,"

is not exactly Catholic, but it is a groping and a searching for the full Catholic truth concerning heaven and the soul. The points, in fact, at which Tennyson fails of the whole truth serve but to reflect all the more brightly the light of holy faith to which he attained through grief and suffering.

In brief outline, then, Tennyson's "In Memoriam" leads us from the darkness of a grief that borders on despair, gradually and by difficult degrees, into the light of faith and peace. It shows us the human heart bruised by the cold hand of death crying out for comfort and finding it, not in the chill speculations of reason and science, but in the warmth and light of Christian faith. The poem ends not so much in exultation as in a deep and lofty calm—a peace that is sealed with the proof and conviction that there is a loving God directing all our days:

"And all is well, though faith and form
Be sundered in the night of fear;
Still roars the storm to those that hear
A deeper voice across the storm."

But the exultation is there, too; and it will sing out; and the glory and the joy of immortality shouts like a clarion in every word as he calls across the barrier of the grave to his beloved Arthur:

"Sweet human hand and lip and eye;
Dear heavenly friend that canst not die.
Mine, mine, for ever, ever mine!
Far off thou art, but ever nigh;
I have thee still and I rejoice;
I prosper, circled with thy voice;
I shall not lose thee tho' I die!"

The poem ends with a hymn to God—one of the greatest hymns ever sung out of the heart of man—a great utterance of the soul, that compresses into its four brief lines all the light and beauty of Christian faith—a hymn to Christ, "the light of the world"—

"Strong Son of God, immortal Love,
Whom we, that have not seen Thy face,
By faith, and faith alone, embrace,
Believing where we cannot prove!"

These, the opening lines of "In Memoriam" as it appears in print, were actually written at the closing of the work. They are the be-

ginning and the ending of it, as God is the Alpha and Omega of the soul.

It is a joy to find this Catholic note in Tennyson, and to find him not playing at it, but living it. He is not like many non-Catholic writers have been—willing to don the rich and ancient robes of Catholic beauty for the sake of effect, but never wearing them with ease or grace. No; when Tennyson writes as a Catholic he comes very nearly being a Catholic. He means it; he feels it; he cannot help it. And it is not only in externals, in sympathy revealed and in the affirmation of belief, that Tennyson is Catholic; it is in the purity of his muse, as well, that we feel him truly one of us. No page of his, no verse, no line, is sullied by the stain of impurity—and that, alas, is something that cannot be said of the literature of our own day, when writers sell themselves to degradation and deliberately sing lewd songs with the God given voice of poesy. "Let it never be forgotten," said one of Tennyson's biographers, "as one of his chief glories, that Alfred Tennyson, even in the first flush and fervor of his young manhood, never wrote an unclean line. He treated the mysteries of love and passion with an exquisite reverence that was almost awe. . . . All his life Alfred Tennyson maintained that noble reticence, that reserved emotion; passionate as his poetic nature was, anything like impurity of expression was impossible to him, 'because his heart was pure.'" As he himself sings in his beautiful Catholic poem, "St. Agnes Eve:"

"My strength is as the strength of ten
Because my heart is pure."

But why do we seek out the Catholic note in our literature? What is the object of such study and research? Surely it is to give ourselves a new reminder of the riches and beauty of our Catholic faith—riches and beauty that are ours in a far fuller measure than even this great poet possessed them. And when we have realized this we cannot help but wonder how much greater would Tennyson have been—great as he is even now—had he possessed what we possess—the Truth in all its fullness. If he, then, vouchsafed but "broken lights," could achieve all that he did achieve for the glory of God and the good of men's souls, what limit can the human mind put on the possibilities of a great Catholic poet singing the glory and beauty of the world, the mystery of life and love, as seen with the clear eye of Faith? We need such a poet to-day—we need a Catholic Tennyson in America. What he wrote of his day is truer still of ours:

"For some are scared, who mark
Or wisely or unwisely, signs of storm,

Waverings of every vane with every wind,
And wordy trucklings to the transient hour,
And fierce or careless looseners of faith."

Some little time ago the press was busy quoting the song of a modern poet—a professor at Yale University—who cried, "Take away your ivory Christ!" The pagan cult of the god Pan is the religion of too many of our modern poets. We need a great Christian poet to rise up as Tennyson arose—strong in his faith and daring in his strength, pure in his love and ashamed of nothing but impurity and hating nothing but evil. We need such a poet—a great Catholic poet of the common people—to soothe the unrest and discontent of the unhappy world—not to sing it into the sleep of a night foreshadowed with doubt and sin, but to wake it to the morning lift of life-worth-while, to arouse it to the glories of a day of Faith, that shall be filled with the zest of God's own activities! And if we have no such poet of our own to-day, beyond a doubt it richly profits us then to study the Catholic note in the works of so great a poet as Alfred Tennyson

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CAVE HOMES AND SHRINES—STALACTITES AND STALAGMITES.

I HAVE often wondered how many students of the Catholic Summer School at Cliff Haven and other excursionists who visit the Ausable Chasm have ever given a thought to anything connected with it beyond its wonderful appearance as a curiosity—a freak of nature—a show place in the Adirondack region. It is regarded by the mass of visitors very much after the manner in which tourists visit celebrated art galleries (because it is the proper thing to do when in their vicinity)—*look* at the works of the great masters, express the usual stereotyped admiration, but *see* little or nothing. It is not our purpose here to write a description of the Ausable Chasm beyond, perhaps, an incidental reference. We propose to say a word about subterranean phenomena in a general way.

Now by subterranean phenomena we do not refer to “trenches” in the war zone, although they may be regarded, in a sense, as a kind of phenomena which to-day are and to-morrow are blown up. Our studies in natural history (or even unnatural history) have never lured us in that direction. Trenches may possess a “strategic value,” but we are more concerned here with stalactification than with strategy.

The study of grottoes, caverns, caves, cave temples and cave homes and shrines carries the student to the very borderlands of natural history and archaeology, as well as to those of paganism and Christianity, and it is under these aspects that we propose to deal with them.

Caverns occur chiefly in limestone districts, but occasionally they are found in sandstone and volcanic rocks. They may be divided into three classes—the first are the narrow fissures, penetrating deeply into the earth; the second, tunneled caves, open at both ends, and the third and the most common consists of a series of cavities or chambers connected with one another by passages varying in extent. Eldon Hole, on the peak of Devonshire, England, is an example of the narrow fissures, being a limestone chasm 60 feet long and 20 feet wide. It has been explored to a depth of two or three hundred feet, but the bottom of the fissure has never been sounded.

The abyss of Frederickshall, in Norway, is one of the most remarkable. A stone thrown into this fissure did not make its fall heard until an interval of one or two minutes, which gives a depth of 59,049 feet for two minutes and 39,886 feet for a minute and a half, or, in other words, eleven and a fraction miles.

A striking example of tunneled caves is afforded by the Moun-

tain of Torghatten, in Norway. It is pierced by an opening 3,000 feet long, and twice in the year the sun darts its rays through this shaft from one extremity to the other. Another very curious natural tunnel is the harbor of Port Lloyd, Bonin Islands, which passes through basaltic rock from the southern head to the beach on the other side. The entrance is 15 feet wide and 30 feet high, but the roof within soon rises to a height of 40 to 50 feet and presents the appearance of an artificial arch. There are several other arches of this nature—one 150 feet long passes through a headland bounding the harbor and is constantly traversed by canoes of the natives. Caverns of this class are most interesting because of their great extent, the grandeur and variety of their subterranean beauty and the weird and fanciful forms assumed by their mineral concretions.

Caves are frequently formed by volcanic action, and Fingal's Cave, in the Island of Staffa, is the best known perhaps of caverns so formed. Another beautiful example of this class is to be found in Iceland. In the torrent of lava that flowed from Bald Yökul is a vast cavern 40 feet high, 50 feet broad and nearly a mile long. Masses of beautiful black lava, shaped like icicles, hang from the roof; the sides are variegated with vitrified horizontal bands and the floor is covered with solid ice, clear as crystal.

Caves in limestone districts are distinguished by mineral incrustations, known as stalagmites, which are formed by water, impregnated with lime, that trickles through the roof. Part of this water evaporates upon the roof, leaving the lime, which in the process of time becomes a pendant mass like an icicle—this is the stalactite, while that portion of water which falls upon the floor also evaporates and the lime that is deposited arises from the floor in pyramidal shapes and thus forms stalagmites. When, as not unfrequently happens, the ascending stalagmite meets the descending stalactite, they blend together and form columns, arches and grottoes and sheets and curtains of translucent stone. Beautiful examples of this kind may be seen in the Luray Cave, in Virginia. It was here that during the sessions of the Southern Summer School (the one held at Harper's Ferry) I had an opportunity of visiting the Luray Cave and with the suggestions of my guide, of studying these various interesting formations. My pupils at home got the benefit of my observations. We had a fine opportunity to study the formation of the stalagmite on the spot. It was pointed out to us that whenever a drop of water trickles down through some of the minute crevices in the limestone rock, it is sure to deposit some limestone. This deposition takes place on the *circumference of the drop* rather than in the centre and produces a *ring* of limestone. This

ring becomes the support of other drops, and the process continues until a tube from one inch to three feet long, having the diameter of the drop, is formed, when it begins to fill up and the water to trickle down exteriorly and to increase the size of the column. The process is similar to the formation of an icicle, except that one is formed by solidification and the other by deposition. They are larger at the top because the larger part of the lime is deposited before the end is reached, but there is a constant endeavor to reach the bottom.

Now, while this is the typical stalactite, we are exultingly informed that in Luray the typical forms are the exception, nature having reveled in the production of odd forms in these caverns. As a rule, more water flows down a stalagtite than can be evaporated, and consequently it drops upon the floor, forming a stalagmite which continually endeavors to meet its mother above. In time the upward reach of the one and the downward stretching of the other may unite them both into one column, thick or slender, single or double, reaching from floor to ceiling.

The many extraordinary monuments of aqueous energy include columns wrenched from their place in the ceiling and prostrate on the floor; the Hollow Column, 40 feet high and 30 feet in diameter, standing erect, but pierced by a tubular passage from top to bottom; the Leaning Column, very suggestive of Pisa's Leaning Tower, nearly as large and undermined and tilting, and the Organ, a cluster of stalactites dropped points downward and standing thus in the room designated as the Cathedral. All these fill the visitor with admiration. We appreciate still better the fitness of the name Cathedral to this sculptured apartment when our guide, walking up to the mass of stalactites called the Organ, plays a familiar air upon this wonderful sheet of rock. Each column has a deep, musical resonance of varying pitch, whose tones are more like the breathings of an organ than the metallic qualities of the piano or xylophone. The denizens of the cavern not only pose, but speak, and our admiration is complete and the effect of that melody will not soon be forgotten.

Luray Caves have been described so often and so fully that we must content ourselves here with the above brief mention.

The Mammoth Cave in Kentucky, with its 150 miles of galleries, is another grand and magnificent example of limestone caverns.

Another beautiful example of this character is to be found in the Cave of Adelsburg, some six miles from Trieste, in Austria, which is remarkable for its length and height. The entrance to the Adelsburg Cave is through a fissure which seems to have been the result of an earthquake. This cave consists of several halls and grottoes

adorned by almost innumerable translucent pillars white as snow. The bottom is covered with similar concretions, while from the roof hang numerous stalactites, which under the blaze of torches dazzle the eye with their radiance. The sides of many of the grottoes are draped with the same brilliant incrustations, so thin and transparent that they fall like delicate crystal curtains to the floor. Abysses 500 and 600 feet deep abound in this cavern, and amid its recesses a river winds its course, spanned by two bridges a mile apart and formed by stalagmites.

A gentleman who visited this magnificent subterranean wonder told me that "at every step the scene shifts like a panorama. Sometimes the cave is so low that the explorer is obliged to stoop, and again so high that the roof is lost in the gloom. At one time we saw the guides lighting up some distant gallery far above our head, which had all the appearance of a veranda adorned with Gothic tracery. At another time we came to what seemed the long-drawn aisles of a cathedral."

One of the many rooms is called the Ballroom, where the inhabitants of Adelsburg and vicinity were wont to assemble every Whit-Monday, on which occasions the "hall" was brilliantly illuminated for the dance.

Within the darkness of this cavern lives the proteus, a singular animal, white and transparent, with a shape between that of a lizard and the eel.

We have said that the study of grottoes, caverns, cave temples and cave homes and shrines carries the student to the very borderlands of natural history and archæology as well as to those of paganism and Christianity, and we also learn that caves have excited awe and admiration in all ages and have been associated with legend and superstition as well as with the struggles of the early Christians for existence. They were the abode of the Sybil and the Nymphs of Roman mythology and the temples of the gods of the Greeks. Beneath their vaulted roofs the oracle of Delphis, Corinth and Mount Cithæron were delivered, and in Persia they were associated with the worship of Mithras. Who has not heard of the Fairy, the Dragons and the Devil's Caves in France and Germany and the Dwarf Holes in the Hartz Mountains? Was it not on an island grotto that the Nymph Calypos entertained the shipwrecked Telemachus, son of Ulysses, and who but for the prudent counsels of the wise Mentor would have prevailed upon him to forego the brilliant career that awaited him? Legendary lore tells us that the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus took their long sleep in a cave, and the Moorish child still turns its wistful eyes towards the hills of Granada, looking for the great Broabdil and his sleeping host, who will

one day awake to restore the glory of the Moors in their beloved Alhambra.

Caves have been used in all lands for habitations, refuge and sepulture. Lot dwelt in a cave; five Canaanite Kings fled from Joshua and David from Saul and found refuge in the caves of Palestine, and the Cave of Adullam was such a refuge for the oppressed that the name has become proverbial, whilst the Aquitani sought protection from their Roman conquerors in the caves of Auvergne. As far back as B. C. 1860 we find the Cave of Machpelah made sure unto Abraham for a possession of a burial-place by the sons of Heth. Here Abraham buried Sarah, his wife, and here many years afterwards was Abraham laid beside her by his sons.

The rock-hewn tombs of Palestine and Egypt and the Catacombs of Rome are further evidences of caves enlarged and made into burial places. Gongora y Martinez, a Spanish antiquarian, describes various interments in the Cave of Murcielagos (or Cave of the Bats), which penetrates the limestone of the grand scenery of which the southern Sierra Nevada has been to a great extent carved. In one place was found a group of three skeletons, one of which wore a plain coronet of gold and was clad in a tunic made of esparto grass, finely plaited, so as to form a pattern like that on some of the golden ornaments found in Etruscan tombs. In another place further in twelve skeletons formed a semi-circle around one covered with a tunic of skin and wearing a necklace of esparto grass, earrings of black stone and ornaments of shell and wild boar tusks. At Mentone, on the Gulf of Geneva, we had pointed out to us several very celebrated bone-caves which, we are told, have furnished an abundance of interesting organic and other prehistoric remains. These caves, which are about eighty-eight feet above the Mediterranean, are natural rifts in the Roches Rouges, the mountains over which the Cornice Road passed. In March, 1872, a fossil human skeleton, our guide told us, was exhumed in one of them at a depth of twenty-one feet below the surface. It lay on its left side in a natural position, as if death had overtaken the man during sleep. The skull was ornamented with a number of shells and with twenty-two teeth of the stag, all of which were perforated and formed a sort of network about the head. The skeleton, which was nearly perfect and indicated great strength, was placed in the Museum of Natural History in Paris. It is supposed to belong to the palæolithic age. The cranium was so fractured both behind and in front as to prevent accurate measurement. It is dolicho-cephalus (or long-skulled), arched at the summit, and the sutures are all consolidated. The facial angle is nearly eighty

degrees and the height of the man is estimated to have been six feet. So interested were we in the account of "the find" given us by our friend at Mentone that on reaching Paris, on our journey homeward, we visited the Musee and obtained the further details given above.

Bone caves of note are to be found near Kirkdale and Bristol, England; in the Valley of the Dordogne, France, especially those of Monstiers and Cro-Magnon, described by Christy and Lartet, and in Gailenrenth, in Bavaria. There are others in Belgium or Sicily, at Gibraltar, in Mexico and Brazil and in several parts of the United States. The bones most abundantly found are those of the great carnivora of the quarternary period, the bear, hyena, lion, etc., with those of the great pachyderms, as the mammoth, and rhinoceros, and of many herbivorous and rodents.

Remains of man and of his works have been found mingled with the bones of post-terciary extinct mammals in the caves of Europe, and especially in the south of France, by Messrs. Christy and Lartet, seeming to place it almost beyond doubt that man began his existence at this remote period. The implements found invariably belong to the early stone period, and the bones of an animal found in one place belong to the species afterward subjugated by man. The examination of the human and animal remains found in caverns in different parts of the world have opened up quite an interesting field of study.

Caverns are even to this day used as habitations. There are caves fashioned into homes, where gypsies in Spain have dwelt from time immemorial. Some of these, situated along the side of a mountain road, would seem to consist of "two stories," one above the other, the upper floor being reached by a ladder from the outside. Here bands of gypsies dwell in common, and may be seen sitting along the roadside sunning themselves or engaged in repairing tinware or the like. Their swarms of children sit around the doors and play in the innocence of childhood, while pigs grunt and root in quest of the scanty food the mountain home affords. In Southern Italy accidental excavations have been in like manner adopted as human habitations. Possibly these excavations might show that prehistoric man once dwelt in the hollows of these rocks.

Among the most remarkable cave temples in the world may be mentioned those at Elephanta and Ellora. The cave at Elephanta, a small island of India, in the harbor of Bombay, derives its name, we are told, from a huge stone elephant which formerly stood on the shore. The temple, long since abandoned by the priests, is now frequented solely by sterile women praying for fecundity. (What a popular resort this would *not* be in certain parts of our highly

enlightened and Christian country!) The interior breadth of this temple is 123 feet, and its length presents a vast range of columns cut from the solid rock. The sides of the cavern are filled with mythological figures, among which may be mentioned the Hindoo trinity, Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. The scenes in the life of Siva and Parvati seem to have given free scope to the corrupt imagination of the native sculptors, who reproduced them with all their revolting indecency, and we are far from joining in the almost universal condemnation heaped upon the Portuguese of the sixteenth century by fanatical archæologists for having destroyed them. This temple is generally considered to be the most ancient rock-temple on the Indian peninsula.

More beautiful and far more striking than the temple at Elephanta are the subterranean temples of Ellora, near the city of that name. They form galleries of not less than six miles in extent, which in certain places are built in stories communicating with one another. The "Kailasa" or "Kelaça" has been carved out of solid rock and completely detached from the mountain and forms but a single block. It has all the appearance of having been built stone upon stone. It covers an area of about 400 feet in length by 190 feet in breadth. Within the granite gateway there is a magnificent court some 230 feet long by 100 feet wide, with walls 140 feet high. Beyond is the chapel of Nandi, the companion of Siva, and still further in is the principal temple. This is supported by enormous square pilasters arranged in four rows. Those at the corners and at the circumference, twenty in number, are supported by elephants, which appear to raise the enormous mass on their huge backs. The temple is 500 feet in circumference and is flanked by porticos, terraces, basins and chapels, and the court which surrounds it on every side is decorated with obelisks and gigantic elephants. The walls are decorated with innumerable statues and bas-reliefs. These temples, as has been seen, were all devoted to the worship of Buddhist deities.

Paneas or Baniyas, anciently known as Cæsarea Philippi, is a village of Palestine some forty-five miles west-southwest of Damascus and near the headwaters of the Jordan. Here is a vast cavern, the "Panium" of Josephus, in which may be found the traces of the temple built by Herod in honor of the Emperor Augustus. This grotto, nestled beneath the great Hermon, was with the surrounding forest dedicated to the god Pan. Greek inscriptions carved in the rock near the entrance, and some of them still legible, bear evidence of this worship. Herod was careful that the work should be complete in every particular and the material used was marble or some white stone. At the entrance of the grotto there

was formerly a reservoir of great depth; it is now choked up with rubbish and serves as a refuge for cattle in the winter. On the west side of the grotto may be seen niches, some of which are in a fair state of preservation, and which were once filled with statues of Pan. Close by the grotto the waters of the Jordan may be seen forcing their way through a mass of ruins. Above the entrance of the grotto is a little Christian chapel dedicated to St. George, and close beside it a Turkish mosque. The good Dominican father to whom I am largely indebted for the above details smiled significantly when he mentioned the proximity of the Turkish mosque to the Christian chapel. Olyphant, a noted explorer, found many caves hitherto unexplored in and near Mount Carmel, on the shores of the Mediterranean.

Buddhist cave temples are to be found nestled away under mountain and hill wherever Buddhism has existed. We find the ruins of their cave convents at Hadahi and in the vicinity of Jelalabad. Some of them bear traces of their former splendor. Statue, altar and niches tell the genius of the sculptors of long ago; half obliterated inscriptions give us an insight into the deities whose praises resounded through these caverns and the manner in which that worship was offered. Their history is the history of the religion of far-off India, and, though fraught with the deepest interest, would carry us far beyond the limits of a magazine article. We cannot take leave of India, however, without a word about the cave temple of Bisma Kurm which is interesting not so much on account of its dimensions as for the elegance and originality of its execution. It will be remembered that Bisma Kurm, or Vishna Karma, is the personification of Buddh considered as the primitive architect.

This temple is excavated in the rock at a depth of about 166 feet. It consists of a long gallery, with a circular ceiling, separated longitudinally into three aisles of two rows of twenty-eight octagonal pillars about 23 feet in circumference.

The statue of the god represented as the primitive architect is enthroned in a niche; at his feet are two lions, symbolizing Power and Force, while two of his attendants stand beside him, one of them holding the lotus flower, the symbol of creation and production, as well as a small staff or sceptre representing the power of sovereignty; the other attendant appears to be hanging a triangular "level" on a species of column. Above Bisma Kurm glows an eye emblematic of penetration and administrative wisdom. Above this eye we discover a workman's plummet, which, descending upon a horizontal line, forms two right angles, the absolute principles of all kinds of creation, formation and regular construction. It is

probable that this remarkable temple was constructed in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era.

Religion here seems to have given its inspiration to art, as it has done in all climes and in all ages. We have seen it manifested in the cave temples of India, and it is no less evident in those of far-off and ancient Egypt. In these latter temples we get an idea of a higher standard of morality than appears to have been recognized in the grotesque and often unclean monsters which embody the Hindoo conception of divine attributes.

The Great Temple at Ipsambul seems to bring to light a magnificent specimen of Egyptian art—one that, with Champollion, we may confidently attribute to the palmiest epoch of Pharaonic civilization. In the larger of the two temples, consecrated by Rameses II. to the sun god Phrah, or Osiris, whose statue is placed over the entrance doorway, we find an area of about 187 feet wide by 86 feet high excavated from the mountain. The sides are perfectly smooth except where ornamented by relievos. The façade consists of four colossal statues of Rameses II. in sitting posture, each about 65 feet high, two being placed on each side of a narrow gate. From the shoulder to the tiara that adorns the head the distance is 16 feet 6 inches; the ears measure 3 feet 6 inches; the face 7 feet; the beard 5 feet 6 inches; across the shoulders 25 feet 6 inches. The moulding of each stony countenance is exquisite, while the beauty of the curves is surprising. The rounding of the muscles and the flowing lines of the neck and face are executed with great fidelity. What is most surprising in this wonderful work is the fact that the artist could have been guided by no model, as are the sculptors of to-day. Between the legs of these gigantic Ramessids are placed four statues of greatly inferior dimensions—mere pigmies when compared with their colossal neighbors, and yet considerably larger than ordinary human size.¹

In another apartment—"a vast gloomy hall such as Eblis might have given Vathek audience in"—is a vast mysterious aisle, whose pillars are formed by eight colossal giants, on whom the rays of heaven's bright sun have never shone. "They stand erect with hands crossed on each stony breast; figures of the all-conquering Rameses, whose mitre-shaped headdresses, each wearing in front the serpent, the emblem of royal power, nearly touch the roof. They are all exactly alike; all carry the crosier and flagellum; every face is characterized by a deep and solemn expression." Miss Martineau describes them as "vigilant, serene, benign." Here they stand, teaching us to inquire reverentially into the early powers and

¹ Champollion's "*Lettres écrites d'Égypte et de Nubie*," Lenormant's "*Esquisse de la Basse Nubie*," Harriet Martineau's "*Eastern Life*."

conditions of the human mind which was capable of such conceptions of abstract qualities as are represented in their forms. What chapters could be written on the symbolism they portray! And a long series of surprises awaits us if we follow these symbols down through the ages! These gigantic Egyptian statues are the very types of conscious power, of calm and passionless intellect—as far removed from the petty things of earth as are the stars of heaven from “the worm that crawls beneath the sod.”

Besides the veneration which many a mountain cavern has awakened in the minds of the masses of the people because of the religious rites performed within their precincts, many others have created no little awe and curiosity and have given the writer of legends a fruitful field for his imagination. Who has not heard of the optical phenomena of the Alps, the Hartz and the Cevennes Mountains? How many simple folk have told with solemn faces about the “Spectre of Brocken,” which plays such an important part in Goethe’s “Faust?” Who has not often been amused in reading about the dwarf holes and the glittering fairy homes which the popular tales of Germany tell us about in the depths of the Hartz Mountains?

The student of Grecian mythology will recall the story told by Pausanias concerning an oracle of Delphos. “For two years,” he says, “no rain had fallen in Bœotia. In despair the inhabitants sent deputies from each of their towns to Delphi to implore Apollo to put an end to the drought. The Pythian ordered them to repair to Trophonius, at Lebadeia, assuring them that they would obtain from him a remedy for their ills. Accordingly, they went to Lebadeia, but could not find the oracle they sought. During the search, however, Saon, of the town of Acropolinum, the oldest of all the deputies, caught sight of a swarm of bees, and the thought struck him that he would follow them wherever they flew. Suddenly he saw the bees direct their course towards a mysterious grotto, which he entered with them; the oracle was discovered.” Many other stories are told about the august dweller of this grotto.

In the Cevennas we find the Grotto of the Fairies, said at one time to have been the refuge of the Camisards. Let us enter without fear. Passing through a funnel-shaped apartment we discerned a rope-ladder about 50 feet long and came to a hall in which we behold a line of pillars 30 feet high, shaped like palm trees and forming magnificent galleries. Pushing further on through narrow passageways we come to another hall much larger than the first. Here we are delighted by the sight of an enormous curtain of stalactites gracefully draped so that its ends barely touch the ground. Around us are petrified cascades and tall obelisks, upon which the reflection

of torches creates lights and shadows which the imagination soon molds into spirits and fairies. If we continue our journey we shall pass from chamber to chamber, one more beautiful than the other, with sparkling cascades and curious stalactites.

We have spoken of caverns formed by the continued action of water. A beautiful example of this kind is to be found near Ingleborough, Yorkshire, England. This famous cavern has been explored for over 800 yards, but how much further it extends or what it contains has yet to be learned. Its existence was long known, but it had received little attention until one day a gardener with an inquiring mind broke through the barrier of stalagmites and penetrated the various rooms and passages beyond. Two years of careful exploration revealed a large, irregular grotto, with here and there the sounds of falling waters breaking upon the ear from subterranean recesses further inward. The water was found to plunge into a deep reservoir, forming a sort of lake. The intrepid owner, a candle in his cap, after the fashion of our miners in the coal regions of Pennsylvania, and a rope around his waist, ventured to swim across the lake in the hope of discovering an outlet, but all in vain. He was rewarded, however, in his researches through this grotto with the discovery of a magnificent curtain of stalactites covered with club-like bodies, each consisting of a drop of water including a minute fungus.

At Dudley, in Worcestershire, England, there are limestone quarries which are very remarkable. The stone is usually excavated from the solid rock, leaving vast caverns, the roofs of which are supported by limestone pillars. One of these caverns is two miles long and is traversed by a canal, by means of which the stone is carried away. Here, too, may be seen the trunks of trees in a state of petrification.

Defiles or passes in mountain ranges may be regarded as akin to the subterranean world, some being deep and open all the way up, while others are partly open and partly tunnels. Among the former may be classed the Ausable Chasm, in the northern part of the State of New York, in the Adirondack region, near historical Lake Champlain. It is a gorge two miles long and from ten to fifty feet wide, 200 feet deep in some places, with beautiful rainbow falls seventy feet high. Visitors to the Catholic Summer School at Cliff Haven never fail to visit this natural wonder, and their powers of imagination are often "taxed to the limit" to recognize such resemblances as the Horseshoe Falls, Pulpit Rock, Elephant's Head, Devil's Oven, Jacob's Ladder, the Fernery, Devil's Punch Bowl, Jacob's Well, Mystic Gorge, the Grotto, Smuggler's Pass. The Post Office may be recognized by the number of visiting cards to be found along

the ledge, but the Hanging Gardens, to some obtuse minds, are as far away as those that history tells us once adorned the banks of the Euphrates. The boat ride through the Grand Flume, however, is the real thing. Ausable Chasm nevertheless must be recognized as one of the great and awe-inspiring natural wonders of the world.

Another of the partly open and partly tunneled grottoes is the famous Posilipo Grotto. The Posilipo (*Monte di Posilippo*) is a mountain in ancient Campania, one side of which faces the Sea of Pozzuoli and the other the city of Naples. It is pierced from one end to the other by a grotto or tunnel some 3,000 feet long by 30 to 80 feet high and 28 feet broad. The road from Naples to Pompeii passes through it and it forms a delightful promenade, marred somewhat by the necessarily limited view it affords and that the tourist is often choked with dust, while, as the road is not very wide, he is compelled to keep very close to the side so as to avoid collision with vehicles coming in an opposite direction. Twice a year, in the months of February and October, the last rays of the sun sweep through the entire length of the grotto, but only for a few minutes. The effect is then very beautiful and impressive and seems to be produced by some magical incantation. At all other times a gloomy twilight pervades by day. At night, however, a sufficient illumination is produced by lamps which hang at intervals from the roof of the tunnel. The visitor cannot hear at first without a feeling of disquiet the rattling of vehicles of all kinds, the clash of horses' hoofs and their frequent neighing, the shouts of the drivers and peasants—all these confused sounds rebounding upon the roof and echoing again and again in the deep depressions and fissures which occur here and there on either side.

It seems impossible to find the date or the architect of this curious work. Classical students will remember that the Greek geographer Strabo, who died in the reign of Tiberius (about 25 A. D.), and Seneca, the Roman philosopher (65 A. D.), both refer to it in their writings. Originally it seems to have been a quarry, which was subsequently converted into a practicable tunnel. The mouth, once choked up with weeds and brambles, was cleared and enlarged by order of Alphonso I., King of Naples, and Aragon, who also ordered the construction of the airshafts.

Above the grotto is found a Roman tomb, in which tradition tells us repose the ashes of Virgil (b. B. C. 40, d. B. C. 19), as told in our article on Pompeii in a recent number of this "Quarterly." As stated in that article, the authenticity of this interesting monument has been despoiled, but the precise indications furnished by the classical writers and the unbroken chain of confirmatory evidence, extending from the death of the poet of the "Æneid" to our own

days, one would think sufficient to satisfy the most incredulous. Formerly a laurel planted by Petrarch flourished upon the tomb, but it fell victim to the iconoclast tourists of all nations, who are ever in quest of souvenirs and to whom nothing is sacred. Another laurel planted by Casimir Delavigne has shared the same fate. But many passersby, filled with charity and reverence for the dead, never fail to say a prayer for the departed, even though he died before the dawn of Christianity.

Many mountain passes have a historic celebrity. The Dariel Pass, or Caucasus Gate, as it was anciently called, at the southern frontier of Russia and the Caucasus, tells many a tale of heroic struggles for Caucasian independence from Russian rule. This pass is the only carriage communication between Russia and her Transcaucasian possessions, opening as it does the way from Mozdok to Tiflis and the Valley of Terek. Russia has endeavored to guard against further trouble by the erection of strong fortifications at either end of the pass. No reader of current history will fail to notice the important part played by mountain passes on the eastern front in the present world-war.

Caverns were burial-places as well as places of worship. In some cases both requirements are combined. An illustration of this may be found in the beautiful Grotto of St. Rosalia, at Monte Pellegrino, some distance from Palermo. St. Rosalia, a Norman princess, as pious and charitable as she was beautiful, retired from the world to lead a life of contemplation. She found a suitable retreat in the recesses of what was once known as Mount Erecta, memorable in history as the stronghold where Hamilcar held out for five years against the legions of Rome. Here her life of prayer and meditation was spent unobtrusively, and in 1159 she passed to her heavenly reward. Tradition kept the memory of her deeds of charity in the minds of the good people of Palermo, and 500 years after her death, when the city and surrounding country were desolated by a plague, the people, as is the custom in many parts of Central and Southern Europe, made pious pilgrimages to celebrated sanctuaries to implore the mercy of heaven. A devout citizen remembered the story of holy Rosalia and organized a pilgrimage to her long-neglected cavern-tomb. Her bones were found, carefully gathered up and carried around the city three times in solemn procession with prayer and chant. The wail of the distressed was heard, the plague ceased and St. Rosalia became to Palermo what St. Januarius is to Naples. As an act of thanksgiving her long-neglected grotto was transformed into a chapel. Here, too, was erected a beautiful statue of the young virgin, kneeling at the foot of a cross, with clasped hands as if pleading for the people of Palermo. So unex-

pectedly and mysteriously does this figure break upon the visitor that even at a few paces it could be easily mistaken for a pious daughter of Palermo in deep prayer and meditation. A number of little lamps suspended at intervals shed a faint light which enhances the illusion, while their shifting, wavering rays seem to communicate their movements to the sacred effigy. The head and hands have been sculptured in fine Parian marble, the draperies are of gilded bronze and sparkle with the costly gems with which they are incrustured. Meyerbeer, in his opera of "Robert le Diable," has transformed this chapel into a monastery supposed to have been founded by St. Rosalia, and here Robert, guided by Bertram, comes in search of

"Le rameau toujours vert, talisman re doute,
Qui donne la richesse et l'immortalites."

The Grotto of St. Rosalia is reached by a magnificent road, the Scala, built at State expense, and which rises like a staircase (from which it takes its name) from terrace to terrace to the very entrance of the grotto far up the mountains. Adjoining the entrance was erected the monastery for the monks in charge of the shrine.

The cave of Jedburgh, with those of Crickup Linn, in Dunfrieshire, Scotland, are often visited by the curious from their picturesque and romantic position and the story which Walter Scott has told about the Covenanters.

A writer in the "London Daily Chronicle" mentions some very interesting facts connected with Thiepval, the fortified village on the Somme, which has figured so prominently in the British reports since the beginning of the July-August offensive undertaken by the Entente Allies.

Putting aside all sensational and legendary stories that are now in circulation concerning the Chateau of Thiepval, suffice it to say that it was built in 1725 and that it lately became the property of a M. Henri Portier, a member of the Ecole Normale, officer of the Legion of Honor and a retired officer of the French army. After acquiring the chateau, M. Portier made a great many alterations in the building and employed none but French mechanics from Paris to do the work. It was only in June, 1914, that he and his family were able to take possession, but their stay was of short duration, for they were glad to escape from it on the morning of August 27, 1914, just as the German Uhlans were entering the village.

The German commander who came to inspect the chateau expressed surprise at the limited extent of the cellars and insisted that there were others. A writer in the "Gaulois" tells us that the

whole region of the Somme, especially in the vicinity of Thiepval, was full of subterranean passages. According to the legends, these passages led from the ruins of an old feudal castle to the marshes of Beaucourt. They were closed up some three centuries ago to prevent the village children from losing themselves in the labyrinths. It is more than probable that some such passages still exist and that the Germans were aware of the fact. "What is beyond question," says the writer in the "*Gaulois*," "is that in the whole region, from Doullens to Bray, Combles and Albert, traces can be found of vast caves and fissures known in the chalk by prehistoric rivers whose courses can still be traced by geologists."

The writer goes still further and mentions the underground city of Naours, the caves of Behancourt, the subterranean passages of Engleheimer and Rossignol, which, although unknown to the inhabitants, can yet be explored by people of a venturesome spirit. They were the work of men, intending in many cases to serve as shelters and hiding places for the inhabitants during the successive invasions which the region has seen since the days of the Romans. German tourists before the war frequently "visited" Naours and the other subterranean vestiges of the past.²

In fine, the primitive refuges of man and beast which kind Mother Nature has provided are storehouses for the ethnologist and antiquarian; they are monuments that outlast the works of human hands which crumble and perish. While the caverns of Palestine, being devoid of stalagmite and stalagmite, could not suggest to the Canaanite wanderers the images of sylvan deities which the shepherds of ancient Hellas naturally found in the grottoes of Parnassus and Hymetus, yet from other points of vision the Biblical student especially can never lose sight of them. In these countless rents and cavities and holes, as we have indicated in different parts of this paper, we see the origin of burial places which to this day, partly natural and partly wrought by the hand of man, penetrate the rocky walls of the valleys of the Jordan. We see the long line of tombs beginning with the cave of Machpelah and ending with the grave of Lazarus—which was "a cave and a stone upon it"—and "the sepulchre hewn in the rock wherein never man before was laid." We see how the people of the land sought shelter during the terrible visitations of their day, when "Lot went up to Zoar and dwelt

² Since writing the above, reports come to us from "the front" telling us that the Germans availed themselves of the caves around Thiepval during a recent battle; that from time to time their heads appeared above ground like woodchucks as they amused themselves "sniping" the enemy. Their sport was soon spoiled, however, by the newly invented British "caterpillars," better known as "tanks," which routed them out of their hiding places.

in a cave," or as when in the day Uzziah, King of Judah, they "fled before the earthquake to the ravines of the mountains;" to the rocky fissures, safer, even though they themselves were rent by the convulsions, than the habitations of man. Again, we see the Hebrews pursued by Herod's hordes seeking refuge in the lofty mountain caverns of Palestine, only to see their cruel pursuers let down from overhanging cliffs in huge, solid caissons suspended by means of iron chains until they reached the level of the refuge—caverns of their victims whom they slaughtered mercilessly, not even sparing their wives and children.

Again, we see these caverns as the hiding-places which at one time served for the defense of robbers and insurgents, and yet again as a refuge for those "of whom the world was not worthy," the prototype of the Catacombs of the early Christians.

Though the subject of Cave Homes and Shrines is an interesting one, the limited space of a magazine article precludes us from entering still further upon its consideration, or we might show how the caves of Germany and Switzerland were likewise a refuge of the oppressor when the Roman legions extended the supremacy of Rome from the Apennines to the Black Forest and from the Tiber to the Elbe.

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THE PROBLEM OF THE INTERCOMMUNION "IN
SACRIS" BETWEEN THE ANGLICAN AND THE
EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCHES
DURING THE YEARS 1866-1870.

THE movement towards a recognition of the validity of Anglican orders by the Eastern Churches, a movement which, as we said in a previous article, was inaugurated in England by the Eastern Church Association founded in April, 1864, and in the United States by the Russo-Greek committee in 1862, began to attract the attention of Russian Churchmen and divines.

In 1864 Anglican theologians who were in favor of the approach of their own Church towards the Eastern Orthodox invited to London the archpriest Joseph Vasilevich Vasiliev (1827-1881), the learned chaplain and founder of the church of the imperial Russian embassy at Paris. Vasiliev was known at that time as the brightest representative of the Russian Church abroad, and as the converter to orthodoxy of a French priest, Francis Xavier Guettée, who, after his apostasy, took the name of Vladimir, and his priesthood, "*L'Union Chrétienne*" (1851-1893). Vasiliev was very pleased with the proposals of union of Anglican theologians, although he did not believe that they could be realized. He promised his support to his new friends of England, and discussed the problem of the relations of Anglicanism to Russian Orthodoxy in a series of papers inserted in the "*Union Chrétienne*."¹

A more prominent actor in the history of the relations between the Anglican and the Eastern churches was Eugenii Jvanovich Popov (d. 1875), the archpriest of the Imperial Russian Embassy at the Court of St. James.* In 1865 he published at Moscow a pamphlet entitled "*The Origin of the Movement of the Anglican Church Towards Its Reunion With the Eastern Churches*." He wrote also a memorandum discussing the opportunity of accepting Anglican priests and faithful into the communion of the Orthodox Churches. A copy of this memorandum, with manuscript notes and objections by Philarete, metropolitan of Moscow, is to be found among the papers left to the ecclesiastical academy of Petro-

¹ Rodosky A., "*Biographical Dictionary of the Students of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Petrograd*" (in Russian). Petrograd, 1907, pp. 67-68. J. Vasiliev, "*Poledza v Anglii dlia sobesledovanija o soedinenii anglikanskoi tserkvi s pravoslavnuju*" ("*A visit to England for a conference on the union of the Anglican Church with the Orthodox Church*"). "*Chtenia* (Lectures) of the Society of History and Russian Antiquities of Moscow," 1866; Vol. I, pp. 142-159.

² Rodosky, pp. 373-374.

grad by Isidor (formerly Jakov Sergeevich Nikolskii), metropolitan of Petrograd (1799-1892). Archpriest Orlov championed also the cause of the union and discussed the problem of the validity of Anglican orders in many papers inserted in the "Pravoslavnoe Obozriene" ("The Orthodox Review"), Moscow; the "Dukhovnaia Besieda" ("The Orthodox Conference") and the "Strannik" ("The Wanderer") of Petrograd.

On the 15th of November, 1865, a meeting of prominent members of the Russian and Anglican Churches to draw closer the bonds of love between the two communions was held in London. The meeting consisted of eighty members of the Anglican Church, including the Bishops of Oxford, Lincoln and Edinburgh, and of three members of the Russian Church, viz., Archpriest Popov, Count Alexi Tolstoi and Prince Nicholas Orlov, Russian Ambassador to the Court of Brussels.

The meeting was a complete failure. Its members confined themselves to academic logomachies about the cordial relations between England and Russia. The truth of our statement is made plain by a letter of Prince Nicholas Orlov, dated from Brussels, February 4, 1866, and printed in the "London Times." No engagements, no illusory promises, were made on either side, all of us being aware that the character of the meeting was to be perfectly informal and that the sole object of the meeting was to try and ascertain by what means the Churches to which we severally belonged might some day be brought near together. Two distinct opinions were in favor of immediate intercommunion without waiting for dogmatic unity. Others felt that dogmatic unity must naturally precede intercommunion. All, however, were agreed upon one point—that it would be both useful and necessary to promote on both sides a careful study of the history and doctrine of the two Churches and to work out as clearly as possible the wide extent of Gospel truth held by them both, as well as to limit and facilitate the discussion of all points of doctrine and practice on which they may differ. The impression left upon my mind by this meeting was that a deep feeling of Christian love had brought together persons of different countries assembled in Christ's name, who, after some hours of conversation, carried away with them the conviction that, let the results be what they might, they at least had fulfilled their duty as Christians in striving earnestly to find a means for bringing nearer to each other two important and severed branches of the Church of Christ.³

³Journal of the proceedings of the Bishops, clergy and laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church assembled in a general convention held in the city of New York from October 17 to October 29, inclusive, in the year of Our Lord 1868. Hartford, 1869; pp. 481-482.

This letter was suggested by the desire of answering the clamors of Russian theologians, who accused and blamed the Orthodox members of the above mentioned meeting as having participated in the prayers of Anglican heretics.⁴ "The Eastern Orthodox Church," Orlov remarked, "has never forbidden its members from joining in any form of prayer with other Christians, more especially with those who pray for the peace of the whole world and the union of divided Christendom."

To forward the cause of the validity of their hierarchy, Anglican theologians had recourse to three different ways: (1) The publication of pamphlets and books, either defending their claims or acquainting English readers with the history, liturgy and teaching of the Eastern Churches; (2) the visits of their Bishops or delegates to the Russian and Greek Churches; (3) the opening of direct relations with the hierarchies of both the Churches mentioned.

In 1866 the Eastern Church Association inaugurated a series of "Occasional Papers" on various topics connected with the Eastern Church. The first published was "The Apostolical Succession in the Church of England—A letter to a Russian friend," by the Rev. William Stubbs, M. A., librarian to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury and Vicar of Navestock, London, 1866. "The purpose of the treatise is to vindicate the claims of the Anglican Church to be regarded as an integral part of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, and, as such, entitled to recognition and full spiritual communion with all other Churches which hold the essential points of doctrine and discipline which together constitute the faith once delivered to the saints."

The example of the Eastern Church Association was followed by the Russo-Greek committee. Before his election to the episcopate of Florida, Rev. John Freeman Young published a series of tracts and documents bearing on the faith and worship, the principles and practices of the Orthodox Church of the East and on the measures for reunion. Some of these documents concern the relations between the British clergy and the Eastern Patriarchs and the Holy Synod in the reign of Peter the Great. A volume of the second series, which was interrupted by the consecration of Bishop Young, appeared in 1867.⁵

⁴ По поводу Лондонскаго митинга о соединеніи церквей. (On the occasion of the London meeting for the union of churches.) Moskovskila Viedomosti, 1866; n. 10.

⁵ We give here the list of the "Occasional Papers" issued during the years 1864-1874. They are now out of print and very rarely to be found in American libraries: (1) Stubbs Williams, op. cit. (2) E. B. Pusey: The essential unity of the Christian Church. (3) Yearning of the unity in the

The same year two prominent members of the Eastern Church Association visited the Orthodox Churches to study the feelings of Eastern prelates towards the Anglican Hierarchy. According to a memorial of the Eastern Church Association with the date of September 19, 1868, and the signature of George F. Boyle, chairman, the Primus of the Church of Scotland, Robert Eden, at the request of the Bishop of Moray (1852-1886), and in the place of the Bishop of London, held confirmations at St. Petersburg and Moscow, and the welcome which he received as a Bishop from the sainted Metropolitan Philaret and other leading prelates was most affectionate. One and all expressed the deepest interest in the proposed reunion of the Churches, introducing the subject themselves and often showing an astonishing knowledge of the Anglican Church.*

Philarete declared to him that theologians on either side would be able to reconcile the differences between the Eastern and the Anglican Churches, but that the obstacles to the reunion would be with the people. The Primus answered that the Church of England would have to face the same difficulty, for the people in Eng-

East; from the writings of the Metropolitan of Chios; translated by George Williams. (4) Union between the Anglican and the Orthodox Church of the East; the Metropolitan of Chios, with introduction by George Williams. (5) Impression of a recent visit to Russia; a letter from the Primus of Scotland. (6) Church government in Russia; by a lay member of the Orthodox Church. (7) Edmund S. Ffoulkes on the Filioque. (8) A catechism of the Armenian Church; translated by C. S. Malan. (9) The Hellenic spirit; the Metropolitan of Chios; translated by George Williams. (10) William Fraser: The Patriarch of Rome and the Patriarchs of the East. (11) Reports of the committee of convocation on intercommunion with the Orthodox Eastern Churches. (12) The Liturgies of St. Basil, St. Gregory and St. Cyril; translated from a Coptic MS. of the thirteenth century by the Rev. J. M. Rodwell. (13) The difference between the Greek and Armenian Churches. (14) A collection of documents relating chiefly to the visit of the Archbishop of Syros and Tenos to England in 1870. (15) A sermon preached in the Church of the Presentation of the B. V. Mary at Constantinople by Cleobulus, Metropolitan of Caesarea of Cappadocia, on occasion of a thanksgiving service for the recovery of the Prince of Wales; translated by Rev. G. Williams. (16) Report of the committee of Canterbury convocation on intercommunion presented July 10, 1874; a new series of occasional papers started in 1893 after a long interruption of twenty years. Among the papers edited by the Russo-Greek committee during the years 1865-1867 we mention the following: (1) Comparative statement of Russo-Greek and Roman Catholic doctrines. (2) Sermons and addresses by highest dignitaries in the Russian-Greek Church. (3) The divine liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. (4) The offices of Holy Baptism and Confirmation, Ordination and Confession in the Orthodox Eastern Church. (5) The Encyclical Epistle of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church to the faithful everywhere, being a reply to that Epistle of Pius IX. to the Easterns.

* Journal of the general convention, p. 428.

land were convinced that the Eastern Churches did not greatly differ from the Roman Church. "If the people of England," Philarete replied, "think that the Eastern Church is like the Roman, I am not surprised that they should entertain a strong feeling against it."⁷

The second "missus dominicus" of the Eastern Church Association was the Rev. George Williams, of Kings College. He visited the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch and Jerusalem, the theological schools of the Greek Church, and the Metropolitan of Chios, Gregory of Byzantium, a warm defender of reunion. According to a report of the Russo-Greek committee, he found that an earnest desire was everywhere manifested for frequent intercourse between the two Churches, and only in one instance had he reason to believe that it was thought that intercommunion involved the condition of submission to the Orthodox Church of the East.⁸

For the sake of truth, however, we need to say that the optimism of the reports of both the Anglican Associations rested upon no solid ground. Even the chairman of the Eastern Church Association, George F. Boyle, felt obliged to avow in his report of the year 1868 that Russian Bishops considered the doubts as to the validity of Anglican orders as one of the chief obstacles to reunion.

No wonder, then, if the association charged Archpriest Popov to set such doubts at rest by means of historical explanations. They requested him to present to the Holy Synod a facsimile copy of the record of Archbishop Parker's consecration, preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, together with a formally attested transcript of the register of the consecration now existing in the archives of Lambeth.

I do not know for what reasons the ruling members of the association placed their reliance on the Russian archpriest. Probably they were not able to follow the controversies of Russian theologians in Russian periodical reviews. Archpriest Popov agreed with Metropolitan Philarete in doubting the validity of Anglican orders. The reasons for his doubts, or rather of his disguised denial of that validity, were put forward in a paper inserted in the "Khristianskoe Chtenie" ("The Christian Reading"), the official organ of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Petrograd.⁹

⁷ Ibid., p. 484. Impressions of a recent visit to Russia; a letter from the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Moray and Ross, Primus of Scotland. London, 1867; p. 10.

⁸ Ibid., p. 483. A letter from the Most Reverend Metropolitan of Chios on the project of union between the Anglican and the Orthodox Church of the East. London, 1867.

⁹ Nishto o preemstvie apostolskago rukopološenija v Anglikanskoi tserkvi. (Some words about the succession of the apostolical consecration in the Anglican Church.) Khristianskoe chtenie; 1870; I., pp. 183-198. The paper is directed against the validity of the consecration of Parker.

The reports of the High Procurators of the Holy Synod for 1868, 1869, 1870, 1872 touch upon the Anglican proposals with the sole view of magnifying the power and truth of Orthodoxy which reveals itself in clearer rays and wins irresistibly the most sincere sympathies. According to the report of 1865, the tendency of the Anglican Church to approach the Orthodox communion was to be looked upon with the most sincere attention. The Holy Synod declared itself to be ready to facilitate the means for the reunion of the Anglican Church with the Orthodox. The reports lay stress upon the fact that the Anglican and the American Episcopal Churches recognize the purity of the Orthodox faith and the urgent need of revising their beliefs in accordance with those of the Orthodox Church. They magnify the conversion of some Anglicans, including priests, to Russian or Greek orthodoxy, and in veiled terms they explain Anglican proposals for intercommunion as a preliminary step to the submission of the Anglican Churches to the Eastern Churches.¹⁰

There were also Russian priests or divines who suggested setting up a branch of the Eastern Church in England, with a view of proselyting from the English Church. Anglicans were not backward in protesting against such attempts. A report, indeed, of the Russo-Greek committee read at the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church held in Baltimore, Md., in 1871, reads as follows: "It is to be hoped that the intention of setting up a branch of the Eastern Church within the jurisdiction of Anglican Bishops (which would be rightly styled schismatical), if ever entertained, has been quite abandoned. To authorize proselyting from the Anglican Church would be an act of hostility to her—it would tend to retard the work of unity and inflict a new wound on Catholicity. Yet can we say that even such a step would entirely frustrate the hopes of future reunion? No. We believe that the false step taken would soon be retraced and that God would overrule all for good. Our longing for unity is not from considerations personal to ourselves, but we know the unity of His Church is according to the mind of Christ, and we seek the fulfillment of our Saviour's prayer on the night in which He was betrayed, that "all may be one."¹¹

Already in the report of the committee of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, dated from June 7, 1867, it was pointed out in clearest terms that the Anglican Churches were de-

¹⁰ A. Dobroklonsky. *Rukovodstvo po istorii russkoi tserkvi.* (Handbook of history of the Russian Church.) Moscow, 1893; Vol. IV., pp. 282-283.

¹¹ Journal of the general convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church held in the city of Baltimore in 1871. Printed for the convention. 1872; p. 577.

cidedly opposed to any absorption by the Eastern Churches. They desired only the recognition of their sacraments by the Orthodox hierarchy, with the express condition that such a concession would not involve the blotting out of Anglican religious traditions, customs, liturgy and theological beliefs. "Intercommunion is not, as many persons imagined, the fusion of one Church into another; there is no question of submitting ourselves to the authority of the Orthodox Church of the East or requiring such submission from her. Neither is it on the one hand to engraft into our own Church any of the doctrines, rites or ceremonies peculiar to other Churches, nor, on the other hand, to require them to abandon what may seem to us superfluous and to conform themselves to the measure of our simplicity. No; the intercommunion which we seek is simply the mutual acknowledgment that all Churches which are one in the possession of a true episcopate, one in sacraments and one in their creed are, by their union in their common Lord, bound to receive one another to full communion in prayers and sacraments as members of the same household of faith."¹²

The most important step for the acceptance of the validity of Anglican orders by the Eastern Churches was taken in 1869. The convocation of the Vatican Council by Pius IX. was looked upon as a favorable occasion for a closer friendship and alliance between the Anglican and the Eastern Churches. They both considered the Papacy as the greatest obstacle to the reunion of Christendom, and the Vatican¹² and the council as a challenge to the principles of the unaltered Christian faith embodied in their own confessions. As is known, the Oriental Patriarchs refused to accept even the letters of invitation to the council presented to them by the representatives of the Holy See in the East. Their example was followed by the Anglican Churches. The Right Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln (1807-1885), famous for his anti-Latin attitude and his controversial writings, published his "*Responsio Anglicana litteris apostolicis Pii Papae IX. ad omnes protestantes aliosque acatholicos.*" The tone of the answer is somewhat bitter, especially in its close. The reasons for which the Protestant Episcopal Church could not participate in the Vatican Council were explained by the Right Rev. Arthur Cleveland Coxe, Bishop of Western New York (1865-1896).¹³

Anglican Bishops appealed to the Eastern Churches against the

¹² Journal of the general convention (1868); p. 485.

¹³ The answers of the Anglican and the Eastern Churches to the letters and appeals of Pius IX. were translated into Italian and published in a volume: *Risposte orientali e occidentali all' invito papale pel futuro concilio vaticano.* Firenze, 1869.

Roman Church. If, following her ecclesiastical policy, Anglican divines argued, the Roman Church reaches the ultimate outcome of her doctrinal evolution or deviation and centralizes the supreme authority of the Church in the hands of the Pope, why could not the other branches of Catholicity fuse together against such an increasing of Papal usurpations? The Vatican Council deserved a practical answer on the side of the Churches that rightly claim to themselves the title and the privileges of Catholicity, and a reunion of the Eastern and the Anglican Churches on the common basis of intercommunion and Christian fellowship would have been a counterpoise to the boundless authority of the Popes and a wall built up against the flood of invasion of Roman Catholicism.

In the report of the joint committee of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, dated June 15, 1869, we read as follows:

"It is impossible to estimate too highly the importance of intercommunion between these long-severed branches of Christ's Universal Church at a time when the Bishop of Rome has convoked, on his own authority, what he calls an Oecumenical Council, at which none of the patriarchs or other prelates of these Churches can be present consistently with canonical order and primitive precedent. The answers of the patriarchs and other prelates of the Orthodox communion to the summons addressed to them have sufficiently vindicated their grounds of refusal, while the now famous "*Responsio Anglicana*" of the Bishop of Lincoln equally establishes our own.¹⁴

The committee asked the Bishops of the Upper House to take steps toward opening direct negotiations with the Eastern patriarchs and metropolitans with a view to establish such relations between the two communions as shall enable the laity and clergy of either to join in the sacraments and offices of the other without forfeiting the communion of their own Church. It was recommended that the effort should be made to obtain from the Eastern Churches:

1—That the rites of Christian burial should be accorded by the local Orthodox clergy to the members of the English Church in danger of death without the possibility of receiving religious offices from their own clergy.

2—That the children of English parents born in the East might be able to receive the sacrament of baptism from Orthodox priests, especially in the case of danger of death and in the absence of an English chaplain. It was observed, however, that the relations of

¹⁴ *Journal of the convention* (1871); pp. 565-566.

such children to the Anglican Church should not be considered modified or changed by their Orthodox baptism.

3—That Eastern clergymen might be allowed to celebrate marriage between English people or where one party only was English.

4—That Eastern clergymen might administer the Holy Communion to Anglicans dying or in danger of death, or traveling and at a distance from an English church. Here it was observed that "It would often be a source of deep comfort and a work of the greatest Christian benevolence if such persons, when earnestly desiring Holy Communion, being previously furnished with commendatory letters from their clergyman and their Bishop, could in their need receive that Blessed Sacrament from the hands of the Eastern clergy."

5—That in return for these concessions the English Church would be ready to minister the same offices of religion, of charity and Christian relationship to the members of the Eastern Church.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Rev. Archibald Campbell Tait (1868-1882), agreed to the request of convocation and wrote to the Patriarch of Constantinople a kind letter, full of praises and laudatory expressions towards the most ancient and unadulterated faith of the Eastern Church and the Oecumenical Patriarchate.

The Church of Constantinople was governed at that time by Gregory VI. (1835-1840, 1867-1871), a strong asserter of the Orthodox beliefs against the novelty-loving Western Christians. During his first Patriarchate Gregory VI. had published an encyclical letter (1836) against the calamitous heresies of Luther, Zwingli and Calvin and the translations of the Holy Scripture made by Protestant wolves, and another invective of the same kind (1838) against the pernicious, cankering and pestilent blasphemies of Latin and Papistic spoilers of the Christian faith. The style of both the documents is exceedingly virulent, and it is to be hoped, for the sake of the good Christian name, that the violence of those specimens of controversy will be in the future a sad memory of the past.¹⁵

Such being the trend of mind of the Patriarch, it was hardly to be expected that he should favor with his authority the proposals of the Anglican Church. He answered, however, the letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had also presented him with an

¹⁵ Sokolov Ivan Ivanovich. *Konstantinopolskaja tzerkov. The Church of Constantinople.* Petrograd, 1904; pp. 599-632. Id. *Borba Grigorija VI. s inoslavnoi propagandoi na Vostoke.* (The struggle of Gregory VI. against the Heterodox propaganda in the East.) *Khristianskoe Chtenie*, 1909; pp. 908-981; 1148-1179; 1313-1341; 1433-1451; 1636-1732; A. Palmieri. *Theologia dogmatica orthodoxa*, Florentiae, 1911; Vol. I, pp. 632-634.

artistically bound copy of the Prayer Book and the Thirty-nine Articles.

His answer, written in a gorgeous style, contains little concession to the Anglican requests and many recriminations against Anglican *novelties*. In this respect it sounds like the old answer of the Eastern Patriarchs sent to the Bishop's Non-Jurors in 1716.¹⁶

The Patriarch starts with asserting against some statements of the Thirty-nine Articles that the true faith of Christ has been delivered to the Eastern Churches through the apostles, heralds of God, and the God-inspired fathers and the seven venerable and God-moved Oecumenical Councils. Then he expresses his willingness to offer every facility to bury English strangers in the Orthodox cemeteries, for in the East, "as everywhere under the sun, the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof."

The concession is granted, however, on the condition that no private right of property be in any case acquired in the ground in which they are buried.

As concerns the prayers to be said by Orthodox priests in the case of the burial of deceased Anglicans in Orthodox cemeteries, the Synod of Constantinople, in full accordance with the will of the Patriarch, sent a letter to the Metropolitans of the Patriarchate to exhort them that if there be no Anglican priests at hand to bury a member of their own Church, two Orthodox priests may accompany the corpse, saying the Trisagion Hymn, the 118th (Septante) Psalm, the Epistle (Thess. iv., 13-18) and the Gospel (St. John v., 24-31) of the funeral order. This document is dated from October 11, 1869. It illustrates the rigorous discipline of the Greek Church as to her relations to the so-called Western heterodoxy. In fact, a letter of Callinikos II. (1694-1702), Patriarch of Constantinople, dated November, 1701, declared as impossible (*adynaton*) the burial of Western heretics by Orthodox priests.¹⁷

The letter of the Patriarch keeps silent as to the celebration of marriages of Anglicans by Orthodox priests and the participation of Anglicans in the Holy Communion of the Orthodox Church. Several documents issued by Greek Patriarchs and the Patriarchal Synods of Constantinople forbid expressly the administering of

¹⁶ Palmieri, *Op. cit.*, pp. 628-629; E. Michaud, *Une tentative d'union entre Anglicans et Orthodoxes de 1716-1725*, *Revue internationale de théologie*, 1906; pp. 330-332; Chrysostomos Papadopoulos, (An attempt to the union between Non-Jurors and the Orthodox Churches) (in Greek); Alexandria, 1911.

¹⁷ Theotokas Michael, *Nomologia of the Ecumenical Patriarchate* (in Greek); Constantinople, 1897; p. 363. I. Sokolov, in *Pravoslavnaja bogoslovskaja entsiklopedija*. (The orthodox theological encyclopedia); Vol. VIII.; Petrograd, 1907; col. 36.

Communion to Western Christians, whether Catholics or Protestants, even in danger of death, and also the celebration of their marriages by Orthodox priests.¹⁸

According to the canon law of the Orthodox Churches, dogmatic unity of faith is needed as a *conditio sine qua non* for participation in the Orthodox sacraments, and that condition was practically denied by the teaching of the Thirty-nine Articles.

In his letter the Patriarch declared that he found "too much of novelty" in the confession of the Thirty-nine Articles. The novelty concerns the eternal existence of the Holy Spirit, the Divine Eucharist, the number of sacraments, apostolical and ecclesiastical tradition, the authority of the truly genuine Oecumenical Councils, the position and mutual relations of the Church on earth and that in heaven, the honor and reverence due to the contemplative and active heroes of the faith, and to the martyrs and ascetics, and the assertion of the nineteenth article that the Church of Rome as well as those of Jerusalem, Alexandria and Antioch have erred not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith. The Patriarch branded this last statement as an intrusion, a depreciation of the faith of the most ancient Patriarchates of the East, a denial of the soundness and perfection of their teaching. He concluded his letter with a vaporous aspiration towards reunion in the meaning which the Orthodox prelates attach to the word: "We will pray with our whole soul to the Author and Finisher of our salvation to enlighten the understanding of all with the light of His knowledge and to make all nations of one speech, one faith, and one love, and one hope of the Gospel; that with one mouth and one heart, as compassionate children of one and the same mother, the Church—the first-born and Catholic Church—we may glorify the Triune God."¹⁹

The tone of the Patriarchal answer was more than discouraging. The Patriarch did not alter any word about the main purpose of the Anglican requests. It is therefore astonishing that the joint committee of both Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury expressed feelings of satisfaction with it and drew out of the cautious phrases of the Patriarch the most favorable auspices for the realization of their plans. In fact, the report of the committee of the Lower House of 1870 asserts that the reception of a letter conceding with so much charity and cordiality the request of the Anglican Primate as to the burial of Anglican dead "indicates a most friendly and Christian-like recognition on his part of the position of the Church of England as a branch of Christ's Universal

¹⁸ Theotokas; pp. 364-367.

¹⁹ Journal of the Convention (1871); p. 568.

Church and a liberal-hearted willingness to proceed to more intimate relations with the Anglican communion."

The report insists again upon the meaning and limits of the intercommunion longed for, the object of which is not the adoption of any parts of the ritual or of the ecclesiastical institutions of the Eastern Churches, but the mutual recognition of the sacraments and rites of either Church within their respective jurisdictions.

The great blunder of the Anglican hierarchy was the sending to the Patriarch of the Thirty-nine Articles as a specimen, authorized or not, it matters little, of the religious beliefs of the Church of England. The Eastern Churches assign a great value to their symbolical books and consider their confessions of faith as the genuine expression of their teaching. No wonder, then, if the Thirty-nine Articles officially presented to the Patriarch by Anglican theologians assumed, in his eye, the character of a genuine confession of faith of the Church of England.

Anglican divines tried to repair the breach widened between the two Churches by derogating from the authority of the Thirty-nine Articles. The report previously quoted declares that the articles are not strictly a confession of faith, but are, as their title declares, articles of religion, drawn up more than three centuries ago, in special relation to the controversy of the Church of England with the See of Rome in regard to the novelties introduced into Christian doctrine by the latter. "In order to avoid novelty, they declare (Art. VI.) that Holy Scripture is the basis of all dogmatic teaching. In this the Orthodox Church would agree with us, as they would agree with us in maintaining that Christian antiquity is the true interpreter of Holy Scripture."²⁰

Unfortunately the Eastern Churches were not able to agree with the unsatisfactory explanation of Anglican divines. They did not pay attention to the historical origin of the Thirty-nine Articles and the influence exerted upon them by contemporaneous circumstances, attention being paid only to their contents. The Anglican Church, they remarked, had no right to rise up against Roman novelties by introducing more wicked novelties in the field of Christian doctrine. If Roman formularies of faith have their wrongs and stains, that is no reason for which the Anglican Church should reach the other extreme and throw overboard some of the dogmatic teachings of the primitive Catholic Church—for instance, the Real Presence of Jesus Christ in the Holy Eucharist, the septenary number of sacraments, the worship of the Blessed Virgin and so on.

Besides, Anglican theology has not defined the true position of

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 569.

the Thirty-nine Articles in the theological system and in the beliefs of the Church of England. On this point the conduct of the American Episcopal Church has followed the inspiration of a more logical and practical spirit, and for this reason American Episcopalians rightly claim to be in a better condition than the Anglican Church to carry on the movement towards reunion.²¹ After the war for independence, in 1789 and 1792, the American Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church discussed the opportunity of superseding the Thirty-nine Articles, above all, for political reasons. In 1789 Bishop Samuel Seabury (1784-1796) declared that he doubted whether there was need of that standard of faith in the national Church.²²

The conservative wing of the Episcopal Church had the ascendancy over the radical one and the doctrinal inheritance of the Anglican Church was preserved. The conservative movement was headed by Bishop William White (1787-1836). In 1801, we read in his "Memoirs," it was found that the doctrines of the Gospel, as they stand in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, with the exception of such matters as are local, were more likely to give general satisfaction than the same doctrines in any new form that might be devised. The former was therefore adopted by the two houses of the general convention without altering the obsolete diction in them; but with a few changes, including a change of situation which had been rendered necessary.²³

"The purpose of the maintainers of the ancient confession of the

²¹ In a letter addressed by Charles Chapman Grafton (1830-1912), Bishop of Fond du Lac, to Antonii (Basil Iovlevich Vadkovsky), Metropolitan of Petrograd (1898-1912), we read as follows: "In the approachment of the two communions, that portion of the Anglican Church which is in the United States stands the nearest to your venerated body. Politically the governments of the two countries, Russia and the United States, have always maintained most happy relations, and our Church here in America is unlike the Church in England, in being free from any State control, and so free to act in its recovery of Catholicity and its intercourse with other Churches. The Thirty-nine Articles do not form a portion of our Prayer Book, though bound up with it, and subscription to them is not required by us as it is in England. Our Liturgy and Eucharist differs from that in the English book in that the doctrines of the Priesthood, Altar and Sacrifice are more explicitly and fully stated."—B. Talbot Rogers, *Bishop Grafton and the Eastern Orthodox Churches*, Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift, Bern, 1916, pp. 251-252; Mary Nikolaevich Berchenson, Antonii, mitropolit S. Peterburgskii i Ladozhskii, Petrograd, 1915, pp. 123-131.

²² E. H. Browne: *An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles, Historical and Doctrinal*; New York, 1865; pp. 16-17.

²³ W. White: *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*; third edition; De Costa; New York, 1880; pp. 210-221. W. S. Perry: *A Handbook of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church*; New York, 1881; pp. 98-103.

Church of England was to identify the American branch of Anglicanism doctrinally with the Mother Church."²⁴

Yet the victory of the conservative wing was far from being complete. Some alterations and additions were adopted by the general convention of 1801 in order to adapt the Thirty-nine Articles to the ideals and tendencies of the American Church, and in the convention of 1804 a canon requesting the subscription by the American clergy to them was not enacted.²⁵

Hence it follows that the Thirty-nine Articles have no binding force upon the individual conscience in the American Episcopal Church. They have to be considered as a theological monument of a past age, as the product of a theological school which worked out its tenets under the influences of the time. According to an Episcopalian theologian, Samuel McConnell, "They are a section of sixteenth century thought transferred to the nineteenth. They have never exercised any appreciable influence upon the life or belief of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Like all contemporary confessions, they have largely ceased to be intelligible. They are a water mark of a previous tide. The current of the Church has flowed on unmindful of them."²⁶

On the contrary, the position of the Church of England towards the Thirty-nine Articles is exceedingly puzzling. Officially, they are considered as the genuine profession of faith of the Church of England. Since 1604 all the clergy at the time of their ordination and when receiving licenses are obliged to give their assent to the Thirty-nine Articles and to believe the doctrines set forth therein.²⁷

Notwithstanding the attempts made in 1689 and 1772 to relax or to annul the rigor of the subscription of the clergy to them, in 1865

²⁴ Charles C. Tiffany: *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*; New York, 1895; pp. 399-400.

²⁵ William Stevens Perry: *Journals of General Conventions (1785-1821)*; Claremont, N. H., 1874; p. 301.

²⁶ Johannes, Bishop of *Izistorii religionznykh sekt v Amerikie*. (From the History of the Religious Sects in America). Moscow, 1882; IV., p. 327. The Liturgy and the Articles: The American Quarterly Church Review, New York; XXI., 1870; pp. 590-607. The declaration to be subscribed by the candidates to holy orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church reads as follows: "I do believe the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the Word of God, and to contain all things necessary to salvation; and I do solemnly engage to conform to the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States." See also A. Rozhdestvensky, *Simvolicheskiia i bogoslužebnyia knigi anglikanskoi tserkvi, kak vyrazhenie eia vierosoznaniia*. (The symbolical and liturgical books of the Anglican Church as expressing her religious beliefs.) Kiev, 1908.

²⁷ F. W. Worsley: "The Theology of the Church of England." New York, 1913; p. 18. B. J. Kidd: "The Thirty-nine Articles: Their History and Explanation," Rivington, 1899; I., pp. 52-53.

the Church of England established that a clergyman on the first Sunday that he officiates must publicly and openly in the presence of his congregation read the whole Thirty-nine Articles of Religion and, immediately after reading them, make the declaration of assent to them.²⁸

We must admit, therefore, that they have the value of an authentic rule of faith in the Church of England, at least for the members of the clergy. It may be granted, as Worsley observes, that the assent of the clergy is given with some reserve; that the subscription is made with the qualifications necessitated by the new light thrown upon certain doctrines in recent times.²⁹ Yet it remains true that officially they continue in force. They represent in England the Magna Charta of the doctrinal constitution of the Anglican Church and the foundation of its sundering from Rome.

This being so, it cannot be denied that Gregory VI. acted prudently in refusing to agree to the proposals of the Anglican divines. The sacramental life of the Church is inseparably connected with the body of her doctrinal tenets and the rules of her faith, and the Eastern Churches with good reason claimed that they could not allow participation in their sacraments to the followers of a different credo. As yet the Thirty-nine Articles have been the chief obstacle to a rapprochement between Anglicanism and Orthodoxy and the main cause of the lamentable failure of all the attempts to establish intercommunion between them. We can add that the practical abandonment of the articles as a standard of faith by the American Episcopal Church explains to some extent the growing sympathies of Russian divines for her.

Vladimir Kerensky, a learned theologian of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Kazan, points out that American Episcopalians, freed from the yoke of the Anglican confession of faith, deserve a greater confidence from the Orthodox Church and gain credit with her as

²⁸ Edmund Tyrrel Green: "The Thirty-nine Articles and the Age of the Reformation," London, 1896; p. 17. In the "Times" of October 1, 1913. Dr. Charles Gore, the Bishop of Oxford, and the most influential theologian in the English Church, declared that the laity of the English Church are never called on to approve or to assent to the Thirty-nine Articles, and that their subscription by the clergy no longer binds them to more than a general assent: "Since 1865 what the clergy have done is to give a general assent to three formularies—that is, the Articles, the Prayer Book and the Ordinal—and to declare the doctrine therein contained to be agreeable to the Word of God. This is a very general form of assent to the doctrine contained in the three formularies. It is quite obvious that no one would describe this as signing the Articles, and that this is an antiquated phrase which has survived much too long." "Eirene," the yearly magazine of the Anglican and Eastern-Orthodox Churches Union; London, 1914; pp. 6-7.

²⁹ Op. cit., pp. 22-23.

to the proposals of union. He declares, however, that the negative attitude of the American Episcopal Church is not a reason strong enough to remove the difficulties with which the problem of reunion is bristling. The doctrinal standards of American Anglicanism ought to be clearly defined. The competent authority is bound to get out of the ambiguousness of style and to affirm by a decisive statement that the Thirty-nine Articles are void of any symbolical value in the Protestant Episcopal Church. It is also desirable that the same Church, following in the steps of the Eastern Churches, sets the task of laying down a revised confession of faith.³⁰

It is hard to foretell whether the demands of the Russian theologian will be practically answered by the Anglican Church. Be that as it may, we are finally convinced that the Eastern Churches will never yield to the Anglican Churches on the question of intercommunion as long as these have any hold upon their articles of religion.

Besides the symbolical motive for the denial of intercommunion, Patriarch Gregory VI. brings into relief the dogmatic divergences between Anglicanism and Orthodoxy. The Eastern Church cannot agree to a religious alliance with a Western Church which subscribes to the doctrine expressed by the *Filioque*. The language of the Patriarch is of a remarkable clearness and precision and cuts out every subterfuge. The Eastern Churches do not tolerate any shifting interpretation of the *Filioque* or any statement concerning "the eternal existence (?) of the Holy Spirit." These words of the patriarchal letter refer to the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son.

A great friend of the Anglican Church and a warm promoter of intercommunion between Anglicans and Orthodox, Alexander Lycurgus, Archbishop of Syra and Tenos, in a report to the Holy Synod of the Hellenic Kingdom (1870), frankly admits that the *Filioque* presents a serious and confessedly formidable difficulty to the establishment of the religious fellowship of the two Churches.³¹

³⁰ "Amerikanskaja episkopalnaja" tzerkov: eja proiskhozhdenie, i sostojanie preimushchestvenno v vierospovednom otnoshenii. (The American Episcopal Church: Her origin and state, especially from the point of view of her Confession of Faith.) Kazan, 1905; pp. 432-433.

³¹ The same pessimism is also expressed by Anglican divines: "The revelation of the mind of the late general convention upon the subject of intercommunion with the Eastern Church must have inflicted severe disappointment upon the friends and promoters of this movement; and we believe we do not venture too much in thinking that sufficient ground was furnished for the fear that the disappointment is destined to be an enduring one. Instead of indications of dissolving prejudice, growing earnestness and ripening dispositions upon the subject, there were plainly to be discerned variously unfavorable moods of aversion, indifference, distrust and reserve, as its friends sought to engage for it the sympathies

"The English theologians, on the one hand, acknowledge that this addition is unfortunate and that some unknown hand has put it into the Creed; but still they very much hesitate to expunge it, fearing lest by so doing the conscience of men may be troubled and may then begin to doubt respecting other dogmas of the Church. They accept, indeed, the Monarchia in the Trinity and that the Holy Ghost proceeds eternally from the Father alone; but say that He proceeds also from the Son, meaning in the progress of time at His mission; they ask whether, if the Anglican Church gave such an explanation, it would not be considered satisfactory? It was not, certainly, for me to anticipate the answer of the Church to this question."²²

We are, in truth, asserting that the answer of the Eastern Churches will be a negative one. Since 1870 the *Filioque* has been the stumbling block of intercommunion between the two Churches. Anglican divines go astray by supposing that Eastern theologians object only to the insertion of the *Filioque* into the liturgical Creed. While finding the Papacy guilty of the adulteration of the Catholic faith by the affirmation of the dogmatic character of the *Filioque*, the Eastern Churches long since proclaimed as a true dogma the temporal procession and mission of the Holy Spirit from the Son. The legitimacy of the addition in the Creed of the *Filioque* is considered of a far less importance than the doctrine which is involved. Although no Oecumenical Councils have settled the problem of the *Filioque*, the Eastern Churches are accustomed to raise the teaching of their divines to the dignity of a dogma of the "Universal Catholic Church." To foster, then, their good relations with Eastern Christianity, the Anglican Churches should abandon the common doctrine and belief of Western theology as to the eternal relation of the Holy Spirit to the Son. The question now is whether the Anglican Churches will carry her "comprehensive spirit" as far as to comply with such requests.

No doubt an ever-growing party of Anglican divines would not make a stand against the withdrawal of the *Filioque* from the Creed. The most authoritative of them, the Right Rev. Charles Chapman Grafton, Bishop of Fond du Lac (1889-1912), writes: "If the two Churches are to enter into recognized fellowship, the old barrier

of the convention. The one fact, however, upon which we chiefly rely to justify these observations is the invincible repugnance that met every disposition, or the appearance of a disposition, to reform our version of the Nicene Creed in the Oriental sense.—The late general convention, the *Filioque* and intercommunion, the "American Quarterly Church Review," XXI, 1869; p. 236; the Procession of the Holy Ghost, *ibid.*; pp. 244-252.

²² Journal of the Convention (1871); p. 585.

about the *Filioque* must in some way be removed." The words "from the Son" in the Nicene Creed were inserted in the West by the Roman Church after the Oecumenical Council of Ephesus had declared that no further addition should be made to it. As a part of the Western Church we inherited this interpolated and uncanonical addition from Rome. It is certainly a great satisfaction that between ourselves and the Eastern Orthodox Church there is no difference in the doctrine involved.³³ The term *Filioque* is patent of an orthodox meaning. But the question with the East is not whether it is true, but what right has it to be made a dogma and inserted in the Creed without the consent of the Church Catholic. There are a good many other doctrines which may be true, but have no place in the symbol of faith. This article was put in by no Oecumenical Council, and stands there on the authority of the West alone and of the Pope. The East's whole position and existence is involved in this controversy. If the Pope has a right to sanction one article of faith in the Creed, then he has others. If we admit, they say, the *Filioque*, then logically we should admit the Papal infallibility and the Immaculate Conception. It all hangs together. It is impossible, therefore, for the East, after their 900 years of protest, to accept it.³⁴ How, then, we must ask ourselves, can they enter into communion with us if we retain it? There is no Oecumenical authority for it. It is the one remaining shackle that marks our former Roman servitude. May God in His great mercy so enlighten His Church that this cause of division may be removed."³⁵

³³ It is to be observed that even for some learned Catholic theologians the divergence between the Catholic Church and the Orthodox Churches is rather verbal than substantial. It is rooted in the terminology of the Greek Fathers, which, in the theology of the Trinity, differs considerably from that of the Latin Fathers. A little more good will on either side and the long-spun-out question of the *Filioque* would meet a satisfactory solution. The best essay on conciliation between Eastern and Western theology as the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son has been written by the learned Bollandist, Victor de Buck, S. J. (1817-1876): *Essai de conciliation sur le dogme de la Procession du Saint; Esprit, Paris, 1857*. The terminological divergences between Eastern and Western Trinitarian theology are explained in a masterly manner in the admirable work of Théodore de Régnon, S. J. (1831-1893), *Etudes de théologie positive sur la Sainte Trinité; Paris, 1891-1892*.

³⁴ For the same reason it is impossible for the West, after their 900 years of unquestioned teaching of the *Filioque*, to accept the Anti-*Filioque*, or the Procession, a solo Patre of the Eastern Churches. It is true that the Eastern Churches have not inserted the Anti-*Filioque* in the Creed, but their theologians have made a dogma of it, both in their formularies of faith and in their private writings.

³⁵ The Reunion of Oriental and Anglican Churches. Milwaukee, Wis., 1904, pp. 35-36; the American Catholic Church, in the "American Quarterly Church Review," XX., 1869, p. 597.

As is quite plain from the just quoted passage Bishop Grafton belongs to the school of those Anglican divines, who, for the sake of intercommunion, would not hesitate to blot from the Nicene Creed what they consider an utterly unjustifiable Papal aggression.⁶⁶ His views, however, fail to have the majority of the suffrages of Anglican divines; above all, of those of the American Episcopal Church.⁶⁷

"Our situation is this," writes a well-known theologian of that Church, Dr. Francis J. Hall: "An addition which was made irregularly in the first instance has come through centuries of use to be bound up with the maintenance of the true Godhead of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Its rejection now, unless some adequate substitute were agreed upon, would strengthen very much the Unitarian heresy existing in England and America, which treats Christ as a mere creature. Obviously the maintenance of the faith is a primary obligation not to be waived even for the sake of canonical regularity. It is to be admitted that the short and blunt *Filioque*, which neglects to specify the difference in the manner of the procession from the Father and the Son, might be improved upon. When the glad day of a new Oecumenical Council arrives, no doubt some ampler phrase can be agreed upon which will satisfy both East and West. Meantime we retain our phrase for a reason which Easterners should respect—that is, lest the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father and the perichoresis should seem to be obscured, while in nowise forgetting the sole principatus of the Father."⁶⁸

The only way to ward off the thorny question would be the acknowledgment by the Eastern Church of the *Filioque* as a free opinion of the theological system of Western Christianity. The compromise has been suggested by Basil Bolotov (1853-1900), the giant of the Orthodox theology, in his famous *Theses über das*

⁶⁶ Owerbeck: "The Filioque and the American Church," "The Orthodox Catholic Review" (London, 1867). t. I., pp. 246-252; Nealy, "A History of the Holy Eastern Church," t. II. (London, 1850), p. 1168; Howard, "The Schism Between the Oriental and the Western Churches" (London, 1892), p. 88; Ibid., "An English view of the Filioque question as bearing upon the reunion movement," *Revue Internationale de théologie*, t. V., 1897, p. 67. We have refuted them in our "Theologia dogmatica orthodoxa," t. I., pp. 346-352, and in our treatise: "Legitimité de l'insertion du Filioque au Symbole, Dictionnaire de théologie catholique," Vol. V.; Paris, 1913; coll. 2309-2343.

⁶⁷ Kerensky, *Op. cit.*, pp. 70-75.

⁶⁸ "This Church and the East: An Explanation," "The Living Church," September 14, 1901.

⁶⁹ "Revue Internationale de Théologie," 1898; pp. 681-712; A. Palmieri, O. S. A., "Nomenclator litterarius theologiae orthodoxae russicae," t. I.; Praga, 1910; pp. 237-241.

Filioque.⁴⁰ But Bolotov was a layman, and his solution of the controversy of the *Filioque* had a flavor of novelty to the palates of the orthodox prelates, who cling firmly to the dogmatic character of the *Anti-Filioque*.⁴⁰

Hence it follows that as concerns the problem of intercommunion the position of the Eastern Churches towards Anglicanism is quite identical with that towards the Roman Catholic Church. The Eastern Churches cannot receive the members of the Anglican Churches to participation in their sacraments, unless these deny the truth of the *Filioque*, professedly admitted by Roman Catholics, Old Catholics, Protestants and Anglicans, and in turn subscribe to the orthodox truth of the *Anti-Filioque*.

A strenuous defender of the Bolotov's theory and of intercommunion between the Anglican and the Orthodox Churches, General Alexandre Kireev (1833-1910) rightly observed, regarding the *Filioque*, that this dogma being the very essence of revealed truth, it could neither be modified nor accepted with reservation. It is absolute truth, and as such admits of no variations. Unity of doctrine is a *conditio sine qua non* of the unity of the Church, and consequently also of *intercommunion in sacris*. Wherever there is contradictory dogmatic teaching, there must also be separate Churches which cannot be united. Churches may be altogether self-governed, may have different rites, different liturgies, independent hierarchies and yet form but one Catholic Church, providing that as to dogma they are the same. Dogma must be the same in every Church. Whatever latitude may be granted to freedom of thought, it must never be permitted to transgress these limits; to do so would not be charity towards each other, but unfaithfulness to one's Church—yea, to the eternal truth which she represents.⁴¹

Finally, the Patriarch of Constantinople could not conceal his bitter disappointment at the suspicions of error thrown by Anglican divines on the teaching of the Orthodox Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria and Antioch. Soundness and perfection of faith are the exclusive monopoly of Eastern Christianity. To suppose, therefore, that the Patriarchates of the East may have deviated from the apostolic and God-delivered faith by uttering "vain babblings and

⁴⁰ A. Palmieri, O. S. A., "L'argomento ontologico del *Filioque* e le obiezioni di un teologo russo;" Roma, 1902.

⁴¹ Sochinienila (Works), Vol. I. (Petrograd, 1912), pp. 78-79; 86-87; A. Palmieri, O. S. A., "Le teorie del generale Alessandro Kireev sull' unione delle Chiese" (Bessarione, 1912), III, 9, pp. 200-207; 287-293. According to Kireev, intercommunion between the Eastern and the Anglican Churches will be a golden dream as long as the problem of the validity of Anglican Orders has not reached a satisfactory solution.

new dogmas is a depreciation of Eastern Christianity, an abasement of the Eastern Churches to the level of the Roman.

The theologians of the Eastern Church Association were not at a loss to answer the Patriarchal laments and querimonious protests. They had even recourse to arguments which always meet with the warmest approbation of Greek polemicists. The XIX. Article of Religion contained no allusion to the patriarchal See of Constantinople, and at the same time it purposed only to crush the pretenses of the Church of Rome to inerrancy. The XIX. Article, we read in the report of 1870, contains a controversial argument against the claim to inerrancy and infallibility made by the Pope and the See of Rome as being founded by St. Peter. The See of Antioch was also founded by St. Peter, yet that fact conferred no privilege of inerrancy or infallibility upon its Bishop, for Peter the Fuller and others who filled the See of Antioch fell into grievous error. In the same way the See of Alexandria was founded by St. Mark, the disciple of St. Peter, yet the Bishops or Popes of that see were not thereby secured from error, as is shown in the case of Dioscorus. Nor had even the See of Jerusalem, first filled by "the Lord's Brother," the privilege of inerrancy, for Sallustius, Bishop of the see, signed the Henoticon. In the same way it appears to us to be the intention of the article to argue that the See of Rome, although founded by St. Peter, has not on that account any supernatural privilege of inerrancy or infallibility, nor can its Bishops claim such either in faith or ceremonial,⁴² for Nonorius erred grievously respecting the two wills in Christ, and Eugenius IV. declared, *ex cathedra*, that the character of the priesthood was conferred by the delivery of the instruments—a doctrine repugnant to the tradition of the Eastern Church and of our own alike.⁴³ In confirma-

⁴² The difficulty lies in the fact that from the earliest age of the Christian Church, practically and theoretically, the Bishops of Rome claimed the prerogative of inerrancy, and as it is thoroughly demonstrated by Alexis Lebedev, a famous Russian historian of the Church, he was the only Bishop of the East and the West to vindicate to himself the right of solving, in the last resort, the controversies of faith. "Istoricheskoe razvitiie ierarhicheskago rimskago primatsva" ("The historical development of the Roman hierarchical primacy") in "Dukhovienstvo drevnei vselenskoj tserkvi" ("The Clergy of the Ancient Catholic Church"), Moscow, 1905; pp. 228-244.

⁴³ We do not tarry to answer objections which are exploded in every handbook of Catholic theology. We ought only to point out that according to the views of the most authoritative Catholic theologians the "Decretum pro Armenis" does not aim at an infallible solution in the field of sacramental theology. This is the opinion even of Cardinal von Rossum: "Constat Eugenium IV. in decreto pro Armenis nihil definire intendisse, aut aliquid statuere voluisse infallibili auctoritate circa essentialiam sacramenti ordinis; verum solummodo auctoritate sua ordinaria doctrinam tradidisse, quam illa aetate communius doctores profitebantur.—De essentiali Sacramenti Ordinis; disquisitio historico-theologica;" (Friburgi, 1914); pp. 186-197. See also William Stevens Perry, "The Reunion Conference at Bonn" (1875). A personal narrative (privately printed); 1876; p. 13.

tion of this view, we think it important to notice the significant fact that the Church of Constantinople, the chief of the Eastern Patriarchates, is omitted in this article. And, as the censure was evidently designed against the assumptions of the Roman Patriarchate, we cannot but hope that the Oecumenical Patriarch would believe that it was by design that our English Reformers, at a time when all intercourse with the East had been so long interrupted, abstained from passing any censure of his own Patriarchal See.⁴⁴

In their answer to Gregory VI., Anglican divines had the happy opportunity of corroborating their arguments with the authority of an authoritative Greek theologian, Nicholas Damalas (1842-1892). As it is customary in the Greek Church, lay theologians who lightly sport with polemical theology lavish so many contumelies and gibes on their adversaries as to deserve the epithet of "shameful" controversialists by Alexis Lebedev.⁴⁵

According to the Greek theologian, the assertion of the XIX. Article is most true. "As individuals in many things offend all, so also every particular Church may err and often has erred and been deceived, and, above all, the Roman, which from the addition of the *Filioque* to the Creed, has gone on to the voiding of ancient apostolical doctrines and traditions and to the fabrication of other new ones, arbitrary and contrariant both to the Scriptures and to the Catholic Church, such as the foolish and most unevangelical dogma⁴⁶ of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God, the prohibition of the sacred chalice to the laity and many other like fantasies, which at her Synagogue (!) of Trent she dared to im-

⁴⁴In our opinion, the omission in question is wholly unjustified. The See of Constantinople has been less secured from error than the other patriarchal sees of the East. Monsignor Duchesne counts nineteen heretical Patriarchs who spread their errors in Byzantium before the consummation of the schism by Michel Cerularius, viz., Eusebius, Macedonius, Eudoxius, Demophilus, Nestorius, Acacius, Timotheus, Anthimus, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul, Peter, John V., Anastasius, Constantinus, Nicetas, Theodotus, Antonius, John VII. ("*Eglises séparées*"); Paris, 1896; p. 78.

⁴⁵"*Istoria Greko-vostochnoi tserkvi pod vlastiu Turok*" ("History of the Greco-Oriental Church Under the Yoke of the Turks"); Petrograd, 1903; p. 568.

⁴⁶For the sake of truth, we note here that this "foolish and most unevangelical dogma" is deeply rooted in the Greek liturgy and in the teaching of Greek Fathers, and it was asserted even by Photius. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the orthodox theological school of Kiev, and one of the most famous saints of the modern Russian Church, Dmitri of Rostov, strenuously defended the dogmatic character of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. Jugie, "Photius et l'Immaculée Conception, *Echos d'Orient*, XIII;" 1910; pp. 198-201; Id., "De conceptione immaculata B. Mariæ Virginis apud Russos, *saeculo XVII.*, *Acta academiae Velehradensis*, VII.; 1911; pp. 8-15; Palmieri, O. S. A., "L'Immacolata Concesione e l'Accademia di Kiev;" *Bessarione*, 1909; pp. 1-5.

pose on pain of anathema. Not only did she most gravely err at that epoch, but also in the times of the ancient Catholic Church—witness the Popes whom the holy Fifth and Sixth Synods anathematized as Monothelites, etc.⁴⁷ And not only the particular Church of Rome, but also every other, may err and has erred—witness Nestorius of Constantinople condemned by the Holy Third Oecumenical Synod and other such. In fine, the Spirit who leads the Church into all truth is not to be sought in any particular Church, all the rest being excluded, but is ever in the one Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, in which—and not in the Alexandrian or Roman—we have been baptized and do believe. On this point, therefore, the Anglican Church speaks well and evangelically.⁴⁸

The style of the Patriarch becomes, however, milder after a long sojourn of Lycurgus, Archbishop of Syra, in London. The Greek prelate had frequent intercourse with Anglican Bishops, assisted at Anglican services, especially at consecrations of Bishops, at the administration of the Holy Communion, at morning and evening offices, etc. The acts of friendship shown to him and the conspicuous honors received made a deep impression upon him and gave rise in his heart to strong feelings of sympathy towards the Anglican Church. These feelings were expressed in a very interesting report to the Holy Synod of Greece. I cannot resist quoting here a long passage of it. It has the flavor of a document for the present time, in view of the recent attempts by the so-called World Conference to realize on a new basis the reunion of Churches.

"The Anglican Church," says the Greek Bishop, "though generally enumerated with the Protestant Christian communities, differs, however, from them for the following principal reasons: Other Protestants, having shaken off the tyrannical rule of the Roman Pontiff (?), imagined that they were able to abolish at the same time the hierarchical system established in the Church from its commencement and to proclaim an universal priesthood. Into this great error the Anglican Church fortunately did not fall. She, after having rejected the Pope, not only maintained the system of Episcopacy, but also the various traditions and customs of the ancient Catholic Church. In this manner this Church attached her

⁴⁷ The assertion is wholly without truth. The Sixth Ecumenical Council condemned Honorius, "qui," according to a letter of Leo II., "flamman haerectici dogmatis non ut decuit apostolicam auctoritatem, incipientem extinxit, sed negligendo confovit." See on this subject the discussion, well supported by documents, of Monsignor Hefele, "*Histoire des Conciles*," ed. Leclercq, t. III., 1; Paris, 1909; pp. 515-538.

⁴⁸ On the relation of the Anglican Church to the Orthodox, "The Orthodox Review," 1868, pp. 177-185; 1871, 32-43; *Id.*, "Peri tis skeseos tis anglikis Ekklesias pros tin orthodoxon;" London, 1867; pp. 19-20.

bark by a strong cable to the ship of the Catholic Church, whilst the other Protestants, having cut this cable, drifted out to sea and wandered away. Whilst on the one hand the other Protestants, beginning with the principle of free inquiry, ended by centring everything in the mere letter of the Bible in the Anglican Church, on the other hand, there was gradually developed a feeling of reverence for religious ordinances, the depth and warmth of which are felt not only in the Church, but also in public as well as in social and in family life. I do not believe that the union of the two Churches can be the work of the present day. Besides, this union must not be made mechanically, but truly, and on full and complete persuasion. It is therefore necessary, before such an union can be effected, that there should exist a similarity of opinions which can only be expected to take place after a mutual and careful investigation and inquiry—a matter which will require no little time.⁴⁹ For the present, in order to prepare for this work of union, a friendly approximation of the two Churches is both possible and desirable. It is a great and most distressing misfortune for all Christendom that the former one and undivided Catholic Church has been split dogmatically, first into numerous other sections. It is, moreover, a still greater, a more grievous misfortune, that these various Christian communities have become hostile, mutually opposing and clashing with each other. Must, therefore, the Christian world entirely and forever despair that their mutual animosities will not some day cease? If it is not possible at the present time that all should be of one mind, is it not possible for these various Christian bodies to offer to each other the right hand of fellowship, leaving it to God alone to decide wherein they are not like minded, according to the holy apostles? I think that this most desirable Christian work, so abounding in true charity, can only be practi-

⁴⁹ The views of this report look strangely like the views set forth in the report of the Joint Commission to the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church (1913) with regard to the World Conference for the consideration of questions touching faith and order. It suffices to quote the following passage: "That the thinkers and investigators of all Christian bodies are learning more and more to compare notes with each other, and that a scholarly and capable presentation of Christian truth, from whatever quarter, is apt to secure world-wide consideration can hardly be denied. A new Christian cosmopolitanism has arisen, accompanied, no doubt, by the exploiting of many destructive vagaries, but certainly affording conditions which must facilitate the victory of truth and the bringing about in God's time of substantial agreement concerning Christian faith and order. Our part seems to be not to force things and not to formulate schemes for reunion, but to help on this growth of mutual friendliness and of mutual understanding." (P. 22.) See especially the pamphlet entitled "The Object and Method of the World Conference;" (Gardiner, Maine, U. S. A., 1915.)

cally brought about between the two Churches in question—that is to say, the Orthodox Eastern and the Anglican. For on the one hand, the Roman Church has always adhered to that old and intemperate anti-Christian claim of unrestrained rule over the Churches as lord over God's heritage—a pretension which has forced her to promulgate the impious (!) dogma of the infallibility of the Pope. Protestants, on the other hand, regarding Christendom not as a Church, the head of which is Christ and the members all true believers in Him, and therefore subject to the canonical successors of the apostles, but looking upon it as a principle or idea, are not only indifferent to any union, without which the foundation and preservation of every Church is impossible, but are generally opposed to every attempt at the same. The fellowship of the two Churches will not only conduce to their preservation, but will establish for the rest of Christendom a common standard of fellowship and, God willing, of union. This approximation consists in the recognition by each Church of the other as a Christian community, having the same Lord and the same hope of salvation, and in the exhibition, from time to time, of proofs of mutual love by intercommunication between the Bishops of both Churches and by the grant of certain simple privileges to the members. As, for instance, His Holiness the Patriarch has given direction that Christians of the Anglican faith should be buried by our priests in the absence of an Anglican priest, so may other similar privileges hereafter be given. Thus means might be found to grant permission that English children should be baptized by the priests of the Eastern Church where there are no Anglican clergy, etc. This approximation will only tend to facilitate the work of a true and complete union. Perhaps at the outset this great and pious work may appear to some difficult, if not impossible, owing to the differences which exist between the two Churches; but the more the scheme is ventilated, the more the hope is increased that these differences will be smoothed away."

⁵⁰ A feeling of pessimism as to the successful establishment of inter-communication between the two churches pierces already in a highly interesting paper published about this time by an Episcopalian theologian. Let us quote of it the following passage: "So far as our external relations are concerned, it would seem that nothing remains for us but to persevere in a spirit of prayer for unity, to foster a noble charity, to cultivate every offered opportunity and patiently await the time of heaven in faithful devotion to our sphere of duty, but never to depart from the firmness of our convictions, the strength of our position, and that dignity of conservatism which will make no improper advance and repel no honest overture. The Church has always sought to avoid the ice of the bigot and the fire of the fanatic. Here is the noble middle path both in doctrine, in practice and in polity. *"The American Quarterly Church Review,"* XX., 1869; p. 602.

The report of the Greek prelate won, it may be granted, some sympathies for the Anglican Church, but it had no effective result upon the main purpose of the Eastern Church Association.⁵⁰ Patriarch Gregory VI. wrote a second letter to the Anglican Archbishop of Canterbury, calling down the blessings of God upon Christ-loving, glorious and heroic Albion, which, with such eagerness and in an unfettered spirit of freedom, marvelously recurs to customs handed down from old time and genuinely apostolic.⁵¹ The Holy Synod of the Hellenic Church recalled the benefits previously conferred on the Greeks by the Christian and magnanimous nation of the Britons. In a letter dated from the 11th of June, 1870, Theophilus, Metropolitan of Athens, using the classical reminiscences of the flowery style of Greek divines, wrote as follows: "Their (of Britons) sympathy with us in our long struggles for freedom and in our multiform and exhausting miseries; their noble advocacy of our cause in both Houses of Parliament; their ready aid and protection in our greatest dangers—these things have not escaped our memory, nor ever shall they, so long as the wave shall wash that beach at Pylos, where not long ago the great and most Christian work of the liberation of the Greek nation was accomplished by means of Great Britain." Following the example of the Oecumenical Patriarch, the Holy Synod of Greece declared that with regard to Anglican dead, when an "Orthodox" priest of the Anglican Church will not be present, the Orthodox priests of the Church of Greece will count them worthy of their befitting care and of the prayers of the Orthodox Church in behalf of their souls.⁵²

In the same style, Cyril, the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, wrote to Archbishop Archibald Campbell Tait, expressing his hearty thanks to the whole of Christ-loving and powerful Albion, greeting the dawn of the most sweet morn of the fraternization of the two Churches and praying God that it might be increased to a brilliant sun, running through the world from pole to pole.⁵³

⁵¹ Journal of the Convention (1871); p. 573.

⁵² Ibid., p. 574.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 575.

⁵⁴ Among the studies devoted to the subject in question by Orthodox theologians during 1865-1871 we mention the following: Vasiliev I., "Réflexions à propos du désir manifesté par l'Eglise Anglicane d'entrer en communion avec l'Eglise Catholique Orientale, Union Chrétienne" (Paris, 1863), pp. 225-27; 233-35; 242-43; "k voprosu o soedinenii tserkvei" ("The Question of the Union of the Churches"), "Dukhovnaia Beseda" (1866), I., pp. 153-165; "Ob apostolskom preemstvii v angliiskoi tserkvi" ("The Apostolic Succession in the English Church"); Ibid., 1865, I., 265-72; 321-23; 408-16; "Zamiechania o soedinenii protestantskikh episkopalnykh tserkvei s pravoslavnoi katolicheskoi tserkovliu" ("Remarks on the Union of the Protestant Episcopal Churches with the Orthodox Catholic Churches"), Ibid., 1866; I., pp. 460-70; 473-79; Popov E., "K voprosu o

Unfortunately the tangible results of these poetical missives were very doubtful. Of them, and of the failure which that first attempt

soedinenii tserkvi" ("The Problem of Union of the Churches"); *Ibid.*, 1866; II., pp. 297-304; *Kratkii obzor popytok k soedineniu tserkvi epiakopnoi angliiskoi i amerikanskoi s pravoslavnoi vostochnoi v posliedniia 5 let* ("A Short Survey of the Attempt at the Union of the Episcopal Church, both English and American, with the Eastern Orthodox Church During the Last Five Years"); "Voroneshskia eparkhialnaya Vedomosti," 1866, nn. 4-7; "Po voprosu o soedinenii angliianskoi epiakopnoi tserkvi s pravoslavnoi" ("The Problem of the Union of the Anglican Episcopal Church with the Orthodox"), *Nedelia*, 1866, nn. 10-11; "Dvizhenie v Anglii po voprosu o tserkovnoi obriadnosti" ("The Anglican Movement and the Question of Ecclesiastical Ritualism"), "Literaturnaya biblioteka," 1867, 6, pp. 284-308; "The Church Review po povodu predlogaemago soedinenia tserkvi angliianskoi s pravoslavnoi vostochnoi i perevoda angliiskoi liturgi na russkii iazyk" ("The Church Review and the Proposals of Union of the Anglican Church with the Orthodox and the Translation of the Anglican Liturgy Into Russian"), *Khristianskoe Chtenie*, 1867, II., pp. 453-59; Ivan Terentievich Osinin, "K voprosu o sbliizhenii pravoslavnoi tserkvi s angliianskoiu" ("The Problem of the Rapprochement Between the Orthodox and the Anglican Churches"), *Moskovskia Vedomosti*, 1867, n. 188; "Poslednii miting v Anglii obshchestva dlia sbliizhenia s vostochnoiu tserkoviu" ("The Last Meeting in England of the Society for the Rapprochement of the Anglican and the Orthodox Churches"), *Sovremennaya Listopis*, 1867, n. 30; "Sochustvie Amerikantsev religioznym interesam Rossii" ("The Interest Taken by Americans in the Religious Needs of Russia"), *Sovremennii Listok*, 1866, n. 67; Mal'chevsky Ivan, *Otkuda proiskhodiat sochustvennie otsyvy protestantov o vostochnoi, i osobenno russkoi tserkvi* ("What Is the Source of the Kind and Friendly Declarations of Protestants About the Eastern Churches and Particularly About the Russian Church?") *Trudy of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Kiev*, 1867, t. IV., pp. 293-332; Osinin, "Novii pravoslavnyi zhurnal v Anglii" ("A New Orthodox Magazine in England"), *Khristianskoe Chtenie*, 1867, II., pp. 280-295. Concerns the "Orthodox Catholic Review," edited in London in 1867 by J. Overbeck (d. 1905), an ex-Catholic priest, who followed in the footsteps of Guettée; Bielorusov N., "Zamietka po istorii tserkvi v Anglii" ("A Short Notice of English Ecclesiastical History"), *Petrograd*, I., 1868; II., 1869; Fortunatov B., *K voprosu o sbliizhenii angliianskoi tserkvi s pravoslavnoi* ("The Rapprochement Between the Anglican and the Orthodox Churches"), *Dukhovnaya beseda*, 1868, II., pp. 49-51; 65-75; 113-25; O. Kositzyn, "Novaya popytka iz sredi angliianskoi tserkvi k soedineniu s pravoslavnoi vostochnoi" ("A New Attempt by the Anglican Church to Unite Herself With the Orthodox-Oriental Church"), *Moskovskia Vedomosti*, 1868, n. 275; Sukhotin, N., "Iz sovremennago bytia angliianskoi tserkvi" ("The Contemporary Life of the Anglican Church"), "Strannik," 1871, II., pp. 71-93; III., 285-303; "K voprosu o vzaimnoobshchenii angliianskoi tserkvi s pravoslavnymi vostochnymi tserkvami" ("The Question of Intercommunion Between the Anglican and the Eastern Orthodox Churches"), *Moskovskia eparkhialnaya Vedomosti*, 1870, nn. 20, 22, 24, 26, 39, 46; "Zaiavlenie stroitelia pravoslavnago khrama v Anglii" ("A Declaration of the Founder of an Orthodox Church in England"), "Pravoslavnoe Obozrenie," 1870, II., 46-47. See also John Charles Earle, "The Russo-Greek Church," "The American Catholic Quarterly Review," 1886, XL., pp. 505-526; Stanislas Tyazkiewicz, "Un episode du mouvement d'Oxford, La mission de William Palmer"; "Etudes des Pères

of fraternization of the two Churches met with, we shall discuss in a following paper.⁴⁴

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de la Compagnie de Jésus," 1913, CXXXVI., pp. 190-210; 329-347; Guettée, "Sur les divergences qui existent entre l'Eglise d'Orient et celle d'Angleterre, Union Chrétienne," Vol. V., 1865, pp. 29-32; 44-46; 51-54; "Orthodoxy, Anglicanism and Romanism," "The Orthodox Catholic Review," 1868, Vol. II., pp. 1-58; Nicholas Amvrazis, "Essay on the Union of Anglican Episcopal Churches with the Orthodox Church" (in Greek), Athens, 1891; "Revue internationale de théologie," I., 1893, pp. 505-506; N. Chistiakov, "K voprosu ob edinenii anglikanskoi tserkvi s pravoslavnoi" ("The Question of Union Between the Anglican and the Orthodox Churches"), Duchepolesnoe Chtenie, Moscow, 1898; I., pp. 387-88; 554-67; 753-57; II., 175-78; 341-50; III., 171-72; 611-17; 1899, I., 214-19; 610-13; 1900, III., 455-59.

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH, THE HIGH PRIEST OF NATURE.

IT IS just twelve years since I made a tour of the lakelands in Westmoreland and Cumberland, England, glorified by the genius of a Southey, a Coleridge and a Wordsworth. Goethe says that if you would truly understand a poet, you must sojourn for some time in the land of the poet. This is certainly true of William Wordsworth, High Priest of Nature, whose poetic genius flowered and ripened within the dales and dells and amid the beauteous lakes walled in by the Hellvellyn's rugged and ridged peaks.

William Wordsworth is the culmination of the school of nature and romance in English poetry. His place in English poetry is sure, but not fixed. The judgment of the world has given Homer and Virgil and Dante and Shakespeare and Goethe their assured places—their thrones in the Valhalla of inspired song, but critics differ as to the place which should be assigned to the author of the "Ode to Immortality." So great a critic as Matthew Arnold ranks Wordsworth after Dante, Shakespeare, Moliere, Milton and Goethe in the modern world. Yet there are other critics who assign our author a place below Spenser, Milton, Shelley and Tennyson. After all, poetry is largely a matter of temperament and taste. It is enough for us here to know and recognize that William Wordsworth is one of a great English poetic hierarchy, who in succession have taken up the sceptre of English poetry from Chaucer to Tennyson.

Wordsworth's poetic gospel was the gospel of simplicity and truth. In him there was a union of the Anglican vicar and the Tory monarchist. He lived in an age when the heart of man was being led back in pilgrimage to the shrine of nature, whose altar lamp had burned unheeded during the reign of the correct school of poets.

Naturalism at this time in England became so powerful that, as a writer tells us, it permeated Coleridge's romantic supernaturalism, Shelley's atheistic spiritualism and Byron's revolutionary liberalism.

Brandes, the well-known Danish critic, in his "Main Currents of Nineteenth Century Literature," says: "The English, being at once the most persevering and the most enterprising people, the nation most attached to home and fondest of travel, the slowest to make changes and yet in matters political the most broad-minded, the thinking men of the country naturally fall into two great political groups—the one representing the jealously conservative, the other the daringly liberal tendency."

Moreover, he was of the conservative tendency school, and Shelley and Byron of the daringly liberal school. Indeed, the authors

of "Prometheus Unbound" and "Don Juan" might be rather regarded as radicals.

But he who would truly assess Wordsworth as a poet, must forget for the moment his political predilections and take true value of him only as a poet of nature.

The keynote to the gospel of his poetic mission and message is found in this sonnet:

"The world is too much with us; late and soon,
Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers:
Little we see in nature that is ours;
We have given our hearts away a sordid boon;
The sea that bears her bosom to the moon;
The winds that will be howling at all hours,
And are up-gathered now like sleeping flowers;
For this, for everything, we are out of tune;
It moves us not,—Great God! I'd rather be
A Pagan suckled in a creed outworn;
So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn:
Have sight of Proteus, rising from the sea;
Or hear old Triton blow his wreathed horn!"

Perhaps no other English poet was so influenced by his environment as was William Wordsworth. This is why it is so essential to the student of Wordsworth that he should, in obedience to the suggestion of Goethe, visit the poet's land, the better to gain an understanding of his work.

It was in the second week of June, 1903, that in company with a friend the writer ran up to the Wordsworth Land from Liverpool. June is a glorious month in England. This is the month when Browning wrote from Italy, "O to be in England now!" A few hours by train will carry you from Liverpool, by way of Preston, to Lake Windermere, whose shores are dotted with grand villages and pleasant English homes that recall to your mind Mrs. Hemans' lines, "The happy homes of England—how beautiful they stand!" And, by the way, it was in one of these English chateaux that Mrs. Hemans lived for many years.

On reaching by boat Ambletide, which is at the head of Windermere, a stage or diligence awaits the tourist to take him to Grasmere, where Wordsworth lived for many years and where the poet lies buried.

It was Saturday evening when my friend and I arrived in Grasmere, as the sun was just sinking below the western horizon and gilding the spire of the village Church of St. Oswald. A deep calm

reigned everywhere. The little village with its gray slate-covered roofs stretched on and on towards the mountainside, and beyond the cluster of village houses lay the farm, the scene of Wordsworth's beautiful and touching idyll, "Michael," which name, I understand, the farm bears to-day.

The village of Grasmere has a most charming setting—meet abode indeed for a poetic child. There nature whispers to the soul in healing words of music and mystery, devoid of all harshness and filled with the sweetness of peace and prayer. It is also an ideal spot for meditation.

Every Sunday morning before the village folk were astir, and while the birds with liquid notes welcomed the full tide of morn, I rambled through the village in search of Wordsworth's grave. It was easily found, for the little cemetery lies hard by St. Oswald's Church, with the Rothay, a clear and gentle stream, humming a low requiem but a few steps beyond.

I had carried to the grave a little volume of the poet's work, and felt it fitting that I should read a poem standing at his grave, but what poem should it be? Wherever the volume opened, and lo! strange coincidence, it was "A Poet's Epitaph." How much of the philosophy and spirit of Wordsworth's poetry is there not contained in this one stanza from "A Poet's Epitaph:"

"In common things that 'round us lie,
Some random truths he can impart;—
The harvest of a quiet eye
That broods and sleeps in his own heart."

On the grave of William Wordsworth was a bunch of fresh pansies. In the same plot, surrounded by an iron railing, were the graves of Mary Wordsworth, the poet's wife, who died nine years after her husband; Sarah Hutchinson, her sister, who died in 1835, and Dorothy Wordsworth, the poet's sister, who died in 1855.

As you pass from grave to grave in Grasmere Cemetery, you learn that here many names well known to English letters are inscribed on the tombstones—such, for instance, as that of Hartley Coleridge, the gifted but unfortunate son of Samuel T. Coleridge, and Arthur Hugh Clough, poet and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. Poor Hartley Coleridge was not an opium eater like his father, but he drank. Wordsworth had many a time befriended him.

Wordsworth came to Dove Cottage in Grasmere in 1799 with his sister Dorothy, and in several of his poems the poet acknowledges the worth and influence of this good woman, especially in the direction and inspiration of his poetic genius. It was in 1803 that

Wordsworth married his schoolmate, Mary Hutchinson, and after living with his young wife and sister Dorothy at Dove Cottage till 1808, he moved to Allan Bank, a residence just back of the village, where he spent two years; thence to the Rectory, near St. Oswald's Church, where he spent two years more, going finally to Rydal Mount in 1814, which is situated some six miles from Grasmere, where he lived till his death in 1850. Much of Wordsworth's best poetic work was done during his nine years' residence at Dove Cottage. The great English essayist, De Quincy, was the next tenant to occupy Dove Cottage after Wordsworth's departure. Here it was that he wrote his "Confessions of an Opium Eater."

I visited this historic cottage, which is now the property of the nation and is cared for much in the same way in which Burns' birth-place in Ayr, Scotland, or Goethe's home in Weimar, Germany, are looked after. I understand that more than 10,000 tourists visit the cottage annually.

Perhaps the most interesting part of Dove Cottage is the guest chamber. It is a tiny room, with a bright outlook to the east. In it have slept John Wordsworth, brother of the poet; Samuel T. Coleridge, the possible great poet, theologian and philosopher; John Wilson, "Christopher North," Sir Walter Scott and the Coleridge children. There were three chairs in this room of great interest, seeing that their cushions were the work, respectively, of Dora Wordsworth, Sara Coleridge and Edith Southey, daughters of the three great poets—Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey.

Behind Dove Cottage is the orchard, or garden, and I was shown there by the cottage attendant—the orchard-seat where the poet used to sit and where he composed the lines on "The Green Linnet," beginning with:

"Beneath these fruit-tree boughs that shed
Their snow-white blooms on my head,
With brighter sunshine round me spread
Of spring's unclouded weather,
In the sequestered nook how sweet
To sit upon my orchard seat!
And birds and flowers once more to greet,
My last year's friends together."

To Wordsworth the inner life was everything and the outer of little moment. In all this High Priest of Nature truly led the artist life of the soul, and this is a life of growth by an inward secret and mysterious process. It consists in a response of the soul to the spirit in nature. It is contained in the Scriptural lines or injunction: "Consider the lilies how they grow; they toil not, neither do

they spin." In the artist life, as George Woodberry has observed, there is neither toiling nor spinning. This is the "wise passiveness" of Wordsworth where the poet reproves the meddling intellect of the world in these lines:

"Think you, 'mid all this myghty sun
Of things forever speaking,
That nothing of itself will come,
But we must still be seeking?"

Of course, it has been charged against Wordsworth that he is a pantheist, although if I remember correctly his *ami intime* and poetic confrère, Aubrey de Vere, has acquitted him of this charge. To discuss this subject here, however, would carry me too far afield and would call for a subtle study and survey of the question as to what is and what is not pantheism, and this would intrench upon the purpose of this paper.

Among the English poets few have given us such a body of poetry marked by so great unevenness as Wordsworth. Side by side with such glorious creations as the "Ode to Immortality" and "Michael" and "Lintern Abbey," which are full of

"The light that never was on sea or land,
The consecration and the poets' dream,"

we have inane and bald stuff without a glint or gleam of inspiration in it. But Wordsworth is not alone in this. Some popular poets of our own day have published far too much for their own fair name and the surety of their fame. Inspiration does not halloo the poet's soul at all times, and it certainly forsook this High Priest of Nature occasionally and left him with his soul groping on the earth and his vision not higher than the horizon of the common day.

But there is enough of genuine poetry in Wordsworth to make certain his immortality—nay, to give him an assured place among the great English poets. Unlike to Coleridge, who really possessed higher gifts, Wordsworth, by loyalty to his art, lives on in more than a possible potentiality of English letters. He is on the head roll of English poets who have husbanded their gifts and opportunities. This, unfortunately, Samuel T. Coleridge never did.

When visiting Grasmere I was fortunate in having met an intimate friend of the Wordsworths, Mr. Edward Wilson, who was a native of the village, having been born there in 1822. I spent several hours with this interesting old man and jotted down in a notebook many things about the poet and his family not found in biographies of Wordsworth. As Wordsworth died in 1850, it will be

readily seen that Mr. Wilson had every opportunity of knowing the poet well. Mr. Wilson's father was a joiner, in which was comprised in Wordsworth's time that of undertaker, and it was his father's hearst which conveyed Wordsworth's body to the grave.

Amongst other things, Mr. Wilson informed me that as there was no post office in Grasmere in Wordsworth's time, the letters being brought from Kendal, a distance of eighteen miles, by a carrier, Wordsworth often went to meet the carrier at midnight in order to get his letters.

As I was anxious to learn first hand something of Wordsworth's religious attitude of mind, I asked Mr. Wilson if there was anything of the Ritualist or High Churchman in the poet, and he promptly answered, "Oh, my, no! Nothing of that foolery!" This fact, it will be seen, but makes his beautiful sonnet on the Blessed Virgin containing the line "Our tainted nature's solitary boast" the more remarkable.

Remembering, too, Browning's poem, "The Lost Leader," I was anxious to know something of Wordsworth's political somersault from Whig to Tory. Here is a part of Browning's poem and his charge against Wordsworth:

"Just for a handful of silver he left us,
Just for a riband to stick in his coat—
Found the one gift of which fortune bereft us,
Lost all the others she lets us devote;
They with the gold to give doled him out silver,
So much was theirs who so little allowed:
How all our copper has gone for his service!
Rags—were they purple, his heart had been proud!
We that had loved him so, followed him, honored him,
Lived in his mild and magnificent eye,
Learned his great language, caught his clear accents,
Made him our pattern to live and to die!
Shakespeare was of us, Milton was of us,
Burns, Shelley, were with us,—they watch from their graves!
He alone breaks from the van and the freemen,
He alone sinks to the rear and the slave!"

Robert Browning, in a letter to Rev. A. B. Grosart, editor of Wordsworth's Prose Works in 1875, denied that in this poem he desired to use "the venerated personality of Wordsworth for other than a sort of painter's model."

Mr. Wilson, however, declared to me that Wordsworth faced about politically and broke from Lord Brougham's Whig Party, becoming a Tory because the latter threatened to reduce his salary as a dis-

tributer of stamps at Carlisle. It is just possible, too, that Mr. Wilson's knowledge of this fact is more accurate and trustworthy than is that of the poet Browning.

Wordsworth lived at Rydal Mount, where he took up his abode in 1814, till his death in 1850. Rydal Mount is situated, as I have already said, some six miles from Grasmere; and for many years till a church was built at Rydal Mount the poet and his family attended service on Sundays at St. Oswald's Church, Grasmere. Mrs. Fisher Wordsworth, a granddaughter of the poet, now lives in the Wordsworth home at Rydal Mount. I saw in St. Oswald's Church on Sunday another granddaughter of the poet. She is the wife of Colonel Mair and daughter of William Wordsworth, son of the poet. She bears a striking facial resemblance to her grandfather.

Lakeland is a haunt for literary pilgrims, every nook and corner of which contains some memory of the great poet of nature, who glorified its hills, its dales and its "meanest flower that blows."

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SOME NOTES ON HENRY VIII.'S PARLIAMENTS.

AFTER a lifetime spent on the Tudor period, I am convinced that we know little or nothing of its Parliamentary history and that the constitutional history of the sixteenth century has not been written. Mr. W. S. Dann, of Manchester Grammar School, has deposited (in manuscript) his researches on the subject in the library of London University. I have had several students working at it for a considerable time, and I have myself kept the question before me as I have worked Tudor manuscripts in connection with other aspects of sixteenth century history. But the amount of spade work that remains to be done is still enormous. Porritt's "Unreformed House of Commons" is most inexpert on the period. Much information can be gleaned for Henry VIII.'s reign from the "Letters and Papers," the "Domestic State Papers," the "History of the Privy Council," the "Lords and Commons Journals." Even this mass of comparatively accessible material would not, when carefully worked, warrant a student in laying down any dogmatic conclusions, when he remembers that the "Domestic Calendar of State Papers" is practically useless even as an index—as I have found to my cost; that practically every diocesan library in England contains unused manuscripts on the subject; that the references in the "Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission" will take him to hundreds of private libraries, and that the Inner Temple Library, London, alone contains hundreds of volumes of unused manuscript material which is full of important and vital details. In the face of all this collection of originals in English libraries—to say nothing of those in foreign collections—the serious historian must walk with careful feet. And this care is all the more necessary when we remember that there has passed into many of our manuals of history an unqualified and unexplained statement that Henry VIII. unblushingly packed his Parliaments. Indeed, Brewer lent himself to the support of this position, and he has been relied on as an authority on the question, oblivious of the fact that not only was he not a scientific historian, but was not even a reliable and accurate worker among originals.

In this short article I have several objects in view. I want, first of all, to challenge the popular conception to which I have just referred, and to draw the attention of students, especially those who are on the threshold of an historical career, to a field of research which I fear I can never fully work myself. Then I want to include here only some sign-posts—if I may so call them—for further work, which will serve as points of departure in elaborat-

ing the question in detail. I can do no more than this in an article, but I hope in other articles to give further material which I have gathered. Before beginning, however, there are certain things which must be kept in view if an objective and judicial estimate of the question is to be reached, and it seems to me that these are the very things which many writers in sixteenth century history too often forget. No just judgment can be pronounced unless a contemporary outlook is acquired. For example, it is useless to say that the Reformation Parliament of Henry VIII. was a packed house, and at the same time to forget or to overlook the fact that the evidence for the packing of Mary's Parliament, which repealed the anti-Papal legislation of her father, is far stronger than for any previous Tudor Parliament, if we except that which put Lady Jane Gray on the throne. Indeed, the evidence for the packing of Parliament in a wholesale way is stronger for the eighteenth century than for any other in English history, and the Parliament which passed Catholic Emancipation was as little representative and certainly far more packed in the true sense of the word than any Parliament called by Henry VIII. I am almost at the moment of farewell to the sixteenth century, and I am profoundly convinced that half our difficulties in understanding it have arisen from the fact that we have approached it with modern theories in our mind and from modern points of view. Thus the apostasy of England—for I can call it nothing else if I have read the originals aright—would never have been exercised under the unscholarly term, "Henry VIII. packed his Parliament," had not the century been approached with the Reform Acts of the nineteenth century in view and with the atmosphere of representative government and political and personal freedom still around us. In Henry VIII.'s reign the Constitution was largely in the process of formation. The representative principle was in a very undeveloped stage. The relationship between King and Parliament was not clear cut and defined, and above all we must not forget that the century was not in advance of itself and could no more grasp our mode of political thought than Gregory XIII. could grasp our attitude towards political murder. Once again we must make a clear distinction between degrees of "packing"—in other words, we must fully understand what we mean by the word. If the student means by it that the King had a say—the degree for the moment does not matter—in legislation, in the return of members and procedure, then it is quite true that Henry VIII.'s Parliaments were packed, and it is also true that every English Parliament was packed before his reign. If he means by it that there was wholesale bribery and corruption on the part of the King and his supporters, that there was

force brought to bear of the electors throughout the country, that the House of Commons merely consisted of royal supporters gathered together by elections which were more farcical than free, then I believe that the evidence, as far as I have worked it, is against him. Indeed, I would go so far as to say that the evidence in this connection is of little importance. If he means that Henry VIII.'s Parliament was not the institution with which we are nowadays familiar, he is merely uttering an obvious truth, which is as much a platitude as saying that Henry VIII.'s navy was not the navy of George V. The sixteenth century Constitution must be judged from a sixteenth century point of view. Granting, then, that Henry VIII.'s Parliaments were not in advance of their predecessors from the aspect of free institutions, the question arises, Did Henry VIII. so overdo the traditions which he had received for dealing with elections as to make the House of Commons a mere tool for carrying out the royal wishes? I shall put the question another way. Was the House of Commons which banished the Pope from England any more subservient to the royal wishes than the House of Commons which restored him a few years later under Queen Mary? Any more subservient than the one which again banished him in 1559 and consisted largely of the same members which had restored him?

The difficulties of the question have been made all the more complicated by attempts to read history backwards or by the controversial and argumentative writer who has some axe to grind and cannot see that as he sharpens one particular axe he is letting others rust. I can see one and one only solution for the religious aspect of the question—England, generally speaking, did not care in the least about the religious question in the sixteenth century outside a few thousand of Catholics and Puritans who were robbed of their conscientious beliefs or suffered for them. The great mass of the people wanted to develop materially and were perfectly content to let King and Parliament do as they liked, provided peace and prosperity ensued. The evidence is too strong to believe otherwise, and, accepting that position, I want now to see whether Henry VIII. was a George III., as we have been led to believe. I shall, as I have said, merely touch on some points, hoping to develop the subject in some subsequent articles.

For the present, then, I shall confine myself to a few broad considerations. Firstly, did Henry VIII. create new Parliamentary constituencies over whose representatives he could exercise control? Secondly, was Parliament subservient to the King? Thirdly, did the King interfere with the established Parliamentary privileges? Fourthly, is there evidence that Parliament lost power

under Henry VIII.? The general consideration of these four questions will serve to introduce the whole subject as well as provide clear-cut divisions for the future study of the question.

In 1535 Wales was brought within the sphere of English Parliamentary rule and a member was given to each of the twelve Welsh counties and to eleven Welsh boroughs. In 1543 two members are given to the county and two to the town of Chester. In this way new members were added to the House of Commons. There is no evidence to prove that these new constituencies were any more under royal control than the other and older constituencies in the country. I have made as careful research as possible in this connection—for it is obvious that if Henry VIII. wanted to acquire more power over Parliament, the proper place to look for evidence of it would be in relation to new electoral divisions—and I have found nothing among national or local manuscripts which would prove that the King was seeking to widen his power over Parliament. Nor can the creation of boroughs with Parliamentary representatives be brought forward as evidence that Henry wished to pack Parliament. Here was an obvious opportunity for such a proceeding, as the general rule holding in granting new charters to old boroughs, or in granting creating-charters to newly incorporated boroughs, was to place the right of election in the hands of a small governing body nominated by the Crown. Henry, in all, only created five boroughs—Berwick, Oxford, Preston, Lancaster, Thetford. When we remember that Edward VI. added forty-eight members to the House of Commons by creating boroughs, that Mary added twenty-one and that Elizabeth added sixty, it can easily be seen that Henry was very far from being as interfering with Parliament in this connection as any of his children. Indeed, any one who studies the estimates of population—such as they are—in different parts of the country cannot but see that Henry granted representatives to new centres of population, and this can hardly be said of any of his immediate successors.

Secondly, let us consider the question of the subservience of Parliament. There is certainly evidence with regard to direct interference with elections, and Canterbury in 1536 is a clear instance.¹ But at present I am disposed to regard such interference as the exception and not the rule. Here in connection with Canterbury we have clear records, and we should suppose that, had interference been going on all over the country, we should have had equally clear records, especially as the records are so voluminous and detailed. I have failed to find them even in sufficient extent as to warrant me in saying that the Canterbury case was in any degree

¹ *Letters and Papers, X., 852, 929.*

common. On the other hand, there is plenty of evidence to prove that elections were well fought and hotly contested. Norwich in 1539 is a case in point.² The people assembled to choose knights of the shire, and there was almost a riot between Sir Edmund Knevet, who was there to support one Burgess, and Richard Southwell, who wished to be elected. Finally, the Duke of Norfolk bound over the contending parties to keep the peace. There is no question of interference with the result of the election, for Richard Southwell wrote the next day, "After the writ of election of knights of the shire openly read, my brother, Edmund Wyndeham, and I were chosen." Again in 1536 we find Katherine Blunt working in Shropshire for her son's election,³ but as far as I can see this is merely a private and family piece of canvassing. Nor can I accept the demand of the Northern Rebels in 1536 "that Parliament be held as of old, without any servant or paid man of the King's,"⁴ as conclusive evidence of extraordinary control over Parliament. It reads to me like a piece of agitators' persiflage, and certainly there *never* was a time when Parliament was without "servants and paid men of the King's." The reference, too, has been, I think, overstretched. If the Rebels meant anything, they referred to the prominent men who carried out or suggested the royal actions and not to the knights of the shire. On the other hand, I should be inclined to use the demand as a negative proof—if it means anything—that commands such as these sent to Canterbury in 1536 were not common, for had they been, the Rebels would obviously have referred to them in more explicit terms, and asked that the King should not exercise such a tyrannical practice among their Burgesses at least, considering that they placed great faith in the power of Parliament and in its ability to curb the Kings.⁵ Among the many records dealing with elections I have failed to find sufficient evidence to justify the assertion that Henry packed his Parliaments; and even the few references coupled with the Rebels' demand, however strictly interpreted, would not warrant one in concluding that his interference in elections was excessive. Indeed, compared with his children he seems to have been most self-restrained in this connection. But grant for the sake of argument that royal agents controlled the return of knights of the shire throughout the country, grant that the House of Commons was in this sense "the tool of Henry VIII.," it remains yet to be seen whether Parliament was servile or not, and to be seen whether it did what Henry wanted in

² *Ibid.*, XIV., 1., 800, 808.

³ *Ibid.*, X., 1063.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XI., 1204.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XI., 1143, 1045, 1227.

spite of its own wishes and its own principles. Now, no one can say that Henry VIII. was lacking in tact or foresight. He knew that he had no army behind him—that is, no standing army, except a few hundred yeomen and some hundreds of guards in scattered fortresses. In addition, he never had any money to spare for the purchase of mercenaries. He was always in debt and always seeking to obtain money by any means. It is hardly likely then that he would have risked carrying out an extensive policy which would have alienated from him the entire country. I believe that most of the measures which passed Parliament with any degree of rapidity were considered of little moment by Parliament. For example, the bill abolishing the payment of annates to Rome was passed in 1532—the year which it was introduced; but the same year the Statute of Uses was introduced, and it was not passed till 1536, because, as Chapuys records, there was popular opposition to it and Parliament would not go against it, no matter how desirous. Here was a pet bill of Henry's—a measure on which from the very beginning he had set his heart—a measure which a Venetian correspondent described at its introduction as one of the King's dearest schemes, to which he had already won over his Council, but one which “as yet Parliament refuses to admit.”⁶

An obvious question arises. Can we say that this Parliament, generally supposed to be packed at the elections of 1529, was the servile tool of the King's when it refused frequently to pass a bill favored so openly and notoriously by the King? Would such a measure have received any resistance at all had Henry or his agents controlled the elections and seen that “royal men” were elected? Would we have been compelled to go down to the House of Parliament and to watch the voting had its members been “place-men?” I do not think the history will justify us in saying that Parliament was packed and servile. I think it will rather confirm the contemporary note of Chapuy's, “The King has had the greatest difficulty with this Parliament”—there has been in it “abominable obstinacy.”⁷

Once more, Parliament seems to have lost none of its privileges, but rather to have established them. In 1512 freedom of speech (in the Strode case) was established by statute. Here was a statutory declaration of freedom of debate which appears to have had some permanence, as we find a Venetian record noting it at a considerably later period as one of the features of the English House of Commons: “Concerning His Majesty's demands, any member is at liberty to state his opinion freely for the benefit of the realm.”⁸

⁶ Venetian Calendar, 1527-1533, No. 753.

⁷ Letters and Papers, XI., 80.

⁸ Venetian Calendar, 1527-1533, No. 694.

Other evidence is forthcoming in this connection. Two members in the King's presence spoke and advised the King to take back Catherine, and the King, though displeased, justified himself to the House in free debate.⁹ Later we find Henry telling the Commons to weigh a bill and not pass it merely because he subscribed to it.¹⁰ Indeed, discussion reached such freedom that there was almost a riot during a debate over the marriage question of the Princess Mary.¹¹

Nor is the evidence for freedom of speech confined merely to the years preceding the Reformation Parliament. In 1541 it was included for the first time by the Speaker at the opening as the undoubted right of the Commons which they legally claimed from the King. Indeed, this claim in 1541 is the beginning of the custom which has continued as a regular practice to the present time. To the same period (1543 in Ferrer's case) belongs the recognition by the King of a member's freedom from arrest. Even at a moment in the development of the Constitution when it was customary for bills to be prepared by the King and his Council, we find evidence of Parliamentary pressure being brought to change the wording of the drafts and even of members introducing bills (*vide inter alia*).¹²

On the other hand, if privileges were recognized and new ones were growing up, it is not surprising that Henry, with the traditions of his father behind him and with the generally wide pleasure produced by peace and natural development, should find means to obtain his wishes. There is one clear record of bribery and it must be mentioned, as the Government of the day seems to have been singularly free from it. During the divorce proceedings "many opposed the King in both houses: this was in the first Parliament. At the second the same thing happened, and the King rose to his feet, bidding those of his party help him, as he wished to marry. The opposition to the other party was at last overcome by money promises and threats."¹³

The question of "money" and "threats" has had its own historians and need not detain us, but the question of "promises" illustrates a certain aspect of our subject to which I have cursorily drawn attention—the King's skill in offering material advantages to further his own ends. For example, in his justification of himself to Parliament in the divorce matter, "he told them it was not a matter in which they ought to interfere, and in most gracious man-

⁹ Letters and Papers, V., 989.

¹⁰ Ibid., X., 462.

¹¹ Venetian Calendar, No. 1486.

¹² Letters and Papers, VI., 120, p. 6.

¹³ Ibid., VI., 454.

ner promised to support them against the Church and to investigate the rigors of the Inquisition which they have here and which is said to be more severe than in Spain."¹⁴ Nor was the King's estimate of the national mind far wrong when we remember that Bishop Tunstall, a man of wide observation and one of the royal councillors, who was not likely to underestimate public opinion, wrote in 1536: "If the King wished to restore the said abolished authority, giving the Bishop of Rome his old profits, I think he would find much greater difficulty than in anything he ever proposed in his Parliament since his reign began."¹⁵

For the present I must leave the subject here and resume my considerations later, as I have exceeded space. One observation or two in conclusion—nobody seems to have been anxious to sit in Parliament. Membership was an obvious burden,¹⁶ and there was in the sixteenth century no party machinery to bring home to a member his duties to a constituency. Again, whatever we may justly think of the drastic Henrician Government, we must never forget that during his reign were laid the foundations of the supremacy of the law enacted by King and Parliament—so much so that Thomas Smith, writing his "*Commonwealth of England*" fifty years later, could speak of the King's supremacy as existing only in Parliament.¹⁷ The great Rebellion had to take place to settle finally the Tudor pact and the political writer's theory; but when one day the constitutional history of the sixteenth century is written, there will, I think, emerge a serious reconstruction of historical opinion.

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¹⁴ *Ibid.*, V., 989.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XI., 72, p. 35.

¹⁶ Cf. *Ibid.*, VI., 106, 112, 385, etc.

¹⁷ *De Republica Anglorum*, II., c. 1.

TWO PRECURSORS OF DANTE.

ST. ADAMNAIN, the great Irish seer, lived nearly six centuries before Dante Alighieri, the author of the "*Divina Commedia*," as he was born between 624 and 627 A. D., for the date of his birth is given differently by various writers, the latter being the more probably correct, according to Lanigan.

He was of very high birth, his father being an Irish nobleman descended from ancient chiefs. Like many Irish noblemen of that period, Adamnain became a priest, and about the year 650 he entered the monastery at Iona founded by St. Columkill and took the habit. He became celebrated for both his piety and his learning and on the death of Abbot Failbhe he was chosen to succeed him.

An anecdote¹ is told of Adamnain when a boy and studying at one of the so-called Irish universities, where the pupils lived in huts made of wattle and were inadequately provided for by the State. So crowded were these schools that the poor scholars had to supplement the food allowed them by the Government by begging. Adamnain was one day returning from a begging expedition carrying a large pitcher full of milk, when he met a company of horsemen galloping along, and to avoid being run over he stepped hastily aside, and in so doing upset the milk. He then ran by the side of the horsemen until they stopped at the end of their journey, when the leader entered into conversation with the boy, and was ultimately induced to offer him and his tutor and companions a home and to provide for them. This leader was none other than the famous Finnachta, and the tutor prophesied that he would become eventually King of Ireland, as actually happened, and that Adamnain would one day be his confessor.

After he became abbot, Adamnain, like other Irish saints, took part sometimes in political events, and when the King of Northumbria, Egfrid, was succeeded by his son Alfred, with whom Adamnain had become acquainted, when as a young man he was exiled to Ireland, the abbot went to England to interview the new King and to beg of him the release of some Irish captives, whom Egfrid had carried away into slavery after a raid he made on the Irish coast. In this mission Adamnain was successful and took back with him to Ireland sixty Irishmen who had been in captivity for some years.

On this visit to England Adamnain made the acquaintance of the Venerable Bede, which ripened into friendship, and in his history Bede speaks of Adamnain as "a good and wise man, most excellently instructed in the knowledge of the Scriptures."

¹ "An Irish Precursor of Dante," by C. S. Boswell; 1908.

Two years later Adamnain visited Bede again to discuss two points of Church discipline, in which the Irish differed from the Roman use. One of these points was the time of keeping Easter and the other was the shape of the tonsure, which in Ireland was then worn in the form of a crescent. On his return to England Adamnain traveled about the country endeavoring to persuade his countrymen to conform to the Roman custom as to the time of celebrating Easter, and succeeded almost everywhere, except in his own monastery and the Isle of Iona, and no arguments could persuade the islanders and his own monks to change, so that the truth of Our Lord's saying, "No man is a prophet in his own country," was well fulfilled in him.

Another very important reform which Adamnain undertook by the coercion of his mother, Ronat, was the emancipation of the Irish women from military service, to which they were then subject, although to what extent is disputed. An old Irish treatise called the "Cain Adamnain" describes how reluctant Adamnain was to act in this matter and the austerities his mother imposed upon him until he consented to help in a cause in which she had so keen an interest. For four years Adamnain endured these rigid penances, and then an angel appeared to him and promised that women should be released from this obligation. Adamnain then set to work to bring it about, and by so doing so offended some of the Irish princes that they plotted to kill him. Finally an agreement was drawn up and signed, prohibiting in future the employment of women as soldiers and the slaying of women by men with impunity.

Adamnain was very ascetic, and it is said that he never ate except on Sundays and Thursdays. He was evidently a man with great influence over others, as witness these reforms, both difficult to accomplish. He was also very learned and very holy, resembling in many respects Abbot Sampson, of St. Edmondsbury, whom Carlyle has immortalized in "Past and Present;" but Adamnain, though not formally canonized, was a saint as well as a great churchman and powerful abbot.

He was called on account of his learning "the Great Scholar of the Western World." His most famous literary work was the "Life of St. Columkill." "The Vision," or "Fis Adamnain," although bearing his name, was not written by him, but is a description of a vision he had, which some much later writer put into literary form. Some critics maintain that it is not older than the eleventh century, but others put it as early as the ninth.² Professor Windisch is one of these last.

² "An Irish Precursor of Dante," p. 25.

The life beyond the grave has always been a favorite subject in Irish legend; even in pre-Christian times there were legends of Elysium and Tartarus, and the pagan hell was more terrible if possible than either Dante's Inferno or any other Christian hell. From the earliest days of Irish Christianity visions of Paradise and Purgatory and hell were granted to the holy hermits and monks, who made Ireland an island of saints. St. Columkill was frequently visited by angels, who revealed to him many things concerning the good and the wicked after death. St. Fursa was even more favored with visions of the Blessed Trinity, of the heavenly host, of heaven and Purgatory and also of hell. St. Laisren, another Irish saint, left an account of a vision he had of a visit to hell, whither he was conveyed by two angels after he had been fasting for nine days as a preparation for cleansing a church which had been defiled by some crime.

But the "*Fis Adamnain*" is the most celebrated of all these Irish visions of the world to come.

We find almost invariably that all the saints who have had visions or trances, in which they have been transported to the world of spirits, whether to Paradise or Purgatory or hell, are accompanied by a guide, generally an angel. Dante, as we know, was led through hell by the poet Virgil, who had himself described the Elysian Fields and Tartarus, the pagan heaven and hell, but when the great Italian poet reached the earthly Paradise, he was handed over to Beatrice to conduct him through Paradise and heaven. The visions of St. Hildegarde and St. Elizabeth of Schönau were always revealed to them by an angel, who accompanied them, and the Irish seers were generally led by their guardian angels when in spirit they visited the realms of spirits. St. Adamnain was no exception to this rule—his guardian angel accompanied him.

In the Book of Enoch, the earliest of all these visions, the Archangel Michael was the guardian spirit to accompany the seer. In the vision of the Prophet Esdras, the Archangel Gabriel and twenty other angels accompanied him. St. Fursa had three angels as his guides.

The excellent translation of the "*Fis Adamnain*" by C. S. Boswell, from whom these particulars of the saint's life were derived, only occupies about twenty pages of print, divided into numbered paragraphs which may in the original have been verses, for the whole is a poem whether written in prose or verse. In the second of these paragraphs Adamnain says: "There were multitudes of the saints and righteous ones of the Lord of Creation, unto whom have been revealed the secrets and mysteries of the kingdom of

heaven, and finally unto Adamnain, the high scholar of the western world, were revealed the things which are here recorded."

Unlike Dante, who was taken first to hell and then through Purgatory to Paradise, Adamnain went first to the land of the saints, "a bright land of fair weather." Between the land of the saints and the heaven of the heavenly hosts, or nine choirs of angels (in which division he followed Dionysius, the pseudo-Areopagite), is a crystal veil, but there is no veil between the heavenly hosts and the land of the saints on the angels' side; it is open and not even a cloud is between. This seems a beautiful allegorical touch, symbolizing the fuller knowledge of the angels.

Another beautiful thought, both consoling and of deep meaning, occurs in the sixth paragraph, where it is said: "Now the Twelve Apostles and Mary, the pure Virgin, form a band apart about the mighty Lord. Next to the apostles are the patriarchs and prophets and the disciples of Jesus. On the other side are holy Virgins at Mary's right hand, and with no great space between."

Music plays an important part in Adamnain's account of the land of the saints, in which he describes the saints as alternately singing marvelous music in praise of God and then listening to the music of the heavenly host. On the throne before the heavenly King are three wonderful birds, who sing the eight canonical hours with the archangels, they leading and the angels and saints and virgins responding, and this music is one of the joys of Paradise.³

He makes no attempt to describe the Lord Himself, for he says: "None could tell of His splendor and loveliness, His might and power, His glow and brightness, nor of the multitude of archangels and angels who sing His praise in music sweeter than all the music in the world."

In his account of the heavenly city, he says it is surrounded by seven crystal walls and the floor thereof is crystal, shot with blue and green and purple and every color. It is lighted by 7,000 angels like great candles, who shine round about it, and 7,000 other angels illuminate the midst of it, and these are eternally aflame. The choirs of angels are divided by a screen or rail of silver, set with precious stones, and some of these stones are vocal and make soft, melodious music—an idea which occurs in several Irish legends.

Outside the principal door of this marvelous city are countless souls who are shut out from its delights by two veils, one of fire and one of ice, which cover the gateway and continually clash against each other, making discord for those outside and sweetest music for those within the walls. This is another characteristic touch of Adamnain's, whose mind seems to have been cast in a sub-

³ "The Adamnain," p. 82.

jestive mould. There are seven heavens in his Paradise, all of which are guarded by two angelic beings, one of whom acts as a warder and the other as a porter. At the door of the first heaven the archangel sits with two youths by him armed with iron rods to scourge the sinners who pass through this realm, but permit the righteous to pass untouched.

The Archangel Ariel sits at the door of the second heaven, and a river of fire lies before the door, in which the souls of the righteous are purified. A fiery furnace burns in the third heaven, the righteous souls pass unscathed through it in the twinkling of an eye, but sinners are burnt in it for twelve years.

The fourth heaven is surrounded by a wall of fire and the righteous pass through it as though it were not there, but the wicked have to remain in it another twelve years suffering torment. In the fifth heaven is a fiery whirlpool, in which the souls of the wicked are tossed about for sixteen years, but the holy souls pass unscathed through it. There is no pain in the sixth heaven, but the righteous here attain the brilliancy of precious stones, and then the angel of the Holy Trinity and the Archangel Michael lead the soul into the Divine Presence.

The welcome accorded to the righteous soul by the Lord and the heavenly host is said to be infinite and beyond all telling, but to the wicked the Mighty Lord is said to be harsh and ungentle, and He orders the angels to deliver the lost soul into the hands of Lucifer to plunge him into hell forever. The twentieth paragraph describing this terrible doom deserves to be quoted:

"Thereupon that wretched soul is parted, fearfully, sternly, awfully, from sight of the heavenly kingdom and God's countenance. Then utters he a groan, heavier than any groan, as he comes into the devil's presence after beholding the bliss of the kingdom of heaven. Twelve fiery dragons swallow up every spirit, one after the other, until the lowest dragon lands him in the devil's maw. Then doth he experience the consummation of all evil in the devil's own presence throughout all ages."⁴

His guardian angel then takes Adamnain to visit hell and its torments; in the course of the journey an enormous bridge is encountered, such as is frequently described in other Irish legends. This bridge, which is very wide in parts and very narrow in other places, passes over a fiery chasm into which the souls of the wicked fall, but the penitent souls pass over in safety.

Many of the torments of the lost in Adamnain's vision resemble those of Dante's *Inferno*—some souls stand up to their waists in blackest pitch, some are chained to fiery columns; demons armed

⁴ "Fis Adamnain," p. 38.

with fiery clubs strike others; others again are covered with crows of ice. If anything the torments described by Adamnain are worse than those Dante saw, and it is probable that the author of the "*Divina Commedia*" derived some of his ideas from Adamnain's vision, which was in all probability known to him.

Beyond this land of torment is the nethermost hell, in which no soul dwells till after the Day of Judgment; until then it is the abode of the demons, and it is seven times more horrible than the place of torment, from which a fiery wall divides it.

After Adamnain had passed through the place of torment, his guardian angel bore him back in the twinkling of an eye through the crystal veil to the land of the saints, but he was not permitted to remain there, as he had hoped to do, for the angel ordered him to return to his body, from which he had departed, and go and tell to great congregations of men and women, clerics and lay folk, the wonders he had seen, with the rewards of heaven and the pains of hell, just as his guardian angel had shown them to him.

The vision concludes with a beautiful peroration, quoting some of the sources from which the seer had derived his doctrine and summing up the delights of the heavenly city. He mentions St. Patrick, the Holy Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, Pope Silvester and the Prophet Elias as corroborating his teaching. His allusion to Enoch is a curious one. He says: "It is easy to mark the look of sorrow upon the face of Elias and upon the face of Enoch, and these are the two sorrows of the heavenly kingdom."

That the writer of the "*Fis Adamnain*" was familiar with the Book of Enoch and unconsciously influenced by it seems certain. for the points of resemblance between the two visions are too striking to be mere coincidences, and there is little doubt that the book was known in Ireland in Adamnain's time. Moreover, other Irish visions of heaven and hell show traces of its influence.

The best critics and commentators on the Book of Enoch now place its date in the second and first centuries B. C.⁵

All writers of the New Testament were familiar with it and appear to have been more or less influenced by it. St. Jude expressly quotes it in his Epistle, and St. Barnabas called it Scripture. It is also quoted in the Book of Jubilees, the Apocalypse of Baruch and the fourth book of Esdras, none of which are canonical books.

The early fathers and some at least of the apostles considered it a canonical book, but towards the close of the third and the beginning of the fourth century A. D. it began to be discredited and finally was condemned as uncanonical by the Church.

⁵ "*The Book of Enoch*," translated from the Ethiopic text and edited by R. H. Charles, M. A.; Oxford, 1893; p. 25.

From the year 800 till 1773 it was lost sight of, and then a copy of the Ethiopian version was found in Abyssinia by Bruce, who brought home three copies. There are now seventeen MSS. of the Ethiopian version in Europe, of which one is in the Vatican Library, one in Paris and the rest are in the British Museum. The Bodlean possesses a copy.

The book has had numerous critics and commentators, especially in Germany. Fragments of a Hebrew version have been found, and some critics believe the original was written in Hebrew; there are also some Greek versions, and a French commentator, Vernes, believes the early part was written in Aramaic. Although it professes to be the work of Enoch, "the seventh from Adam," it is now believed to be the work of several authors, which theory the internal evidence of the book itself confirms. For instance, in the second section of the book, whenever God is spoken of, with one single exception, He is called the Lord of Spirits, and this expression never occurs in any of the other sections. Again, in the fourth section, He is nearly always spoken of as the Lord of the sheep, and this does not occur in any other section. In the second and fifth sections He is spoken of by the unique title, the Head of Days,* Twice only in the whole book, and that in the third and fifth sections, He is spoken of as the Creator. In the second section only the Messiah is distinctly alluded to under the titles the Righteous One, the Elect One, His Anointed and the Son of Man. The Lord of Glory occurs at least once in every section except the fifth, where the Great Glory is substituted.

There are many interpolations by later writers in the text, most of which relate to a lost Apocalypse of Noah. Some of the writers of these additions were Christian. Indeed, the final edition is believed by one critic, Tideman, to have been edited by a Christian Gnostic in the year 125 A. D.

St. Jerome and St. Augustine both considered the book as apocryphal. Tertullian, on the other hand, regarded it as Scripture, and Origen was doubtful about it.

St. Jude, as we have said, directly quotes from Enoch (Jude v., 14-15). Many passages from the Apocalypse are similar to passages in the Book of Enoch. For example, St. John speaks of the four angels of the winds, and Enoch of the spirits of the winds. Both mention seeing a star fall from heaven (Apoc. ix., 1; Enoch lxxvi., 1). St. John speaks of the angel of the waters (Apoc. xvi., 5); Enoch of the spirit of the sea (Enoch lx., 16). St. John says that "the sea and heaven and Hades gave up their dead which were in them" (Apoc. xx., 13), and Enoch says that the earth and

* *Ibid.*, p. 41.

Sheol and hell will do so, or uses words to that effect (*Enoch* ii., 1). St. John says that "the wicked shall be cast into the lake of fire" (*Apoc.* xix., 15), and Enoch says they "shall be cast into that fiery abyss" (*Enoch* xc., 26).

In almost all the Catholic Epistles expressions are found resembling closely passages in the Book of Enoch. In the New Testament demons are spoken of as disembodied spirits. In the Book of Enoch demons are the spirits of the giants, mentioned in Genesis as the offspring of the fallen angels and the daughters of men.

St. Paul several times speaks of the angels as principalities and powers. Enoch twice at least speaks of "the angels of principalities and powers" (*Enoch* lxi., 10). They both use the expression, "He Who is blessed forever." St. Paul speaks of the "children of light" and Enoch "of the generation of light." Both use the expressions "the King of Kings and Lord of Lords" (*I. Tim.* vi., 15; *Enoch* ix., 4).

In the Gospels also expressions and sentences are found which occur in Enoch. In St. Luke and in Enoch the Messiah is referred to as "the Elect One" more than once. This evangelist and Enoch use the expression "the Mammon of unrighteousness." In St. Matt. xix., 28, it is said: "When the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of His glory," and in Enoch (lxii., 5) we find, "When they see the Son of Man sitting on the throne of His glory."

There can be little doubt, then, that this book was well known to the apostles and to the early Jewish writers, especially the author of the Book of Jubilees,¹ written in the year 70 B. C. It is the earliest book of visions known to exist, so that if any part of it were really by Enoch, whom a Jewish legend regards as the first person to reduce thought to writing, he might be called the first mystic.

The book is in five sections and is much longer than the "Vision of Adamnain," with which we will now compare it. The first section is fragmentary; the second is called the Similitudes; the third is known as the Book of Celestial Physics; the fourth as the Dream-Visions, and the fifth as the Apocalypse of Weeks, which last contains a most curious account of the birth of Noah.

Like Adamnain, Enoch in his vision is first taken to heaven, and the similarity to his description of the heavenly city, with its crystal walls and fiery flames, is so like Adamnain's and also so beautiful that we will quote some verses of it:

"And the vision appeared to me thus: Behold in the vision clouds invited me and a mist invited me; the course of the stars and the

¹ "The Book of Jubilees, or the Little Genesis," edited by R. H. Charles. M. A.: London, 1902.

lightnings drove and impelled me, and the winds in the vision gave me wings and drove me. And they lifted me up into heaven, and I came till I drew near a wall which is built of crystals and surrounded by a fiery flame; and it began to affright me. And I went into the fiery flame, and drew nigh to a large house which was built of crystals; and the walls of that house were like a mosaic crystal floor, and the groundwork was of crystal. Its ceiling was like the path of the stars and lightnings, with fiery cherubim between in a transparent heaven. A flaming fire surrounded the walls of the house and its portal blazed with fire."

Surely this is not unlike Adamnain's "city surrounded by its seven walls and its floor of fair crystal, with the sun's countenance upon it shot with blue and purple and green and every hue beside."

He, too, was awed by the sight, for he says, "Awful is that city and wonderful to describe." It may be remembered that Adamnain saw in the main doorway of that city a veil of fire and a veil of ice clashing against each other.

Enoch says: "And I entered into that house, and it was as hot as fire and as cold as ice; there were no delights of life therein; fear covered me and trembling got hold upon me."

He then enters into a second house, whose floor was fire and its ceiling a flaming fire. "And in every respect it so excelled in splendor and extent that I cannot describe to you its splendor and its extent. And I looked and saw therein a lofty throne; its appearance was as hoarfrost, its circuit was as a shining sun and the voices of cherubim. And the Great Glory sat thereon, and His raiment shone more brightly than the sun and was whiter than any snow." (Enoch xiv., 17-21.)

Here again we get this contrast of heat and cold, the hoarfrost and the shining sun. Adamnain says this throne was "fashioned like a canopied chair," and he thus continues: "Over the head of the Glorious One that sitteth upon the royal throne is a great arch, like unto a wrought helmet or a regal diadem. Six thousand thousands surround the fiery chair, which still urns on without end or term." (Fis Adam., 9.)

Enoch, speaking of this throne, says: "And from underneath the great throne came streams of flaming fire, so that it was impossible to look thereon. None of the angels could enter and could behold the face of the Honored and Glorious One, and no flesh could behold Him. A flaming fire was round about Him, and a great fire stood before Him, and none of those who were around Him could draw nigh Him: ten thousand times ten thousand were before Him, but He stood in no need of counsel." (Enoch xiv., 21-24.)

Although the two ~~were~~ differ as to details, for instance, as to the

number of thousands of those surrounding the throne, there is a striking resemblance in their account of this fiery throne itself, and when they come to speak of Him Who sitteth upon this throne, the same reverence and awe characterized them both.

Enoch after the last quotation continues thus: "And until then I had had a veil on my face, and I was trembling: then the Lord called me with His own mouth and spake to me: 'Come hither, Enoch, and hear My holy word.' And He made me rise up and approach the door: but I turned my face downwards." (Ibid. xiv., 24-25.)

Enoch does not here make any attempt to describe this Mighty Lord; Adamnain says it is impossible to do so. "Now to describe the Mighty Lord that is upon that throne is not for any unless Himself should do so, or so direct the heavenly dignitaries. For none could tell of His vehemence and His might, His glow and splendor, His rightness and loveliness, His liberality and steadfastness, nor of the multitude of His angels and archangels who chant their songs to Him." Nevertheless, Adamnain a little further on does try to describe the indescribable, and uses a very original image in so doing. He says: "Whoso should stand facing about him, east and west, south and north, would behold on each side of Him a majestic countenance seven times as radiant as the sun. No human form thereto with hand or foot may be discerned, but a fiery mass burning on forever, while one and all are filled with awe and trembling before Him. Heaven and earth are filled full with the light of Him, and a radiance as of a royal star encircles Him." (Fis Adam., 33.)

In the second section of the Book of Enoch, in which the expression the Head of Days is applied to Almighty God, the patriarch, speaking of his translation into heaven, also attempts a description of Him Who sat upon the throne, and, like Adamnain, finds it impossible.

He says after he was translated into the heaven of heavens he saw a house built of crystals, and between the crystals flames of living fire and the seraphim and the cherubim and orphanim guarding the throne of glory, and angels who could not be counted and the four archangels, Michael and Gabriel, Rafael and Fanuel, and with them the Head of Days, His head white and pure as wool and His raiment indescribable. And I fell on my face and my whole body melted away, but my spirit was transfigured, and I cried with a loud voice with the spirit of power and blessed and glorified and extolled." (Enoch, Sec. II., 5-12.)

A little further on in this second section of the Book of Enoch he tells how he saw Our Lord also: "And there I saw One Who

had a head of days, and His head was white like wool, and with Him was another being Whose countenance had the appearance of a man, and His face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels. And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me all the hidden things concerning that Son of Man, Who He was and whence He was and why He went with the Head of Days?" (Sec. II., 46.)

In one respect Enoch and Adamnain differ greatly—Adamnain's heaven is filled with music, as we have said, but there is no mention of music in the Book of Enoch. The blessed and the angels bless and praise and extol and glorify God and give thanks and rejoice, but it is never said that they sing or that there is any music in heaven.

It is very beautifully said "that they believe and give thanks before the Lord of Spirits and glorify Him with all their power, and their food is nothing but thanksgiving." (Sec. II., 69.)

Seven has ever been a favorite mystic number. Adamnain saw seven heavens, "and hard of essay are they all, nor is one of them easier than the rest." He also saw seven crystal walls round the Celestial City, while Enoch saw seven magnificent mountains, on the highest of which was the throne of God. Enoch twice mentions that the light of the sun exceeds that of the moon seven times, and in another place he says that one-seventh of the light of the sun is transferred to the light of the moon.

In the Book of Enoch Purgatory is called Sheol or Hades, and the writer of the first section places it in the far west, but in all the other sections of the book it is situated in the underworld. There are four divisions in Hades—two for the righteous and two for the wicked. The final abode of the wicked is hell, an abyss in the midst of the earth, a furnace of fire into which the incorporeal spirits of the wicked are cast. Sheol is described as an abyss full of fire and flaming and full of pillars of fire. (Enoch, Sec. IV., 90.)

Adamnain also mentions a fiery furnace in the third heaven, "kept ever burning, its flames reaching a height of 1,200 cubits, through which the souls of the righteous pass in the twinkling of an eye, but the souls of sinners are baked and scorched therein for twelve years, and then their guardian angel conveys them to the fourth door."

Adamnain also sees columns of fire, to which the souls of the wicked are fettered, a sea of fire about them up to their chins, with fiery chains in the form of vipers round their waists. (Fis Adam., 40.)

Rivers of fire are common to the author of the Book of Enoch and to Adamnain as part of the topography of the underworld.

A river of fire is said by Adamnain to lie before the door of the third heaven, of which the Archangel Ariel is the guardian. Another angel named Abersetus washes the souls of the righteous and purges them according to their guilt in this stream whose surface is an ever-burning flame. A similar stream of fire runs outside the door of the fourth heaven, and in the third there is a fiery river "which is unlike all other rivers, for in the midst of it is a strange kind of whirlpool, wherein the souls of the wicked keep turning round and round, and there they abide for sixteen years." (Fis Adam., 37.)

In hell there is, according to Adamnain, a fiery glen, in which red showers of fire rain day and night upon the wicked, which they cannot ward off, and some of them have streams of fire in the hollows of their faces and fiery nails through their tongues, and a great multitude of these lost ones were clad in red and fiery mantles down to their waists.

In the Book of Enoch it is said in Section I.: "And they took me away to a place where there were forms like flaming fire, and when they wished they appeared as men. And they conducted me to the place of the whirlwind. And I came to a river of fire, the fire of which flows like water and discharges itself into the great sea in the west." (Enoch, Sec. I., 17.)

Again, on another occasion, the writer of this book saw two streams of fire coming from out the throne and the light of that fire shone like hyacinth, and there, too, he saw the "sons of the holy angels stepping on flames of fire." This refers to the offspring of the angels and the daughters of men mentioned in Genesis.

In the "Book of Jubilees" or the "Little Genesis," written by a Pharisee who died in 105 B. C., it is said that Enoch was the first person who learnt the art of writing with pen and ink and learnt also knowledge and wisdom, and who wrote down all the signs of heaven. "And he was the first to write a testimony, and what was and what will be he saw in a vision." (Book of Jubilees iv., 17.)

In contradiction to this we are told in the Book of Enoch that the art of writing was first taught to man by one of the Satans or fallen angels, and the name of this demon was Penemue.

"He taught the children of men the bitter and the sweet, and taught them all the secrets of their wisdom. And he instructed mankind in writing with ink and paper, and thereby many sinned from eternity to eternity and unto this day. For it was not intended when man was created that he should give confirmation to his good faith in this wise with pen and ink." (Enoch, Sec. II., 69.)

The learned commentator on this strange passage does not think

that the writer means altogether to condemn the art of writing, but "only when it is used as a safeguard against the bad faith of men."

There is a curious contrast between the birds mentioned in the "Fis Adamnain" and those of which Enoch speaks. In the "Fis Adamnain" we have seen the birds join with the archangels in leading the music of the Divine Office, while three stately birds perch upon the throne, symbolizing the Holy Trinity. This making the birds sing the praises of Almighty God in heaven, as they seem to us to do on earth, is one of Adamnain's happiest touches.

In the Book of Enoch the only birds mentioned are birds of prey—the eagle, the raven, the vulture and the kite, all of which are extremely unmusical; but the birds and animals mentioned in this vision are all used symbolically. The eagle symbolizes the Greeks or Macedonians, the ravens the Syrians, the vultures and kites the Egyptians—all enemies of the children of Israel. (Enoch, p. 248, note.)

The angiology of the Old and New Testament differs, so we are not surprised to find that while Adamnain follows the teaching of Dionysius, the pseudo-Areopagite, the writers of the Book of Enoch, being all at any rate pre-Christian, follow that of the Jewish dispensation.

Adamnain, although he alludes to the "nine classes of heaven after their rank and order," does not specify the nine orders of angels by their particular names—he speaks of the archangels, of whom he mentions two, Michael and Ariel; the angels, the guardian angels, the heavenly host and the angel of the Trinity, and he says that each "several choir about him chant three thousand different songs, and sweeter than all the varied music of the world is each individual song of them." (Fis Adamnain, 33.)

He says also "that the unspeakable power of God has set and keeps them face to face in ranks and lofty coronals all round the throne, circling it in brightness and bliss, their faces all turned towards God." (Fis Adam., 34.)

In the Book of Enoch, besides the four archangels, are mentioned the cherubim and seraphim, the orphanim, the angels of principality, the angels of power, the virtues, the angel of peace and the angel of the Presence.

The angels of punishment in the Book of Enoch are the demons or Satans, or spirits which according to Enoch are the fallen angels, who took to themselves wives of the daughters of men, and also the spirits of the giants, who were said to be their progeny.

The demons of Enoch have three functions—to tempt to evil, to accuse the fallen and to punish and torment the condemned.

In the "Fis Adamnain" hell and the demons which inhabit it are thus described: "Mountains, caverns and thorny brakes, plains, bare and parched with stagnant, serpent-haunted lochs are the nature of it. The soil is rough and sandy, very rugged, icebound. Broad fiery flagstones bestrew the plain. Great seas are there, with horrible abysses, wherein is the devil's constant habitation and abiding place.

"Four mighty rivers cross the middle of it—a river of fire, a river of snow, a river of poison, a river of black, murky water. In these wallow eager hosts of demons after making their holiday and their delight in tormenting souls." (Fis Adam., 43.)

The chief function of Adamnain's demons is punishing and tormenting the lost souls.

The interpolations in the "Book of Enoch," and they are many, which refer to Noah have no connection with the visions, but the account of the birth of Noah, referred to above, is so curious that we venture to quote it. In the fifth section of his book Enoch says:

"And after some days my son Methusaleh took a wife for his son Lamech, and she became pregnant by him and bore a son. And his body was white as snow and red as a blooming rose, and the hair of his head and his long locks were white as wool, and his eyes beautiful. And when he opened his eyes, he lighted up the whole house like the sun, and the whole house was very full of light. And when he was taken from the hand of the midwife, he opened his mouth and conversed with the Lord of righteousness. And his father, Lamech, was afraid of him and fled and came to his father, Methusaleh, and he said to him:

"I have begotten a strange son; he is not like a man, but resembles the children of the angels of heaven, and his nature is different, and he is not like us, and his eyes are as the rays of the sun and his countenance is glorious. And I fear that in his day a wonder may be wrought on the earth. And now, my father, I am here to beseech and implore thee, that thou go to our father, Enoch, and learn from him the truth, for his dwelling place is amongst the angels." And when Methusaleh heard the words of his son, he came to me to the ends of the earth, for he had heard that I was there, and he cried aloud and I heard his voice and came to him."

Methusaleh then repeats Lamech's story and Enoch prophesies the Deluge, and says that the child is to be called Noah.

There is another curious prophecy in the fifth section of this Book of Enoch, which might be said to refer to the present art of flying and to trench warfare:

"And in the day of tribulation of sinners, your children will mount and rise as eagles, and higher than the vultures will be your nest, and ye will ascend as squirrels, and enter into the crevices of the earth and the clefts of the rock before the unrighteous."

This prophecy is the more remarkable when read in connection with the witness borne to Enoch's prophetic powers in the Book of Jubilees, wherein it is said: "Enoch was the first to write a testimony, and what was said and what will be, he saw in a vision of his sleep, as it will happen to the children of men throughout their generations until the day of judgment; he saw and understood everything and wrote his testimony, and placed the testimony on earth for all the children of men and for their generations."

If the testimony of the author of the Book of Jubilees is to be relied on, then Enoch's prophecy may refer to us, who are certainly sinners, and no less certainly living in a day of tribulation.

The Book of Jubilees, though uncanonical, was known to and quoted by some of the fathers of the Church, among others by St. Jerome, Epiphanius, Didymus of Alexandria, Origen, Severus of Antioch and Isidore of Seville. It had several other titles besides the "Little Genesis;" it was also known as "The Apocalypse of Moses," "The Testament of Moses," "The Book of Adam's Daughter" and "The Life of Adam."⁸

DARLEY DALE.

Stroud, Gloucestershire.

⁸ Introduction to "Book of Jubilees," edited by R. H. Charles, M. A.; London, 1902.

CARDINAL GUIBERT.

"GOD," wrote the late Cardinal Richard, "has given to the venerable Cardinal Guibert the grace of having been in our time the personification of the moral authority of the Church in society, an authority at once mild and strong—*suaviter et fortiter*."¹

At the request of his successor in the archiepiscopal See of Paris, who penned this concise eulogium, which sums up in one sentence the most striking features of a long and distinguished career, Monsieur Paguelle de Follenay, vice rector of the Catholic Institute, has told in two large octavo volumes the life-story of this typical Oblate religious and great prelate.²

A native of Aix, in Provence, in that sunny southern region of France where the people reflect in their character the light and beauty and joyousness of the country and its climate—where in olden times their inherent *gaieté française* was melodiously voiced in the songs of the troubadours—Joseph Hippolyte Guibert was a fellow-townsmen of the founder of the Oblates, of whom he was the *alter ego*, his other self, closely united by racial as well as religious ties to the missionary-Bishop of Marseilles, both Provençals, both familiar from their boyhood with the local dialect, the homely speech of the people, so dear to their hearts. Born on December 13, 1802, he was the son of Pierre Guibert, a member of a family who originally migrated from the mountainous district of Barcelonnette, in the Lower Alps. His father was what would be designated in English a market gardener, a small farmer or peasant-proprietor, tilling the land he owned, a class essentially conservative, who are noted for having preserved religious faith, patriarchal virtues and habits and respect for paternal authority, who give to the army its best soldiers and to the Church its best priests, an energetic and hard-working race who laboriously earn their bread by the sweat of their brows.

His family was of old date attached to the Catholic faith. In the course of the preceding generations it had given to the Church an Augustinian who, under the name of Father Michael, had acquired a reputation as a preacher until, secularized by the Revolution, he retired to Aix, where he died in 1821, at the age of eighty-six. The Cardinal knew him and loved to speak of him, treasuring the man-

¹ Pastoral Letter, August 6, 1886.

² "Vie du Cardinal Guibert, Archevêque de Paris," par J. Paguelle de Follenay, Chanoine honoraire, vice recteur de l'Institut Catholique de Paris. Paris: Librairie Ch. Poussielgue.

uscripts of his sermons which had been bequeathed to him and which he availed of as an oratorical mine upon which he drew largely.

Pierre Guibert passed unscathed through the great crisis of the Revolution. Though he was sufficiently well-to-do in 1826 as to be able to buy another holding, hard times supervened when the family suffered from real poverty. When, in after years, Father Guibert was superior of the seminary at Ajaccio, he wrote to a brother Oblate, Father Tempier: "I remember towards the close of the Empire, in times of great distress, when I was still very young, my parents made me take my meal apart along with my sisters; they took theirs after us and only ate what we left, and I know well that they had not always wherewithal to satisfy their hunger. I always recall this touching recollection at the refectory door."

Like many others in the Church and in the world, he had been early trained in the school of poverty. "Attaining to the highest honors of the Church," said his panegyrist, "he will never forget how, more than once, he had been fed with bread spared through the privations of his parents. At once by instinct and by virtue, by respect for domestic traditions, and later by religious vow, he will love poverty. He was born, lived and died with it. But in his hands it has become the inexhaustible source of the most abundant liberality. This poor one has had the honor and the joy to be the father of the poor. *Pauper sibi, divus pauperibus erat.*"

The whole family lived in the small house, 53 Lisse Saint-Jean, in which the future Cardinal was born. There is still there a curious memorial of the piety of its inhabitants, a wooden statue of the Blessed Virgin, with the Divine Infant in her arms, of unknown origin, darkened by age and apparently dating from the fifteenth century. "It is sweet to think," observes his biographer, "that Mary smiled at the childish gambols of the great Archbishop, as, from Notre Dame de Paris, she was to bless his later works."

His grandmother, the daughter of Jean Joseph Pécout, a stone-cutter, also bore the name of Mary. The churches were closed when, in 1798, his mother, before she had completed her fourteenth year, was privately married to Pierre Guibert, then thirty-one. Despite her extreme youth and the disparity of age, she had what in France is considered a numerous family. She was only eighteen when her illustrious son, Joseph Hippolyte, was born. He was the pet of his mother and grandmother. The latter loved to dress the pretty child so as to attract admiration. Having once gone to visit a person in the service of the Régusse family, whose mansion was near their house, Marie Turcas, who carried her little grandson in her arms, was met in the vestibule by one of those noble ladies who,

struck by the child's beauty and his dress, said somewhat ironically, "What do they want to make of this child? Do they want to make him a Cardinal?" The Régusse family were afterwards intimate friends of the pretty baby boy, who in process of time actually became a Cardinal.

His home upbringing was in the midst of an honest, simple, affectionate and truly Christian family. We are told how the child used to play at chapel as other children play at soldiers. In 1881 the mind of the aged Cardinal, then seventy-nine, wandered back to his happy childhood days, when Canon Rolland, who had founded a workmen's club at Aix, begged a subscription from the Archbishop of Paris and received a donation of 300 francs in a letter containing the following reminiscence: "I take a particular interest in the workmen's club founded in my native country and which has transferred itself to quite near my humble birthplace in the former Hotel de l'Intendance. How often, when I was a child, I went to play with children of my age in the vast courtyard of that mansion, then occupied, if I don't deceive myself, by the gendarm-erie."

The old church of St. John of Malta, the sanctuary of the Commandery of the Knights of Malta, built in 1251, near his birthplace in the Rue Lisse Saint-Jean, was also the birthplace of his spiritual life, for it was there he was received as a young boy into the choir. He had been baptized there, and when, long afterwards, loaded with years and honors and regarded as the oracle of the French episcopate, he entered it, he was seen to remain long on his knees on the steps of the baptismal chapel, resting his head on the large black-painted iron railing, as he meditated and prayed, and then, in the same humble and thoughtful attitude, going to the altar rails where he made his first Communion. Then, upon his return to the great city of which he was the supreme pastor, his affectionate gratitude found expression in handsome presents to the humble parish of the faubourg which was associated with unforgotten memories of his childhood days. He had had the happiness of having as confessor during the months that preceded his first Communion a priest whom the town of Aix venerated as a saint. This was the Abbé Denis, curate of the parish of the Holy Ghost, who did not emigrate during the dark days of the Revolution, but remained to secretly minister to the flock. In the most perilous times he went from house to house disguised as a peddler, laden with a pack of Paris goods, in order to afford poor, terrorized souls the consolations and succors of his sacred ministry. It was M. Etienne Christine, curé of St. John of Malta, who discerned the vocation of young Guibert, whom he lived to see Bishop of Viviers.

"Called to combat for the Church and in the first rank," says M. de Follenay, "it was good for him to know quite young those who had struggled and suffered for the faith; nothing better strengthens the character than contact with the valiant. Predestined to the highest ecclesiastical dignities, it was well for him to have before his eyes from his tender years the spectacle of the sacerdotal life in its excellence carried out to distinction. Wherefore God put in the way of this schoolboy, who to-morrow will be a Levite, two remnants of the old French clergy, M. Christine and M. Denis. Very venerable in the beginning of this century were the priests who passed without defection through the revolutionary crisis. Their fidelity to the faith had exposed them to martyrdom; all had to make the sacrifice of their security, their ease and their goods; many had known the hardships and bitternesses of an exile that the malevolence of their enemies identified with high treason against the nation. They came before the people purified and ennobled by suffering endured for a great cause with an aureole on their brows. And then they retained from their early ecclesiastical education, received at an epoch when the clergy was the second power in the State, habits of dignity of demeanor and extreme self-respect which had nothing in common with the free-and-easiness of our modern manners. Perhaps they might have combined with their majestic gravity a little more of evangelical simplicity, and, without derogation, rendered themselves more accessible to the humble and lowly; they would have exercised a larger influence upon our democratic age. I grant it, man is not perfect; it is difficult for him to strike the happy medium. It is none the less true that intimate association with them must have been very good for a young lad of the working classes whose destiny was to wear the purple and rule one of the greatest dioceses in the world."

The Abbé Donneau, one of the dispersed Canons Regular of the Blessed Trinity, admitted him and two cousins to a class of thirty pupils whom he prepared for the seminary, having often observed him in church and being much struck by his great piety, reflective character and love of study. We have it on his own authority that he was self-taught, as all who early learn to use their powers of observation and reflection are. "I educated myself," he said. "M. Donneau only taught us grammar; but he had a very fine library, which we went through eagerly, my cousin Mitre and I. We thus formed ourselves. When I was from fourteen to fifteen, I went with my classic authors to the cemetery of St. John on Poor Hill, near Aix, and studied alone." He also made good use of the library of his maternal granduncle, the Abbé Allies, professor at the *petit séminaire*. His biographer ascribes to this method of self-education

his independence and powerful originality. It did not beget in him, as it does in persons of inferior mentality, that self-assertive self-sufficiency and those angularities which contact of mind with mind improves away; neither did it make him unsociable, though it bred in him a love of retirement. "He never," says M. Follenay, "had the morose piety and sullen asceticism which emanate from pride and foolishness, sometimes from both. Even in his old age the joyful rays of the Provençal sun did not cease to shine in the inner cloister of his soul." In 1819 he left M. Donneau to enter the Grand Seminary of Aix, "one of the most ecclesiastical souls our age has known."

Feeling a strong attraction towards a wider apostolate, he first thought of offering himself for the foreign missions. He was in a state of uncertainty as to which order or congregation he would join, when the striking success of the Abbé de Mazenod and his first companions at the Cathedral of Aix fixed his resolution. In the Missioners of Provence, as the Oblates of Mary Immaculate were first called, he found near at hand what satisfied his apostolic aspirations, an active missionary life, intermediary between the free life of the secular priest and the evangelization of distant lands. Father Marcou, one of the small group of zealous priests who joined De Mazenod in his local apostolate in Provence, wrote him glowing descriptions of the missionary campaign they were carrying on, of the happiness they enjoyed in their community, of the spirit of their institute; how they were all intent on attaining to the perfection of the religious life, laboring with one heart and one mind for the greater glory of God and the salvation of souls. During the first years of the Restoration there was a great religious movement in France, upon which high hopes were founded, popular missions leading the way. At Aix in particular they did great good and made a great stir, although they encountered some opposition from old conservative canons who did not relish their new style of preaching. Clinging to the traditions of the past, they did not see why the Church should not move in the same grooves after as before the Revolution, failing to perceive that the old order had changed, giving place to a new one; that the Church was face to face with a new generation, and that new methods should be adopted to reach the masses of the people, too long neglected.

At the beginning of 1823 Guibert left the seminary to enter the house of the Missioners of Provence as a simple postulant before his admission to the novitiate on January 23. It was a derelict Carmelite convent suppressed during the Revolution. They gave him a little cell on the ground floor, ill-lighted and very poor, like all those occupied by the spiritual daughters of St. Teresa. The

founder of the Oblates was wont to invoke the memory of the Carmelites and place himself and his brethren under the patronage of those who had inhabited and were buried in the house where his congregation had found its first shelter. He made it a rule for the whole community, on every recurring All Souls' Day, to go in a body and pronounce an absolution over the graves of those holy nuns; and under certain circumstances to recite prayers in honor of St. Teresa, regarded as protectress of his work. Cardinal Guibert's biographer notes as a strange turn of events that his piety was born upon tombs, those of the Knights of Malta, and that his religious life expanded upon other tombs, those of members of an order which, like the former, had been swept away by the revolutionary storm, the Carmelite tombs.

During his novitiate he underwent interior trials which tested the strength of his vocation, but after the ordeal he gave himself up wholly to the service of God without any further trouble of mind.

When Guibert was pursuing his philosophical and theological studies the influence of Félicité de Lamennais was in the ascendant. The brilliant author of the "Essay on Indifference," then regarded as quite orthodox and in the plenitude of his intellectual vigor, was drawing to his side many of the most gifted of the French ecclesiastics, who looked up to him as a new Father of the Church and the originator of a new school of apologetics. This was before the suspension of the *Avenir* and the appeal to Rome. No one as yet discerned in De Lamennais a modern Tertullian; the luminary that rose so rapidly to its zenith had not yet fallen as rapidly below the horizon like a falling star—a fall precipitated, like that of Lucifer, by pride, pride of intellect, the most baneful of all. He was still the formidable opponent of Gallicanism and the exalter of that Pontifical authority he was afterwards to scout. The young Oblates at Aix were easily drawn into the current of opinion which swept over the Church of France, awakening to new life. Guibert, like many others, thought the future of religion was intimately bound up with the success of the Lamennasian propaganda. To the last he was faithful to the sympathies of his youth. "We have heard him ourself," writes M. de Follenay, "speak with emotion of the *école mennaisienne* and of the promises it had given to the Church; we have seen him read with the greatest interest the biographies of his chief adherents. He then heaved a great sigh, declaring it very sad that things had ended so badly. This fidelity of the memory does not belong to a common mind; it is touching. We have been told that when younger he somewhat passionately defended the opinions of that school, and that in a house of which he was superior he refused to let the work of Père Ro-

saven against Monsignor Gerbet be placed on the library shelves."

He came under safer influence and sounder teaching when the saintly Don Carlo Albini, henceforward known as Père Albini, joined the Oblates at Aix in July, 1824. He was truly a gift of God to the nascent congregation. Imbued with the spirit of Liguori, whose mild theology now prevails, he imparted it to the students, who not only had in him a model of holiness, whose very presence was a teaching, but a learned professor, when he was entrusted with the office of training them in moral theology. Young Guibert, who, like De Mazenod, was happily free from the Jansenistic and Gallican influences which still dominated the greater portion of the French clergy, was an apt pupil and thoroughly assimilated the ideas of the master. "I leave Don Albini's class," he wrote, "with my head full of Italian ideas." By "Italian" is to be understood Roman ideas, as distinguished from Gallican—wider, more tolerant, more reasonable; in a word, more Catholic. Later, as missionary and teacher himself, he became the champion and propagator of those ideas. The Oblates not only adopted the doctrines of St. Liguori, but invoked him as the patron of their school and dedicated a chapel to him in their church, until devotion to the founder of the Redemptorists became one of the favorite devotions of the Missioners of Provence.

Guibert was a born student; study was in him an instinct, a passion. He loved knowledge, not as an end merely, but as a means to an end; not to solely gratify intellectual curiosity, but to subserve the interests of the Church. He was all his life a great reader, a lover of books, and, as his letters and other writings testify, possessed the literary gift in a high degree. He only relaxed his interest in them when the higher interests of his diocese, of the Church and of France claimed and absorbed all his attention, all his activity.

Nîmes, where a new foundation was being made, and to which he was sent along with two other Oblates in May, 1825, was the first sphere of his missionary labors. It was the memorable year of the great jubilee. Like Monsignor Taché, who was sent to the Red River settlement in Canada when only a boy-novice, Guibert was only a deacon of twenty-three when he was sent into the mission field. He threw himself heart and soul into the work, which was only interrupted in obedience to a call to the priesthood, Monsignor de Mazenod having to get a dispensation from Rome for his ordination. Though young in years, he was old in spiritual knowledge and was already looked up to as something of a sage. It is not years that always brings the philosophic mind; there are those whose intellectual development keeping pace with their spir-

itual growth anticipates the wisdom that usually accompanies maturity.

Ordained on August 14, 1825, in the episcopal chapel at Marseilles by Monsignor de Mazenod, who liked to impose hands on all his subjects whenever possible, he said his first Mass the next morning in the Calvary chapel.

The success which crowned the labors of the Oblate missionaries, their sermons, the conversions they made and the growing influence they acquired among all classes inflamed the anger of the Protestants at Nîmes, where the *odium theologicum* was then very rampant, accentuated by political hostilities. It was almost as bad as Belfast on July 12, when memories of the Boyne fan into a flame the smouldering bigotry of the Orangemen. Songs were sung under their windows, in which expression was given to a pious wish to hang them up to the next lamppost. "But, thank God," wrote Père Guibert, "up to this we have been only hanged in song; that doesn't do us any great harm or even prevent us from sleeping soundly as we have always done. For several nights we have gone to rest, without knowing it, under guard of a thousand Catholics who keep watch around our house; it is their zeal and attachment to us which lent some importance to the thing. These kind of persecutions, which do much harm to the Church, do good to those who are their particular object. One puts himself in a disposition in which he would wish to be if danger was near and real; one makes in spirit the sacrifice of his life to God, and the soul is fortified and prepared for more real dangers. For my part, I am glad to be here on this fortunate occasion."

The fruits of the retreats to men given at Nîmes established the reputation of the Provençal religious, who were mistaken for Jesuits, which they esteemed an honor. But they were only first fruits; as time went on, and the sphere of their missionary labors was enlarged, they were to reap a vast harvest of souls, not only in France, but in two hemispheres. Six months after the Nîmes foundation was made invitations to give missions poured in upon them. Enforced rest, imposed by overstrain, was the only interruption to the many missions in which Père Guibert took part.

He had also his share in the work of the renovation of the French sanctuaries of Our Lady and the revival of pilgrimages thereto, which the Oblates undertook and which was fittingly entrusted to an order specially devoted to the Blessed Virgin. Notre Dame-du-Laus, or Our Lady of the Lake, was the shrine to which he was sent in 1828 as rector and superior of the missionaries, who also did parochial duty there. It is situate in a remote mountainous region "far from the madding crowd," the church and residence

of the missionaries, being green-walled by the surrounding mountains, forming a natural enclosure. Its origin dates from an apparition of the Blessed Virgin in the seventeenth century to a little peasant girl named Benoite Rencurel, who, like Bernardette Soubirous in the last century, was instrumental in bringing about the accomplishment of Our Lady's wishes in the erection of a large church, with a house for some resident priests. Many sinners, she was told, would be converted there. Miracles, verified by investigation, were wrought and pilgrimages multiplied, so that in the second year Laus was visited by 30,000 persons, who came from the south of France and north of Italy, wending their weary way along a difficult route across steep mountains, whole parishes going in procession preceded by their banners. This corner of the Alps was for a long time perpetually *en fete*.

In 1666 the church was built according to the instructions of the Blessed Virgin, except the belfry, the completion of which was reserved for Père Guibert. Sister Benoite, as she was called, this humble peasant girl who, taught by infused light, attained to a high degree of religious and ascetical knowledge—astonishing theologians by her proficiency in the science of the spiritual life—was only nineteen when this marvelous work was finished.

The great Revolution, in its devastating course, had put an end to the pilgrimages. The church and priests' house were sold to the Abbé Reymond, curé of Tallard. In 1818 it was proposed to establish there a house of retreat for aged and infirm priests, but Monsignor de Miollis, Bishop of the diocese, decided to restore the pilgrimages. On September 20 of that year it was formally taken over by the Missioners of Provence.

Père Guibert's occupations at Laus were multifarious. He acted as curé, or parish priest, as well as an active missionary, giving missions in town and country. The dominant thought in the mind of the foundress of the sanctuary was one of inspiring penitence. Many persons went and still go there to make novenas and general confessions. As many as thirty parishes at a time would combine in a joint pilgrimage, headed by their curés, particularly at Pentecost, Corpus Christi and on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin. All this imposed great labor on the few priests. Guibert on his arrival had at once to go into the confessional, in which he passed the whole of the first two days. "I reached Notre Dame du Laus," he wrote, "at a favorable time to enjoy all the pious sentiments that this sanctuary inspires. Independently of the traditions, one is sensible of the supernatural in the establishment of this devotion. The concourse of the faithful has been very considerable, and we have been obliged to accom-

modate them in the church during the night. I could never tire of seeing these good pilgrims coming down the mountain ravines everywhere and converging at a given point to perform their devotions to Our Lady. The diversity and singularity of their costumes is quite charming; even in their shrill voices there is harmony; sonorous and melodious voices would be out of harmony with the place. I am so delighted with this sojourn that I would like with all my heart to be able to say: *Hæc requies mea, hic habitabo.*"

Notre Dame du Laus, however, was not to be a place of rest, but of trial to him. Many abuses and laxities had crept in; rules were discarded; pious practices had fallen into disuse. Père Guibert was too thorough a religious to tolerate such a state of things. He had been sent to restore order and he resolved to do so. It was an arduous undertaking, rendered more so by the fact that he was junior in years to a colleague who did not share his views. Hence divided counsels, opposition and the cross. Another cross he had to carry was a divergence of theological principles and disciplinary practice which brought him into conflict with Monsignor Miollis, Bishop of Digne, and Monsignor Arbaud, Bishop of Gap. The province was one that was most troubled by the invasion of Jansenism, and, although after the Revolution the new opinions on grace had been sincerely abandoned by the clergy, their after effects were felt in the severity which characterized the interpretation and application of moral theology and a very pronounced Gallicanism. A quite unnecessary number of reserved cases were withheld from the jurisdiction of confessors; penitents had to go several times to confession before they could receive absolution, and they were practically deprived of their legitimate freedom of choice in selecting confessors. Many who would willingly be converted and reconciled gave it up through dread of the conditions that would be imposed on them; others, in larger numbers, no longer approached the sacraments and fell into indifferentism; while among others, whom human respect or other reasons compelled for appearance sake to be outwardly observant, some cloaked their timidity with sacrilege. This seriously impaired the influence and paralyzed the action of missionaries. At a country parish in the Diocese of Digne when the official notification of the limitations imposed upon confessors, sent from the Bishop's house in a sealed packet, was read to Père Guibert, regarding these restrictions as humiliating to the missionaries, embarrassing to their ministry and discouraging to penitents, he at once rose and addressing the curé who was his host said: "Please, monsieur le curé, let our horses be saddled; we are going. It is impossible for us to give a mission under these conditions; we haven't come into your parish to hear

and absolve the devout; since they refuse us sinners, we are going!" Accompanied by the *vicaire* or curate he rode all night and early next morning reached the residence of the Bishop, only to receive from that prelate a formal refusal to alter his mandate. "*Quod scripsi, scripsi*" was the curt response. A vicar general, however, whom he met on his return, recognizing that the wish of the missionaries was very reasonable, accorded them the fullest faculties. "We are every moment grieved by sinners whose confessions we have heard," he wrote to Monsignor de Mazenod, "and who come with tears in their eyes to ask from us an absolution we cannot give them, because they do not belong to this parish. This good Bishop, with the best intentions, gives the devil cause for much laughter." After the close of the mission he wrote: "I was longing to get out of this place whence common sense is exiled still more than from certain other countries. You cannot think how much the interdict of the Bishop of Digne oppressed me. I could take no interest in the mission, although it did much good. One could only count one solitary man in the parish who let the grace pass without profiting by it. St. Paul said: '*Gratia Dei mecum.*' We may say this time: '*Gratia Dei sine nobis.*'"

Père Guibert was in the second year of his sojourn at Laus when "the three glorious days" in July, 1830, put an end to the Restoration or the reign of the elder branch of the Bourbons, which had to yield place and power to "the citizen monarchy" of Louis Philippe. It was a movement directed as much against religion as against the dynasty of Charles X., as the sacking of the palace of the Archbishop of Paris testified. It appeared to involve the existence of the Oblates, who anxiously debated the question whether their missionary work would be possible under the new government.

It had been openly and strongly supported by the fallen monarchy. The missionaries were prepared to endure courageously any suffering. The superior, above all, gave a grand example of calmness and firmness. "Quite young," says his biographer, "he already possessed in its plenitude that virility of soul, that civic valor, which was one of the finest features of his character and later gained for him the admiration of his contemporaries." The situation was very grave. In the Upper Alps, not far from the frontier, a foreign invasion, it was feared, would follow civil war. "However it may be," wrote Guibert, "we are ready for everything. What is one combat more in a war of eighteen centuries, and what has one to dread when, in order to conquer, it suffices to die? I willingly call to mind those words of a writer I much esteem: 'I hope to be the last at my post and not to leave it except in the extremity.' It

seems to me that like those who showed so much courage during the other revolution, we should not abandon the Catholics until our ministry shall be quite useless to them." Writing under date of September 5, 1830, he says: "The concourse has much diminished here. The Catholics are downhearted. They wanted to crucify the curé of Thuis; it had been a grand death. You see that the tempest is approaching us." Priests were obliged to put off their clerical costume; many curés had to leave their parishes; four or five priests who were dining together ran a risk of being killed by the National Guard, who accused them of conspiring against the State. Père Guibert attributed to the particular protection of the Blessed Virgin the tranquillity they enjoyed at Laus, where they expected to be the first victims. It did not last long. A missionary inadvertently dropped one or two letters he had received from Père Dupuis dated from Nice. Although they were very insignificant, some malevolent persons into whose hands they fell spread a rumor that they contained plots against the Government. For a whole week it was the subject of conversation in Gap and its neighborhood. The secretary of the prefecture, in the absence of the prefect, caused a search to be made for the letters, got a copy of them, read them and found that they contained nothing compromising. As, however, the rumor might have disastrous consequences for the mission, to efface any injurious impressions, 200 copies of an explanatory letter signed by Père Guibert were printed and circulated. Great uneasiness prevailed at Aix on their account. It was feared that these poor priests, strangers in that part of the country, isolated in the mountains, attention drawn to them by the very signal success of their missions, would easily fall a prey to popular passions. Guibert's parents sent him secular clothes to facilitate his escape. In thanking them he said: "I am quite decided to remain at my post as long as prudence does not compel me to leave it. If that should occur, I cannot tell you at this moment what part I should take; but I hope it will be always that which the interests of religion, honor and prudence will command."

The conduct of the Oblates during the cholera epidemic, which subsequently ravaged the Upper Alpine regions, regained the sympathies of the people and the good will of a power which was more distrustful of than hostile to religious institutions. When all hearts were frozen with fear, when all who could deserted the country, when none were left to tend the sick, Père Guibert placed himself and his religious at the disposal of the prefect, ready to fulfill anywhere the functions of infirmarians under the doctors' direction. The prefect's secretary, who, as well as chief, was deeply moved by their devotedness and zeal, in the course of his reply said: "In

devoting yourself to the succor of those whom the cholera may attack, you do not attach to your pious determination any condition of time, person or place, but only that where the greatest dangers are to be run. There, sir, are the characteristics by which Christian charity exercises its empire over generous hearts."

The revolution of 1830, though it did not efface, rendered more difficult the work of the missionaries. Missions were no longer in vogue as they had been; they were no longer encouraged by the civil power; it was feared that the adherents of the old régime would use them in some way as a means of reaction against the new government. In addition to this, the Bishop of Gap, Monsignor Arbaud, who at first was well disposed towards the fathers of Notre Dame du Laus, now displayed towards them a coldness, the expression of a divergence of theological opinions, he being Gallican, while they were, as they have always been, ultramontane. Monsignor Arbaud had vigorously assailed the doctrines of De Lamennais, later condemned by Gregory XVI. in the Encyclical of August 15, 1832, while, as has been noted, the Oblates rather favored them before they had become heterodox. The reputation of the latter for perfect orthodoxy suffered in consequence, though no one could be more Catholic and Roman than De Mazenod, whose spirit and teachings were faithfully reproduced by his missionaries, and by none more than Guibert. There were strained relations, therefore, between the rector of Notre Dame du Laus and Monsignor Arbaud, a learned and pious prelate, whose good qualities he esteemed, but who was unbending in his Gallican rigorism.

Hampered in the exercise of his ministry by the hostility of the Gallican Bishops and the disfavor which popular preaching had to contend against on the morrow of the revolution, Père Guibert again turned his attention to foreign missions, for which he early experienced an attraction. At this time the congregation was founding its first establishments in America. "His imagination and his heart," says M. de Follenay, "often turned in this direction. He put it to himself if it would not be wise and generous to leave old countries which had become inhospitable to carry the Gospel light to a young nation where our narrow prejudices wrought no ravages. There at least he would not stumble against the barrier of Gallican rigorism. The American spirit, energetic, ardent and enterprising, charmed and allured him. It seemed to him that the future reserved what it promised of best for those immense and still virgin lands. Upon that point, moreover, as upon many others, his affections have been faithful and abiding. We have been told that the last words addressed by the dying Cardinal to the venerable M. Icard, superior general of the Company of St. Sulpice,

was a warm recommendation in favor of the American establishments."

In a letter to Père de Mazenod in 1832 Père Guibert said: "If our African mission does not succeed, we entreat you, very reverend father, to think of those of Asia and America. It is a real necessity of the times: scope is needed for the zeal of a nascent congregation; repose would be fatal to us. America, by reason of its daily intercourse with France, is as near to us as Africa. I have read with pleasure that in the United States religions are free and that the Catholic religion is every day progressing rapidly. Ah! if one only saw a beginning of the execution of our project, you would see what enthusiasm there would be! No force in the world could any longer restrain it. Young priests are tired of the sterility of the ministry in France, and if they do not go to distant countries, it is because they lack the *point d'appui* our establishment would offer them." Encouraged by his superior, Père Guibert carried on a campaign on behalf of the American missions in the neighboring dioceses, crossing mountains and, to save expense, riding from church to church on a wretched nag. "All along the journey," he said, "I was dreaming of the poor American Indians, and was happy that God has inspired me with the thought of doing something for those abandoned souls." They were no longer abandoned when the same thought that moved Père Guibert stirred into action the burning zeal of his indefatigable brethren in religion, Taché, Grandin, Lacombe, Grollier and others who spent their lives in the Christianization and uplifting of those hitherto neglected races, the native Indians and half-breeds.

At a time when the French diocesan seminaries were, as he expressed it, "gorged with students," he wrote: "I have read that the Bishop of New York, after vainly seeking throughout the world for some missionaries, returned to his diocese to establish there a seminary where he will try to form natives for the sacred ministry. What a shame for a clergy of 36,000 priests not to be able to give a single missionary to the Catholics of the United States! It is worthy of our society to efface this shame by responding to the destinies God has reserved for it in these latter times. Couldn't one offer to the Bishop of New York to found and direct the seminary he has projected? It would be our first foothold there, and one could expand in proportion as the circumstances and number of subjects would permit. When I set foot on the land of America, I can never leave that enchanted country."

The question of widening the sphere of their missionary enterprises and recruiting subjects for that purpose was one that always engrossed him. "I wish to work and to consume myself for the

good of the society to which I have the honor to belong," he wrote to the founder. Even when he was young in religion, recruiting vocations was his constant preoccupation and special attraction. When he was giving a mission in Digne in 1828 his quick eye discerned in a boy of ten aptitudes for the religious state. After the mission was over he took him to Marseilles. Father de Mazenod, at the sight of his little companion, exclaimed with a good laugh: "Ah! Guibert, what is this you have brought us?" "It's a little missionary, father." "Well, then, you should have brought his nurse with him." This very juvenile subject eventually became the remarkable missionary Père Aubert, whose career is part of the early history of the congregation. The curé of Barcelonnette called Guibert "the recruiting captain." When he discovered a future subject he did not content himself with merely introducing him to his superiors, but his solicitude followed him everywhere. He looked more to the quality than the quantity of subjects.

He was keenly alive to the intellectual needs of the priesthood in our epoch to keep pace with the advance of scientific and literary culture, as they have to preach to a more enlightened and educated age. A priest who was simply a theologian seemed to him to live like a stranger among his contemporaries, incapable of understanding them or making himself understood; useless for the healing of their intellectual wounds. To a young religious who was turning his attention to scientific projects he wrote: "Yes, you are quite right; the priest, particularly nowadays, needs science: the world in the midst of which we are obliged to live only possesses a superficial science, it is true, but yet varied, and it is necessary that the priest should be foremost everywhere. Besides, the study of human sciences, pursued in a spirit of faith, brings us nearer to God. Is it not always the truth, eternal need of our souls, which is the object of all our researches, and what is the natural eagerness to know but the movement by which God Himself impels our minds towards Him? I know that it would be sweeter to enjoy the Divinity in prayer and meditation, but apart from the fact that culture of the intelligence is the expiation of a crime, it is necessary in order that we may bring the truth within reach of the sick minds of our epoch." Père de Mazenod likes to place his religious under the firm and enlightened direction of Père Guibert. Despite malevolent efforts which were made to impede his recruiting for the congregation, numerous fervent novices came to Laus from various parts of France and abroad.

In 1835 he had to leave Laus, withdrawn four years later from the Oblates, to undertake the foundation and direction of a semi-

nary in Corsica. He had gathered around him in his mountain retreat zealous, well-informed priests who, in accordance with the desires of the Blessed Virgin, communicated to Sister Benoite, formed a hospitable community, ever ready to dispense the benefits of divine mercy to those who came there to make novenas. Laus had become what it had been before the Revolution, when it was a dependency of the archdeaconry of Embrun, a guesthouse open to all the spiritual infirmities of the country, according to the words of Our Lady to the peasant girl: "The proof that I abide in this place and that I wish to be honored here, is that sinners will here be converted." The power of the Immaculata made itself sensibly manifest, many ex-votos placed in the sanctuary recording as many miraculous cures. Père Guibert loved Laus; he often, later on, returned to it; it was his favorite retreat during his sojourn in Corsica. "I am myself again in this delightful solitude," he said, "and I am not here, as formerly, burdened with a thousand affairs, but free, able to enjoy at leisure the peace, silence and all that is heavenly in this sanctuary. How willingly one would spend his whole life in this holy place!" When the superior general selected him, as the only one in the society possessing all the qualifications that fitted him to make the foundation in Corsica, what induced him to interpose no obstacles was the hope held out to him of going back to Laus. "I was happy beyond expression in my present position," he wrote to Père de Mazenod. "I would have wished to hide all my life in this sanctuary, where the presence of the Blessed Virgin is so sensibly felt, but I willingly accept the hope you give me of a return to this holy isle. But before all the good of souls and of the society!"

It was the great reforming work he did in Corsica that marked him out for the episcopate. He had to evolve order out of an ecclesiastical chaos. The island, from a moral viewpoint, was an unweeded garden; its condition was deplorable. Guibert had, to start with, to establish a seminary and form a new body of clergy. The education of the younger clergy had been most rudimentary and superficial. After a few lessons in Latin and sometimes in philosophy from the parish priest, the aspirant to the priesthood went to Ajaccio, Bastia or Calvi to get a slight tincture of sacred science. What was called a course of theology was oral instruction in casuistry, the students being free to attend or absent themselves from the lectures, after which they went home to forget, amid the distractions of secular life, most of what they had been taught. The student was his own master in dogmatic, the diocesan catechism being his only classic author! The examination they

underwent just before ordination involved the translation of a page of the "Catechism of the Council of Trent" or a canonical epistle, coupled with the solution of a case of conscience and a question on the diocesan catechism. A certificate of good conduct from the curé was the only credential required to guarantee the vocation and fitness of the *ordinandi*, upon whom the Bishop then imposed hands. The soutane was almost everywhere discarded, even at the altar, while the tonsure had fallen into similar disuse. The newly nominated Bishop, Monsignor Casanelli, a zealous prelate who had been one of the most brilliant students in the Roman University, habituated by a sojourn of several years on the Continent to the spectacle of a clergy regularly formed in the great French seminaries, resolved from the start to establish in his diocese an institution deemed by the Council of Trent the most necessary and effective means of restoring ecclesiastical discipline and fostering the growth of sacerdotal virtues. To realize his design he appealed to Monsignor de Mazenod to send him a priest to preside over his projected seminary. The choice fell upon Père Guibert, to whom his superior wrote: "A vast horizon is opening before us; we are perhaps called to regenerate the clergy and the whole population of Corsica." Considering the few subjects he then possessed, it was a bold undertaking to which De Mazenod put his hand, but it was characteristic of him not to be dismayed by the magnitude of a work or any difficulties and obstacles. So he wrote to the Bishop: "I shall send you as superior the most distinguished priest in our part of the country, both by his deep piety, the extent of his knowledge and the polish of his cultivated mind." Monsignor Casanelli, who was in Rome, showed the letter to the Pope, who took the liveliest interest in the project and was touched by De Mazenod's apostolic zeal, blessing the beginning of a great work to which the founder of the Oblates and the future Archbishop powerfully contributed.

In March, 1835, Père Guibert set sail for Corsica in company with the Bishop. For the first time the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, in his person, quitted the French continent and preluded, in a way, the work of distant missions which some years later became their most important, most glorious and most fruitful ministry. A social as well as religious work lay before them in Corsica. The island, long devastated by wars, was only half-civilized. The vendetta, the wild justice of revenge, was the unwritten, traditional law of the country, where bandits ruled supreme, having on their side the sympathies of the populace, who protected them and gloried

in their exploits, the very police, who were powerless to suppress them, being often in league with these daring outlaws. But wild and untamed as the people were, they were brave, energetic and faithful to one another. Heaven left some remnant of the angel in them; beneath this rough exterior there lay hidden a religious sense, a good seed choked by weeds, "The Corsican," said Monsignor Casanelli, "is too proud to yield to violence; he has faith enough to submit to the influence of his priests." This gave him a leverage to work upon in his grand scheme of social and ecclesiastical reform. Native born, he knew his people, their evil habits, their undeveloped goodness, their vices and their virtues. It has been said that such as the priests are, so will the people be. He grasped the situation like a sound churchman, a clear-sighted statesman and an ardent patriot. "I shall have to struggle almost alone," he told the Abbé Sarrebayrouse, "without resources; but my way is mapped out; I shall follow it; it is the right line; my duty is not to deviate from it." Before he put his reforming hand to things he said: "Alas! I do not lack priests, but I have no clergy." In his old age, before he passed away—he died in 1869—after years of strenuous labor not unmingled with danger² he had at his command a fine body of well-trained, zealous clergy, the creation of his apostolic zeal. Père Guibert was his equally zealous coöperator, his firm right hand in the accomplishment of this great achievement. Everything had to be done *de novo*; he had not only to build from the foundation, but he had to lay the foundation whereon to build. He succeeded, despite many obstacles, many difficulties, in establishing two seminaries, a grand seminary and a petty seminary, subsequently provisionally merged under one superior when his missionary work and incessant activities prevented him giving his constant personal attention to the latter. In addition he founded a missionary residence at Vico, from whence missionaries were sent out to awaken into new life the dormant faith of the people. In the beginning pecuniary resources were wanting. He had to make long journeys on horseback, because there was no diligence service, covering 135 miles in three days without sleeping, as he could not get a bed anywhere, and had nothing to eat but a few eggs. Despite police vigilance, the roads were not safe, and he was often stopped by brigands who lived ambushed in the thickets. A bandit in his time shot a priest dead while

² His resolute rejection of undesirable or unsuitable seminarists raised such family feuds that his life at times was in danger. They had to assign to his protection a brave gendarme, who accompanied him on his journeys and at night rested outside the door of his room.

celebrating Mass and was allowed to leisurely traverse the country in the midst of an impassive population.

Only thirty-three, he had the difficult duty imposed upon him of reforming a whole body of clergy, most of whom were old priests. His comparative youth was a serious obstacle to the success of such an undertaking. Churchmen do not like innovations, particularly when they are white-haired. Then as to the people, matters were worse. "My God!" he writes, "the state of this poor people is well calculated to move the zeal of apostolic men. They are ignorant of the first principles of religion, and when one announces the Word of God one runs a great risk of not being understood, through the lack of those primary notions one presupposes in the hearers in a public discourse. Our sacred ceremonies are regarded with indifference and often with contempt. Hardly a certain number of persons go to Mass on Sundays; Vespers are only frequented by the clergy and a few black-robed women, full of superstition, called *béguines*. How could it be otherwise among the people, when the priests themselves are without faith and only value holy things for what money they can bring them? Up to this they face our censure with silent submission; it will be necessary to take many precautions, for they are incredibly touchy. . . . To make up for this the priests about Monseigneur are very edifying; the Bishop has really the spirit of God and cannot fail to do good to his diocese." Of the young seminarists who came to them first, he says: "The young fellows are so new, such strangers I don't say to piety, but to the simple practices of Christianity, we have to teach them to make the sign of the Cross! With regard to studies they are not much better. It must, however, be admitted that there is stuff, as they say. They are generally docile, but we must explain everything to them." They were coarse and ignorant. Of the youth who came to him from the interior he says: "*C'est une vraie matière brute brute qu'il faut façonner.*"

A grand seminary at Ajaccio had long been projected, but it only existed in theory and not in reality until Guibert came. Augustin Spinola, elected Bishop on March 30, 1716, thought of giving visible prominence to the idea of a seminary entertained by his predecessor, Pietro Spinola, a Genoese Franciscan of the Strict Observance, who had got so far as to lay the first stone on February 23, 1710, but the work was carried on no farther, as funds were wanting. Augustin Spinola built it near the sea with stones from the old city ramparts. An inscription incrusting in the walls upon a marble slab informs us that the edifice had been

placed under the invocation of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin 150 years before the definition of the dogma. Franciscan convents were then numerous in Corsica, and the friars of the Franciscan Order, it is well known, were among the earliest champions of the unique prerogative of the Virgin Mother. Père Guibert, when he saw the slab, regarded it as a providential indication that his religious brethren, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, were destined to have the direction of the seminary. The old seminary building had been alternately an episcopal palace, a barrack, a court of appeal, a municipal library and the official residence of the prefect. Towards 1795, during the British occupation, a statue of Our Lady Immaculate, which the piety of former Bishops had caused to be erected in this house, was left in the dust like lumber in the midst of the incongruous surroundings of a barrack until North, the secretary of Elliot, the Governor, at the request of the chapter and the Irish officers, had it transferred to the Cathedral, where it now is.

Both Monsignor Spinola and Père Guibert were inflexible in rejecting any candidates for the ministry whose vocations were not inspired by supernatural motives, the Bishop setting his face as hard as flint against the admission of any where family or material interests were the underlying motives. This procedure, in sharp contrast to the laxity that previously prevailed, produced a profound and salutary impression. The expulsion of a student belonging to one of the best families created an indescribable sensation; in the memory of man they had never heard it said to any one: "You are not called to the priesthood." Sometimes the irritation felt by the relatives of the rejected candidates imperiled Père Guibert's life, as when his own physician, whose brother he had rejected, when called in administered volleys of abuse instead of medicine, and in place of using the lancet threatened to use a stiletto in true Corsican fashion, while the brother of a student, the nephew of a curé, who had been sent away on account of incapacity, wanted to shoot him.

He not only drew the attention of the French episcopate and all generous Catholics to the religious needs of Corsica, particularly the need of a well-equipped clergy, in a printed document widely circulated, but occasionally went to Paris and interested royalty and ministers in his work of reform, getting a Government subsidy or grant in aid for the new seminary. Better than all, he procured the invaluable coöperation of the saintly Oblate, Father Albini, who aimed to make it a model seminary, and who, not so much by

his teaching as professor of theology as by his personal holiness, his missions and his miracles, which gained him the name of the modern Apostle of Corsica,⁴ became a powerful auxiliary in the moral regeneration of the whole island. "It is a real marvel; the finger of God is there," wrote Guibert. Old men blessed and praised God that they had lived to see such an admirable, such a wonderful change before they died. "One pauses astounded as before a gigantic work," says M. de Follenay. "Founder, seminary superior, builder, ecclesiastical administrator, preacher, he undertakes everything, and nowhere shows himself unequal to his task. On the contrary, he succeeds in what he undertakes, and the success he obtains is not a fleeting success, an ephemeral recompense accorded to his zeal; it is an enduring success which insures the future as it sheds lustre on the present. All the works of that epoch subsist. . . . Nothing is changed; the missionaries of Vico are still the apostles of Corsica."

At Vico, where the missionary residence was fixed, they were again treading in the footprints of the earlier Franciscan missionaries. The convent of which the Oblates got possession, perched on a height, backed by the Cuma Mountain and looking towards the snowy summits of Rotondo, had been built by Franciscan Recollects, who had then most of the Corsican monasteries. Its foundation dates from the pontificate of Sixtus IV. (1471-1484). The monastery annals record its restoration in 1627. In the church there is a large miraculous Crucifix, much venerated by the people, while under its flagged flooring repose many Franciscan religious and distinguished personages, nigh whom rests the saintly Oblate who during his all-too-brief apostolate was the wonder-worker of Corsica. Père Guibert worked hard in adapting this convent to the requirements of a mission house. "Pity me, father," he wrote to Monsignor de Mazenod; "I am leading the life of a mason rather than the life of a priest. When shall I be able to lay aside stones and mortar and get back to my books and collect my thoughts?" Father Albini, a learned theologian, an eminently holy priest and a zealous missionary, was the superior of this house. The good he wrought was not interred with his bones; it survives like his memory, which is still a living force, particularly among the faithful Corsican mountaineers, who in their recollections of him always couple his name with that of Père Guibert. There are few houses in Corsica, we are told, that do not contain his image, before which

⁴ The cause of his beatification is at present before the Apostolic Tribunal in Rome.

novenas are made to obtain spiritual and temporal favors. Whatever relics the people could procure, such as portions of the mission cross he erected, are carefully and reverently preserved. They speak of him as *il beato padre Albini*. Père Guibert said he was the holiest man he ever knew.

It was not merely as the reformer of the diocesan clergy, as the founder and organizer of seminaries and as director of missions that Père Guibert shone. He showed himself a skillful and tactful diplomatist when the relations between the founder of the Oblates and the French Government became painfully strained. By his judicious intervention he succeeded in releasing him from a very difficult position and reconciling him with the new régime. His uncle, Monsignor Fortuné de Mazenod, Bishop of Marseilles, to whom he was vicar general, had at first refused to take the oath of fidelity to the July government, and only yielded at the pressing instance of the Pope. Both were very warm partisans of the doctrines and person of M. de Lamennais, who was strongly opposed to the new power. The municipality of the city was very hostile to the founder of the Congregation of Mary Immaculate, who firmly refused to remove a mission cross, the sight of which was displeasing to those who called themselves "liberals," and despite them maintained the procession of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. They had voted the suppression of the episcopal see; only tolerated the retention of it by the aged Bishop until his death, which could not be far off, should take place, and required that he should have no successor. Monsignor Fortuné de Mazenod postulated the Holy See for the elevation of his nephew to the episcopate with a view of resigning in his favor, a plan of which Gregory XVI. approved, nominating Père de Mazenod Bishop of Icosia, *in partibus infidelium*, with the title of Apostolic Visitor of Tunis and Tripoli. The Minister of Public Worship declared him deprived of the title of vicar general, with interdiction of every ecclesiastical function in the kingdom for having received episcopal consecration without the approbation of the French Government. "Singular legislation!" observed Monsignor de Mazenod. "I might become a Mussulman without an offense against the laws of my country, but I cannot be a Bishop!" The Pope suggested his making an inspection of the Barbary Coast as Apostolic Visitor, but he would not avail of this politic concession, which would have been very agreeable to the French Government, but would have compromised his congregation by making its superior general appear like a rebel. On August 12, 1834, a Prefectorial decree

notified him that he was deprived of the quality and rights of a French citizen. He at once appealed to the royal court of Aix and protested in a letter addressed to the French Bishops, a proceeding which was considered in Paris an act of rebellion. Monsignor Casanelli, then in Rome, where he had great influence, took in hand the defense of his friend, and elicited from Gregory XVI. this significant expression of opinion: "He has done very well, and in his place I would not have acted otherwise." The crisis had reached its acutest stage, and the Government was actually deliberating on having the Bishop of Icosia sent across the frontier accompanied by a gendarme charged with his expulsion from France, when Père Guibert, as the issue of a series of delicate and difficult negotiations with the King and his Ministers, brought about the reconciliation of the Bishop with the Government and his authorization to bear the title of Bishop of Icosia. In January, 1836. Monsignor de Mazenod went with him to Paris and took the oath of allegiance, when he was graciously received by Louis Philippe. The next year Monsignor Fortuné de Mazenod resigned, and his nephew was nominated to the See of Marseilles. Père Guibert, who in this affair not only rendered a personal service to his superior, but a signal service to the Oblate Congregation and to the Church, was *persona gratissima* at court and cordially greeted by the King, to whom the French Ambassador, the Marquis de la Tour-Maubourg, said: "I met at Ajaccio a seminary superior who is a very capable priest, the Abbé Guibert; he should be made a Bishop." Monsignor Casanelli in 1837 proposed him for the Bishopric of Gap. But the providential time had not yet come. The next year he was in Rome, where his work in Corsica was well known. "It was on Monday evening," he wrote to the superior, "I had the happiness of being received by the Holy Father with that kindliness with which every one is acquainted. He absolutely would not let me remain on my knees a single instant. His Holiness asked me many particulars about Ajaccio. He was charmed with all that is being done there, and, above all, that they are done in part by our congregation."

The "sights" of Rome, the historical ruins which vividly recall the vanished past of that "lone mother of dead empires," had no attractions for him unless they were associated with religion. "What to me," he writes, "are the trunks of columns or the remains of the amphitheatre of pagan Rome unless they are dyed with the blood of martyrs, and these famous obelisks unless they are surmounted by the statue of St. Peter or St. Paul? I have seen,

en passant, the beautiful and rich Church of the Annunziata at Genoa; my time was too short to visit the three magnificent monuments in Pisa, placed triangularly in an immense square. To receive the sacrament of regeneration in this baptistry, unique in the world, to be fed with the bread of the Word and of Communion in this superb temple, to rest in this Campo Santo, in earth brought from Jerusalem by the Crusaders, was the sublime ideal of religion; and what must have been those men who conceived and realized it! I thought I had exhausted my admiration on the way, and when I have seen St. Peter's all the rest appeared very little to me, like the stream compared to the ocean. After praying at the tomb of the holy Apostles, I would not have felt the least pang in resuming my journey without seeing anything else."

Religious seclusion was what he looked forward to, not elevation to the episcopate. In the midst of his active work and frequent journeys he writes: "I feel an insatiable need of repose and study." The superior general at one time thought of recalling him from Corsica in order to have him as assistant or confiding to him the direction of the novitiate, for which he was admirably fitted. In this, as in other things, he subordinated his own wishes to those of the founder. "All I can understand," he replied, "is that it concerns the good of the congregation. That is enough for me. The desire of seeing it prosper has been the passion of my whole life." "Père Guibert," observes his biographer, "was a religious to the inmost fibres of his soul. Behind the will of his superiors he saw that of God. It is this sweet vision, fruit of the purest spirit of faith, which sustained and consoled him amid the trials inherent to his laborious ministry." To Monsignor de Mazenod his faithful disciple wrote: "You see, my beloved father, that trials are not wanting to us in this country. I hope they are the measure of the love God has for us. I say to Him a hundred times a day, and it is all that I can say: '*Non sicut ego uolo, sed sicut tu*' I say this to you with the more simplicity that I feel myself in the disposition to go or to remain, to die or to live, only attaching any value to one thing, that the last act of my life may be an act of obedience." A celebrated French writer who described his career when he was Archbishop of Paris, said: "*C'est un moine*." The term was not inappropriate. He was interpenetrated with the monastic or religious spirit, a cenobite to the finger tips. The Church's greatest men have come out of the cloister, and he was one of them. "It is because he was a holy religious," says M. de

Follenay, "that he has been a great Bishop. He ascended the steps of the episcopal throne like those austere men of the Middle Ages they sought in the seclusion of the cloister to impose upon them the duty of defending the interests of the Church, and who were astonished that they should place the mitre on their brows and put a crosier in their hands."

In a letter to Monsignor de Mazenod announcing his approaching elevation Monsignor Casanelli wrote: "I am threatened with the loss of M. Guibert, who is my right arm and the principal instrument of all my works. I don't dissemble from you, Monseigneur, that I was the first promoter of the blow I apprehend. Convinced as I was, and as I still am, of the eminent qualities which distinguish M. Guibert, and appreciating the signal services he has rendered to my diocese, I have regarded it as a duty of justice and gratitude to designate him to the Government as a subject capable in every respect of fulfilling the functions of the episcopate. It was in 1837 I first spoke of him to the Minister of Worship; later, in 1839, I confirmed in an official letter the information I had verbally given." He concluded by asking as a favor to be permitted to retain him for two years longer. "The delay I ask for," he adds, "will only serve to increase M. Guibert's merit; he will leave Corsica with more glorious antecedents, if he gives the finishing touch to the holy undertakings which were the object of our common solicitude." Père Guibert on his part left himself entirely in his superior's hands. "I have never done except what you willed," he wrote to Monsignor de Mazenod, "and I wish to follow it as my sovereign rule to my last breath, but I desire that in coming to so grave a decision you should decide only for the greater good of the congregation. It is for it I have lived up to this; I wish to live and sacrifice myself for it to the end." Monsignor de Mazenod, with his wonted perspicacity, had long discerned in him a vocation to the episcopate, and had two years before actually suggested his nomination to the See of Gap, which would have had the double advantage of giving the Church a wise prelate and the congregation a protector in a diocese where its interests were menaced.

When Père Guibert received official intimation of his nomination to the See of Viviers he wrote: "Corsica is now preparing to celebrate an event which I shall regret all the days of my life if it takes place." And when Monsignor de Mazenod received the letter of the Papal Internuncio, Monsignor Garibaldi, who asked him not to interpose any obstacle, he noted in his journal: "Poor Gui-

bert is overwhelmed by the blow. Is it for me to counteract the designs of Providence? Whatever want this dear child may cause in Corsica, whatever may be the gap he will also make in the congregation, I would be acting against my conscience if I opposed his acceptance of the burden the Lord places on him. This sacrifice which I shall make to the Church will draw down new blessings on the congregation. How not see the hand of God in these events? . . . After such a letter from the Pope's representative, is there anything else than to submit to the will of God? I shall never take it upon me to offer the least obstacle." Writing the same day to Father Courles, he said: "I am getting old; besides, I can no longer bear, I should not say the burden, but the whole responsibility and weight of my position. I shall be obliged to retire from the world before the time. It will be useful to the congregation to have a protector in the Church of France, above all a prelate who will be such an honor to it."

When the Bishop-designate was just about to set out for Paris he wrote to the founder: "Bless me once more before my departure, my beloved father. Formerly when I left for Paris I felt so light-hearted, so full of courage! It was because I was going on other people's business; it is not so this time: I am a victim you are sending to the sacrifice!" To a young religious he wrote: "After all, if I only consulted my interests, my ease and my tranquillity, I should remain what I am. I do not rest my gaze on vanity, and I often place myself in thought at the moment of death. What a happiness to give up one's soul to God in a little cell, on a humble pallet, surrounded by one's friends and brethren! So I hope that God, who has given me so many tokens of His merciful goodness, after having used me to do some good in the new apostolate I am entering on, will lead me back to the simplicity of my first state. I even hope not to withdraw myself too far from it in the exercise of my new ministry; I wish to be a simple, poor, missionary Bishop, that my manner of life may remind me of what I have been, what I have not ceased to be, what I wish to be at the moment of my death." To another of his brethren he intimated that he accepted his nomination in obedience to the command of the Holy Father. "An order emanating from a higher authority and to which all wills must yield, even that of the Bishop of Ajaccio, who was the most interested in warding off the danger, arrived," he says, "three days before the ordonnance."

When the Bishopric of Viviers became vacant by the resignation of Monsignor Bonnel de la Barthe, a nominee of Monsignor Frays-

sinous, the choice of the Government wavered as to which of the numerous candidates it would select. The King, bored by the delay, in any angry mood ordered the Minister to bring him a list of the candidates. The first name that met his eyes was that of Père Guibert. "*Que diable!*" said Louis Philippe. "What are you thinking of to be looking for another? There's the man we want for Viviers."

The consecration took place in the Church of St. Catinat, at Marseilles, an old Dominican chapel used by the chapter pending the building of the new cathedral. The day chosen was very appropriate, Friday, the 11th of March, the feast of the raising of St. Lazarus, the first Bishop of Marseilles. Then began an illustrious episcopal career of forty-two years, which was to reflect such distinction upon the Congregation of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, who gave to the Church in France one of its brightest ornaments.

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THE VEINS OF THE DIVINE WHISPER.

Beatae aures quae venas divini susurri suscipiunt, et de mundi hujus susurrantibus nihil advertunt.—*De Imitatione Christi*, III., I., 1. (Happy ears, which receive the veins of the divine whisper, and take no notice of the whisperings of the world.—Challoner's Translation.)

I.

“**W**HAT does Thomas à Kempis mean by ‘the veins of the divine whisper’ in this verse?” The question was addressed to me by a Catholic lady whose thoughtful piety, not unmingled with keenness of literary observation, doubtless had wrestled long with the peculiar phrase before it was thus submitted “for decision to a high court of last resort.” Although the English expression in question must have passed dozens of times through the portal of eye or ear into my brain, it seems clear that the brain had not fully reacted to the stimulus of the words, for I was nonplussed by the question, and, after the fashion of high courts, determined not to commit myself to a hasty decision, but to take the matter under advisement.

At this point in my story it is perhaps in form to request the gentle reader's forbearance for an occasional use of “the personal note.” It is not intruded for any other purpose than to make the argument clearer, as may be seen in the sequel. Certainly it is not egotistical to confess oneself baffled by an expression which, in a book of Catholic piety like the “*Imitation*,” one might well be expected to know by heart and to have heard with the understanding as well as with the ears. Apropos of this, however, Percy Fitzgerald gives¹ us, in a personal anecdote, an illustration of the unobservant manner in which people are wont to read even a book of profound wisdom couched in sententious lessons. One of the most striking thoughts of the “*Imitation*” is: “If thou canst not make thyself such as thou wouldst be, how canst thou expect to have another exactly to thy mind?” Dr. Johnson quoted it with much satisfaction as a forceful utterance. “This,” comments Fitzgerald, “shows the value of criticism from such an intellect as Johnson's, which, almost without effort, always seized on what was most striking or telling. Many persons who have studied their ‘*Imitation*’ may have overlooked this pregnant saying, or perhaps have not noticed its extraordinary force. They have read the book as they would any religious work of meditation, or have been attracted by

¹ “Thoughts on ‘*The Imitation of Christ*,’” in “*The Month*,” May, 1894, p. 117.

other passages of a more conventional kind . . . When repeating this saying to friends, I have always noted how much they are impressed, as by some novelty."

And so, when the perplexing expression, "the veins of the divine whisper," passed before the eyes of my newly awakened interest, it struck me as a kind of novelty. What, indeed, does it mean? The Latin original might give an appropriate answer, and I accordingly begged my questioner for time to consult a volume containing it which was enriched with copious references to the Sacred Scriptures and the Fathers of the Church, and which was (by good fortune, as I mistakenly thought) among my books. The volume was edited by V. Postel, canon and vicar general of Algiers and doctor of divinity, and was published in 1867 at Paris in handsome form. I found it easily enough, but the information sought in it was not found. It furnished, indeed, no less than twelve references to or direct quotations from the Bible in order to illustrate the few and brief verses in this one chapter of the "Imitation." The editor had obviously applied himself with both learning and industry to his task. But he gave no reference or quotation whatever in illustration of the verse placed at the head of this paper, nor did he attempt any explication of the mysterious words that had puzzled both my questioner and myself. Similarly, the volume* which had furnished the English translation to my questioner offered no explanatory reference, quotation or gloss.

Was the verse, then, whether in the Latin original or in its literal translation by Bishop Challoner, so simply self-explanatory as to permit of no interpretative footnote? Amongst the millions of readers, Protestant as well as Catholic, of the golden book of Thomas à Kempis, were there only two persons of such humble mentality as to find the words obscure in meaning?

The question seemed sadly pertinent, and in the search for a definitive answer I accordingly placed the Latin text and Challoner's rendering of it before several judges who were competently equipped, both in ascetical lore and in Latin idiom, for a clear solution of the difficulty. I felt reassured when I found the judges either silent or prolific in mutually exclusive interpretations. The sense of the passage was, then, really obscure. At all events, it was sufficiently refractory not to yield its meaning to any casual investigation.

But perhaps other editions of the Latin text would condescend with a commonly acceptable interpretation? Assuredly, the passage was difficult enough to justify annotation or commentary. But

*It was, of course, an edition of Bishop Challoner's translation of the "Imitation (or Following) of Christ."

here the mystery deepened. I consulted a fairly portly volume* of 464 pages, giving the Latin text together with "Considerationes," taken from other works of Thomas, appended to each chapter. These "Considerations" were not infrequently of much greater length than the text which they illustrated. A new hope naturally arose within me. It would be truly appropriate that Thomas should himself explain Thomas! The event destroyed the hope. Now, the strange part of this business is that the volume in question was published in 1889 and was reissued in 1900, the demand for it justifying its reissue. Had not any of the readers of its first edition found any mystery in the words: "Venas divini susurri?" Or were its readers of a much finer mental equipment than the competent judges whom I had already consulted?

Another Latin edition published at Turin in 1831, "Ad fidem Autographi anni mcdxli per Heribertum Rosweydam, S. J.," gave no better results, although it did pause to give a "Collectio locutionum quae Teutonicam phrasim redolent"—a list of expressions smacking of Teutonic idiom. And it added a chapter which admirably summarized the ascetical teachings of the "Imitation." Much editorial care had evidently been devoted to this edition. But having looked carefully through it, I perceived that either no difficulty in our verse had been noticed or that it was considered trifling on the one hand or quite insoluble on the other hand.

Of course there are well-nigh innumerable editions of the Latin original. I shall not weary my readers with further illustration, however. We shall see what we shall see in respect of some of these. Let me add that none of the editions of Challoner's translation into English which I looked up referred in any way to this puzzling verse, although the volumes had various additions of pious considerations, practical reflections, prayers, indicating no lack of care in the editing of this altogether wonderful book of the "Imitation."

II.

I have said that the judges before whom the passage was placed either gave variant interpretations or none at all. Meanwhile, some reply—it should hardly be styled an answer—must be given to my questioner. Perchance the "Glossarium" of Du Cange would offer some mediæval examples of the uses of "vena" or of "susurri"?

* Thomae à Kempis De Imitatione Christi Libri Quatuor. Textum edidit, Considerationes ad culusque libri singula capita ex ceteris eiusdem Thomae à Kempis opusculis collegit et adiecit Hermannus Gerlach, Canonicus Eccl. Cathedr. Limburg., Iur. Utr. Dr. Opus posthumum. Editio altera . . . Friburgi Brisgoviae . . . MDCCCC. The work was edited by Dr. Laurentius Werthmann, Consiliarius ecclesiasticus.

It did furnish several such, but none that fitted the present case. If the words were Scriptural, they might be found in Cruden's "Concordance"? It was a far shot, for he dealt with the Authorized Version and not with the Doway Version. Nothing dealing with veins or whispers that could help to a solution! Unfortunately, a Latin concordance which I had several times found serviceable could not be presently located. A search through approved Latin dictionaries (including Forcellini) did not produce results that looked promising. However, there was one tropical meaning of "vena" which might serve a useful purpose: "The interior, the intimate or natural quality or nature of a thing." The "*vena susurri*," the "vein of a whisper," might possibly be interpreted as the inmost meaning, the inner burden or content of the message. "Happy the ears that receive the inmost message of the divine whisper and give no heed to the whisperings of the world." I accordingly suggested this as a possible interpretation, in a letter to my questioner, and embellished the interpretation with a further comment that Thomas was probably thinking of the wondrously beautiful narrative in the Third Book of Kings (chapter xix., verses 11-13); for when Elias had journeyed to the mount of God, Horeb, he was bidden to leave the cave and to stand upon the mount and witness the passing of the Lord. How should the prophet recognize Him? There was first of all a great and strong wind that overthrew the mountains and broke the rocks into pieces; but the Lord was not in the whirlwind. And then, after the whirlwind, an earthquake; but the Lord was not in the earthquake. And after the earthquake, a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire. And after the fire, there was "the whistling of a gentle air." And when Elias heard this, "he covered his face with his mantle," for he knew that the Lord was in the gentle whisper of the air—in the still, small voice, and not in the tumultuous hurly-burly of hurricanes, earthquakes, conflagrations. And if we are to hear "the veins of the divine whisper"—"the inmost message of the divine whisper"—we must resolutely close our ears to the innumerable buzzings of earthly interests. "*Non in commotione Dominus!*"

My questioner professed herself delighted with the tentative solution of the difficulty and with the illustration from the history of Elias. Not satisfied, however, I determined to look up different translations into English and foreign languages for other interpretations. I found very many variant ones, some of which will be spread out for the gaze of my readers. But it was only towards the close of a long hunt that I came upon a Latin edition which gave my own illustration from Elias. I was delighted at finding even one editor who had anticipated me. This was a splendid edi-

tion published in 1761 at Turin, which gives both the Latin and an Italian translation, together with pious considerations and practical reflections, a prayer after each chapter, a summary at the end of each book and citations and notes throughout, "*ad oggetto di renderne piu utile la lettura*"—for the purpose of making the work more useful in the reading. This is the interpretative rendering of the Latin verse: "*Beate le orecchie, che odono il dolce mormorio delle divine ispirazioni: e sono sorde ai susurri confusi di questo mondo!*" ("Blessed are the ears that hear the sweet murmur of the divine inspirations and are deaf to the confused whisperings of this world!"). Under the heading, "*Riflessioni, e Pratiche,*" we find: "Not in the midst of the tumults and cares of the world does God make His voice heard. . . For the Saviour is not in the great and strong wind; not in the midst of the earthquake; not in the fire . . . but in the soft whispers of a gentle wind." And here a footnote refers to the Third Book of Kings, chapter the nineteenth, verse the twelfth. Finally, there is another enlightening reference whose consideration the plot of my story compels me to defer for the present. The edition is beautifully printed and attractively bound. An idea of its proportions may be gained from the fact that a good-sized volume of 463 pages is devoted to the Third Book alone of the "*Imitation.*"

It is not the purpose of this paper to contend for the desirability of this interpretation or to comment favorably on the illustration from the history of Elias. For those who are interested in this present story there are perhaps a few surprises in store. But it is not amiss to note here the unsatisfactory, albeit prodigious, labors of editors like V. Postel. They cloud clear issues with many comments and pass over in silence the issues that are really obscure. They are like the patrons whom Johnson scored in his famous letter to Lord Chesterfield, who throw no rope to the drowning wretch as he struggles in the water, but cumber him with congratulations after he has managed somehow to reach the shore.

Now the Italian translation just quoted gives the reader an intelligible rendering of our verse. There still remains the difficulty, nevertheless, of accounting for the "*venas divini susurri.*" Why should this expression be considered equivalent to "the sweet murmur of the divine inspirations?" The word "*vena*" might indeed be considered an apt word to image rivulets whose murmuring is soft. At all events, the Italian editor furnished the Latin original in parallel form, and no reader can fairly quarrel with a rendering beside which the original is conscientiously placed.

Well, the obscurity of the passage still remained. Doubtless other translations would, like this Italian edition, implicitly acknowl-

edge the difficulty and endeavor to meet it manfully either in the English rendering or in an enlightening footnote. Every good translation is, in a sense, an interpretation. But there are many occasions—and this was undoubtedly one of them—where an editorial interpretation of the original text should frankly confess itself to be uncertain. The Latin text should be given in a footnote and the reason for the English rendering should be intelligibly stated when, as in the present case, the English word is not a translation, in a self-explanatory fashion, of the original. Now, the Latin word “vena” means a “vein.” If, then, “vein” would leave the passage wholly unintelligible, and some other word (such as accent, or breathing, or pulse, or echo, or throbbing—all of which, as I discovered, have been employed) be used as an interpretation, this fact should be clearly stated somewhere. In the English rendering, “venas” might be placed in brackets after “accent” or “rhythm,” or whatever word is used. Or a footnote should state the difficulty and the reasons for its present solution. We shall see with what light-hearted freedom the translating editors have ignored this requirement.

III.

There have been many translations of the “Imitation of Christ” into English, not all of which will be considered here. Enough of them, however, will be quoted to illustrate conclusively the obscure character of the Latin original phrase, “venas divini susurri.” Lovers of the incomparable volume of Thomas à Kempis will perhaps be as amused—not to say instructed—as I have been, by the wonderful variety of English renderings, which illustrate widely differing interpretations of the veins of a whisper. It will make the task of comparison somewhat easy if distinctive headings be given to the translations and the verse be quoted in full. Following the plan of Carl Hirsche⁴ with respect to this verse, the hemistichs will be printed in versified form. The context will be thus more apparent, while the occurrence of our puzzling phrase in the first hemistich will be more clearly recognized. Hirsche thus prints the verse:

Beatae aures quae venas divini susurri suscipiunt:
et de mundi hujus susurratationibus nihil advertunt.

The rhymic cadences of “suscipiunt” and “advertunt” illustrate his

⁴ Thomae Kempensis De Imitatione Christi Libri Quatuor. Textum ex autographo Thomae nunc primum accuratissime reddidit, distinxit, novo modo disposuit; capitulorum et librorum argumenta, locos parallelos adiecit Carolus Hirsche. Editio altera, correcta et aucta. Inest facsimile autographi Thomae. (Berlin, 1891; p. 131.)

theory of the rhythmic punctuation and rhymic cadences which, it is contended, caused Adrian de But, a contemporary of Thomas, to declare that the "Imitation" was written "metrice," or in rhythm. It will also facilitate comparison if the English renderings be grouped roughly into classes, rather than chronologically, in order to illustrate the idea of the meaning of the original Latin which seems to have guided the pens of the translators. The process of comparison will doubtless be further lightened if some interesting details (or, at least, details which gave me much pleasure in the finding), ordinarily dear to the heart of worthy bibliomaniacs, be given concerning each translation.

VEINS.

Happy ears, which receive the veins of the divine whisper:
and take no notice of the whisperings of the world.

In some editions "happy ears" is found as "blessed ears," and "whisperings" as "whispers." In his "Thoughts," Percy Fitzgerald says: "The favorite Catholic translation was issued in 1744, and was the work of Dr. Challoner, whose well-known initials, 'R. C.,' are attached to it. This, I presume, is the popular version now in use. It was fortunate that it was attempted thus early, though scarcely early enough, for it is cast in a rather antique and quaint phraseology. Our modern familiar tongue would never suitably present the author's ideas." This is the whole treatment which he accords to Dr. Challoner's version, and the account is sufficiently vague and, in respect of the assigned date, is erroneous. Burton says: "In 1737 Dr. Challoner turned a little while from controversy to bring out an entirely new translation of the 'Imitation of Christ,' the older version then in the hands of Catholics having become antiquated in style. The book was a favorite one with him, and he wished it to be widely spread, so that his task was a labor of love. His rendering fulfilled his hopes, for it soon became the standard version; it has been reprinted a countless number of times and still remains in popular use."⁵

⁵ Burton, "The Life and Times of Bishop Challoner," I., p. 281. The first edition was that published by Thomas Meighan (London, 1737), who in 1744 issued a second edition. Then, according to Burton, Coghlan, of London, brought out a fifth, sixth, eighth and ninth edition in 1779, 1789, 1793 and 1796, respectively. In 1800 Thomas Haydock (Manchester) issued it, and in 1810 the "thirteenth" edition was issued by Keating (London). In 1814 an edition, revised and corrected, appeared at Cork. In 1825, Coyne, of Dublin, issued what is styled by him the "fifteenth" edition. Keating, London, issued in 1826 and 1829 the seventeenth and eighteenth edition respectively. "Subsequent editions" (says Burton) "become too numerous to mention in detail, especially as some were issued without date. . . . Other editions were printed in Paris . . . 1834 and 1835; . . . in Phila-

PULSES.

Blessed are the ears that gladly receive the pulses of the divine whisper: and give no heed to the many whisperings of this world.

This translation is given in an edition of the "Imitation" published in London in 1894, with a preface by Archdeacon Farrar and with five illustrations by C. M. Gere. It was reissued in the following year, and a third edition appeared in 1905. In the eleven years intervening between the first and the third edition, apparently no reason was discerned for altering the translation of *venas* by pulses. The same translation appears, undated, as "a newly revised translation" in the series, entitled "The Ancient and Modern Library of Theological Literature," published by Griffeth, Farran & Co., London. This edition has a preface signed with the initials "W. T. B.," who says of the "Imitation" that "its powers seem to lie in its transparent thoroughness and simplicity." The "simplicity," meanwhile, is not very obviously shown in the puzzling phrase, "*venas divini susurri*." The simplicity was undoubtedly in the mind of Thomas; it is not very apparent in the English renderings of the phrase.

Although the pulse depends on arteries and not on veins, no one will feel like quarreling with the translator on this score; for, in Latin, *vena* was sometimes indifferently used by the ancients for both artery and vein. But did Thomas à Kempis have any such thought in his mind as "pulses?" What, indeed, are the pulses of a whisper?

With the word "veins" we are permitted to associate many things that might find metaphorical scope in connection with a whisper. But, after all, a vein is not a pulse—neither is an artery. The metaphor found in "vein" has now become a metonymy in "pulse," and figure is piled upon figure, Pelion upon Ossa.

delphia by Cummiskey, 1838; and several editions have been issued by Duffy, of Dublin, and Burns & Oates, of London." This is obviously a most incomplete list of the early editions. Lowndes, in his "Bibliographer's Manual," mentions an edition issued at Manchester in 1744 with the title "Imitation of Christ." One might gather from Burton's list that the first appearance of an American edition was that of Cummiskey in 1838. Finotti, however, in his "Bibliographia Catholica Americana," notes the "1st American ed." as issued by Matthew Carey, Philadelphia, as early as 1805, under the title of "The Imitation of Jesus Christ;" what is styled by its publishers "the thirteenth edition," at New York in 1808, under the title "The Following of Christ;" and, under the same title, a Baltimore edition, in 1810. Finotti brings his work down only to the year 1820. How many editions have since appeared in America! Challoner's translation has indeed been the popular one amongst Catholics in English-speaking lands; and many millions of readers have doubtless wondered as to the meaning of "the veins of the divine whisper."

The same rendering of *venas* by *pulses* is given, in a slightly different setting, in a volume issued in London in 1902: "Of the 'Imitation of Christ'—Revised Translation. London: Henry Frowde." The volume is furnished with an Index of Scriptural Quotations; but it may be noted here for future reference that the Index does not contain any mention of the Book of Job—an exceedingly significant omission, as will appear further on in a discussion of the Biblical source for our phrase. The preface, too, remarks: "All direct quotations from Holy Scripture are printed in italics; marginal references are given not only for these, but for all allusions to or direct quotations from the Bible." If the translator had known that the verse of the "Imitation" takes the very phraseology of Job (in the Vulgate Latin), doubtless he would have hesitated before rendering the *venas* once more, in a "newly revised translation," as *pulses*.⁶

It may also be noted here that in the Frowde edition "receive" is replaced by "catch:" "Blessed are the ears that catch the pulses of the divine whisper . . ." A footnote refers to Matt. xiii., 16-17 ("But blessed are your eyes, because they see, and your ears, because they hear. For, amen I say to you, that many prophets and just men have desired to . . . hear the things that you hear, and have not heard them"). It is clear that the reference has nothing to do with veins or whisper. The statement of the preface, "The present translation is absolutely faithful to the original Latin of Thomas à Kempis" (sic), is to be read in the light of the declaration which immediately follows: "No word or phrase has been omitted in the interests of any school or party."

If by "*venas susurri*" is meant an exceedingly faint sound, "catch" is better than "receive," for it implies concentrated effort to gather some of the fleeting and faint sounds of the whisper. Was this implied by Thomas à Kempis? I think not.

THROBBING.

Blessed are the ears that catch the throbbing whisper of the Lord:
and turn not to the buzzings of the passing world.

What was apparently a Ritualist's translation of the "Imitation" into rhythmic sentences was published in London in 1889. Its translator was anonymous, but a preface was contributed by Canon

⁶ The rendering "*pulses*" is also found in the edition published by Walter Scott (London) in the "Canterbury" series of English classics: "Blessed are the ears that gladly receive the pulses of the divine whisper, and listen not to the whisperings of the world." This edition puts Scriptural extracts within quotation marks, but has none for our verse. There are no marginal references or notes of any kind, and there is no preface.

Liddon. It was reissued in America in 1895 with a preface signed with the initials "D. F. R.," and this edition included also the translator's preface. These two prefaces explained briefly the strange title given to the volume: "*Musica Ecclesiastica*—The Imitation of Christ. By Thomas à Kempis. Now for the first time set forth in rhythmic sentences according to the original intention of the author." The matter is interesting and was succinctly set forth. A larger treatment of it may be found in an article entitled "New Light on an Old Question," in the April number of the *Dublin Review* for 1880 (pages 382-409). We may not turn aside to discuss the matter here, however, for we are now concerned rather with the rhythmized rendering quoted above. Two interesting facts may nevertheless be passingly noted here. The first is that the text of the "Imitation" is divided up into portions assigned consecutively to all the days of the year. If such a brief portion were thus daily read and meditated upon, the spiritual gain would obviously be great; for annually the whole "Imitation" would be read, and the common and careless trick of opening the volume anywhere for spiritual reading would be avoided. The whole chapter which includes our verse is thus assigned to July 8. The second fact of undoubted suggestiveness (and great appropriateness to our present inquiry) is that the translator ends his preface with a quotation from this chapter, and that our verse is found therein beautifully enshrined as it were at the very gateway of the paradisiac volume written five centuries ago.

In the rendering quoted above, "the veins of the divine whisper" is turned into "the throbbing whisper of the Lord." The allusion is pretty clear, but again we have an interpretation rather than a translation, and we are tempted to ask, Why? The Latin is nowhere given, nor is there any note or comment explaining the strange rendering. Nor, withal, is the meaning made any clearer. The pulse (vena) throbs, indeed, and so the allusion is fairly to be gathered. But does a whisper throb? The translator has poetized as well as rhythmized his rendering of the Latin. He has done still worse. He has sentimentalized a work, at least in this verse, whose author was the farthest possible remove from a sentimentalist in religion or in asceticism. The crowning glory of the "Imitation" is the wonderful combination it exhibits of simplicity and directness of utterance, of depth of meaning, of truth to the facts of the human heart and of practical common sense. It deals indeed with thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears; but it does so with the matter-of-fact directness of a surgeon amputating a leg and not with the hysterical sobbings of the wife whose husband is thus being operated upon. Throbbing whisper? No, no! Thomas à

Kempis would regard such sentimentality with amazement and incredulity.

A new and Catholic revision⁷ of the rhythmical translation was published in 1908. Its editor says: "The translation here published was . . . chosen because it reproduced well the spirit of the original, even so far as to copy its rhythmical structure. . . . Every line, indeed every word, of the English has been accurately compared several times with the corresponding line and word of the superb Pohl edition (1904) of the manuscript of the author." The result of this repeated comparison of the anonymous English translation with Pohl's Latin edition is a changing of various words and expressions. With respect to our verse, however, only the second line is slightly altered, the words, "the passing world," being simplified into "this world." The important point is that the rendering of "venas divini susurri" by "the throbbing whisper of the Lord" remains uncorrected. Neither the original English translation nor its American revision indicates the reason for the rendering, "throbbing whisper." And yet we have already collected several curious renderings: Veins, pulses, throbbing. All of them appear to be interrelated figuratively. Can we say the same thing of our next illustration, wherein "venas" is rendered by "instillings"?

INSTILLINGS.

Blessed the ears which receive the instillings of the divine whisper:
and take no notice of the whisperings of the world.

The pulse might be popularly understood as an external evidence of the work of an artery which, as it were, registers the throbs of the heart in its endeavor to drive the blood through its channels, and the blood thus driven might be conceived (popularly) as forcing its way onwards, drop by drop. Whence we arrive (perhaps) at the idea of the instillings. Veins, pulses, throbbing, instillings may thus be looked at as efforts on the part of the translators to render the thought suggested by the "veins" of a whisper. But again we have metonymy founded on metaphor. And one may doubt that any clear notion is conveyed to the reader by the instill-

⁷ "The Sodalist's Imitation of Christ . . . an English translation reproducing the rhythm of the original, revised, corrected and edited by Father Elder Mullan, S. J., New York, 1908." It was a happy thought so to revise the work for Catholic readers, who were thus enabled to see concretely the theory of rhythm in the Imitation as propounded by Hirsche in 1874, and to look at the ascetical labor of Thomas in the light of this new theory of his loving anxiety that the rhythmic cadences of his language should render his work more attractive to those for whom it was written.

ings of the divine whisper. The ear perceives something that sounds poetical in phrase; but the intelligence remains inquisitive, if not querulous. Did Thomas à Kempis mean that the inward speaking of God to the soul is a slow process, such as the word "instilling" would naturally suggest?

A translation of the "Imitation" containing this rendering of our verse was published by Murphy in Baltimore in 1886 without indication of the translator, or preface, or notes of any kind, or any indications whatever of Scriptural extracts. The same translation was published in London by Kegan Paul in 1892 with the imprimatur of Cardinal Manning, similarly without notes, preface, etc., and was evidently intended for the devout use of its readers rather than for the satisfaction of any scholarly inquisitiveness; for in the same year Kegan Paul issued a much larger edition giving both the Latin and its English translation on pages that faced each other. The Latin text employed was that of Hirsche, with its interesting divisions of paragraphs, sentences, and even clauses, based on Hirsche's theory concerning the punctuation, rhythms and rhymic intentions (or coincidences, as the case may be) of Thomas à Kempis in the autograph of the year 1441. With respect to the English translation that accompanied the Latin text, page by page, it may be said that its similar divisions into paragraphs, sentences and clauses made the reading of the translation an unpleasant task save for a patient scholar who was willing to toil much in order to compare the Latin with its vernacular rendering. A publisher's note informs the reader that this English translation is "based on that by Bishop Challoner (1744), modified by comparison with every known version in English, and many in foreign languages. In some few cases a new rendering has been adopted." Kegan Paul had published several variant editions of the "Imitation," and I suspect that this one of the year 1892 simply used, with perhaps the "new rendering" in some cases (of which the publisher's note speaks), one of his older editions. If this be true, it is important to notice that our puzzling text did not receive, in the edition of 1892, any new rendering, so far as I can judge. But it is still more important to notice that the extensive comparisons made with all the known English translations down to the year 1892 and with many in foreign languages resulted in no additional clarification of the "veins of the divine whisper." This is the phrase of Bishop Challoner in his literal rendering of the Latin original. Kegan Paul's edition professes itself to be based upon the Bishop's translation, and thus implicitly acknowledges that "the veins of the divine whisper" called loudly for interpretation. But is "instillings" an intelligible interpretation of "veins"?

SECRET BREATHINGS.

Blessed be the ears that hear the secret breathings of Jesus, and heed not the deceitful whisperings of this world.

We have seen that whereas Challoner thought it best to translate "*venas divini susurri*" literally into "the veins of the divine whisper," others have endeavored to interpret the "veins" in some intelligible fashion. Thus we have considered "pulses" (for a vein or an artery may be supposed to suggest a pulse), "throbbing" (a derivative of "pulses"), and "instillings" (an idea similarly connected with pulses).

A vein, however, may properly suggest other things metaphorically. The veins are hidden within the encompassing flesh and may be seen only in rare lines of tracery underneath the skin. They are mostly hidden or "secret," and possibly this thought is implied in the translation given above, which is that of Richard Whytford, first published in 1556 and again in 1585 and subsequently. In 1872 Dom Wilfrid Raynal, O. S. B., edited the work, modernizing the spelling, altering somewhat the punctuation, but preserving the text unaltered except, as he remarks in his introduction, "where the overcrowding of particles rendered the meaning very obscure." After his death, his edition was reissued with an appreciation of Dom Raynal's work contributed by G. Roger Hudleston, O. S. B. With singular infelicity, the beautifully printed and exquisitely illustrated edition now lying before me uses the words of the Authorized Version for most of the Biblical texts, although this "Authorized Version" appeared more than half a century after Whytford had published his work. He had stoutly resisted the religious encroachments of Henry VIII., must have been an octogenarian when Queen Mary began her short reign, and "had in all probability sung his *Nunc Dimittis* ere Elizabeth ruled the land" (Raynal). He could have known nothing of the "King James Version" of the Bible.

From Dom Raynal's historical introduction we learn that Whytford was in all probability chaplain to the Bishop of Winchester at the time that the Countess of Richmond, mother of King Henry VII., died. Her name is almost romantically, as well as most piously, associated with the first publication of the "Imitation" in English; for not only did she translate the Fourth Book (on Holy Communion) and have it printed by Richard Pynson, the king's printer, in 1503 and again in 1504, but it was at her "speciall Request and Commandement" that Wynkyn de Worde, in 1502 (?), printed the first three books of the "Imitation" as translated by "Mayster Wyllyam Atkynson, Doctor of Diuynyte." It was also "at the commaundement and instaunce of the ryght noble and ex-

cellent prynces Margarete moder to our souverain lorde Kynge Henry the. VII. and Countesse of Rych mount and Derby" that Pynson printed the first three books in "the yere of our Lord MD. iii." "Bishop Fisher, her confessor, has so beautifully drawn her character in the funeral oration he delivered at her death, that we at once recognize in her a humble soul thoroughly imbued with the spirituality of 'The Imitation of Christ'" (Raynal). The strong character of Whytford is illustrated by the advice he gave to his young friend, afterwards Sir Thomas More, to resist a certain unjust attitude of the king. Thomas followed the advice of his spiritual counsellor! Both were strong men, indeed, in the after times that were so sadly out of joint. We know the splendid fate of the chancellor of England; and Dom Raynal pictures for us the patient but always resolute resistance of Whytford to the alternately brutal and cunning measures of the emissaries of Henry VIII. The story cannot be rehearsed here, but if the attention I have thus solicited to this volume should lead any reader to become more familiar with its pages, I may be pardoned the digression I have so far indulged. For it is a beautiful book even in its externals of paper, printing, binding and illustrations, although it suffers from the officious handicap of having altered the words of Whytford in order to make many of his Biblical texts conform to those of the authorized version of English Protestantism.

"ROUNYNGE."

Blessid be the eres that receyue of goddes rounynge:
& takith non hede of the rounynge of this worlde.

The verb "roune" means "whisper," and "rounyng" is therefore "whispering." The rendering is declared to be the earliest made into English and is supposed to date back to 1450-1480. In 1893 Kegan Paul published (for the Early English Text Society), and John K. Ingram, LL. D., senior fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and president of the Royal Irish Academy, edited (with preface, notes and glossary), a translation of the first three books of the "Imitation" found in a manuscript of Trinity College Library, Dublin. The editor compared the manuscript with another found in the University Library, Cambridge, noting the variant readings. I cannot here reproduce all the quaintness of the printing, but the extract as given above is sufficiently faithful for our purpose. The Third Book is headed: "Here begynneth the third parte of inwarde conuersacyon. Of the inwarde spekyng of crist into a soule. C(apitulum) p(rimum)." And the text itself of the translation forthwith begins: "I shal here what oure lord god spekith in me. Blessful is that soule that herith our lorde spekyng in him, & tak-

ith of his mouthe the word of consolacion. Blessid be the eres that receyue of goddes rounynge, & takith non here of the rounynge of this worlde." The work itself is headed: "Here begynneth the tretise called Musica Ecclesiastica."⁸

The unknown translator of the "Imitation" into this early English was apparently not ill-advised in omitting all mention of the veins of the whisper. It is curious, meanwhile, that he should not have followed the example set by a still earlier rendering⁹ of the Vulgate Latin of Job (iv., 12) into English, which faithfully preserve the "veins." He is satisfied with "the whispering of God" as a rendering of "venas divini susurri"—and the experience we have thus far gained of recent English renderings will hardly lead us to quarrel with him.

"STYLL SPEKYNGE."

Blessyd be the eris that here the styll spekyng^{god:}e or rownyng^{god:}e of almyghty and pondereth nat the dysceytfull callynge or pryue mouynge of the worlde.

Wynkyn de Worde was the first to print the "Imitation" in English. His edition was reprinted, under the editorship of Dr. Ingram, by Kegan Paul in the year 1893 volume already cited here. The earliest English manuscript of 1450-80, which gave us "rounyng" or "whispering" as a translation of our "venas susurri," contained only the first three books. The whole four books were printed in 1504 by Wynkyn de Worde. Of these, the first three were rendered by William Atkynson, D. D., and the fourth, by the Lady Margaret, mother of King Henry VII. and Countess of Richmond

⁸In the *Chronicles of Martin de But*, a Cistercian who was a contemporary of Thomas à Kempis, occurs a note referring to the year 1469, praising the ascetical works of Thomas à Kempis and mentioning casually that Thomas had written "metrically a certain volume on the words 'Qui sequitur me'" ("Quoddam volumen metrice super illud 'Qui sequitur me'"). Qui sequitur me, "he that followeth me walketh not in darkness," begins the Imitation or "Following" of Christ. This allusion is clear enough, but the "metrice" puzzled commentators on the Imitation until Carl Hirsche propounded his theory. "This latter term might have remained an inexplicable puzzle were it not for the discovery made about 1872 by Dr. Carl Hirsche, that the Imitation of Christ, as well as most of the other writings of Thomas à Kempis, is written and punctuated so as to be rhythmical. Herein, too, is found the explanation of the fact that certain old manuscripts of the book bear the title 'Musica Ecclesiastica.'" Thus Cruise, *Thomas à Kempis: Notes of a visit to the scenes in which his life was spent*, with some account of the examination of his relics. (London, Kegan Paul, 1887; p. 156.) Pohl, however, in his edition of the (Latin) Imitation (1904) prints the text in solid block form, whilst noting in an appendix the curious punctuation marks on which, apparently, Hirsche based his theory.

⁹Walter Hilton's "Scale or Ladder of Perfection" (Book III., sect. 2).

and Derby. The title runs: "A full deuoute and gostely treatyse of the imytacion and folowyng the blessyd lyfe of our most mercifull saviour cryst: compyled in Latin by the right worshypfull Doctor, Master John Gerson, and translate into englissh the yere of our lord, M.d.ii. by mayster wyllyam atkynson, doctor of diuynyte at the speciall request and commandement of the full excellent pryncesse, Margarete, moder to our souerayne lorde Kynge Henry the VII., and Countesse of Rychemount and Derby." The third book begins: "Here begynneth the iii. boke. The firste chaptre conteyneth the inwarde spekyng of our lorde Jesu criste to mannis soul that he hath specially chosen: Lo, sayth suche a feythfull soul, I shall attende and here what our lorde shall speke in me." Dr. Ingram tells us that Atkynson's translation was not made from "the French," as the "Dictionary of National Biography" asserts. Atkynson died in 1509. He was canon of Windsor, 1506-7. The title ascribes the "Imitation" to Chancellor Gerson. Dr. Ingram follows the almost universal view that it was composed by Thomas à Kempis.

The "rounyng" of the earliest English translation now appears as "the styll spekyng or rownyng"—in brief, the whispering.

THE SOUND OF THE DIVINE VOICE.

Blessed are those ears that receive the sound of the divine voice;
and listen not to the whisperings of the world.

In 1654 Dr. John Worthington, Master of Jesus College and vice-chancellor of the University of Cambridge, issued a translation which he entitled "The Christian's Pattern." The rendering throughout is practically that of "F. B." (generally identified with Anthony Hoskins, S. J., whose translation, printed first in 1613, became virtually the basis for all those which have been subsequently issued in English), but omits certain passages which did not please the theological views of Dr. Worthington. The first edition is not extant, but the edition of 1677 exhibits a work which, thinks Copinger (in his "Bibliographiana, No. 3"), is "no doubt an excellent translation, but the idea of there being anything of particular value in it is a delusion."

An edition of 1705 bore the title, "The Christian's Pattern; or, a Treatise of the Imitation of Jesus Christ . . ." It was reprinted by T. C. Hansard in 1831. We read in the preface that "it hath been endeavored generally to keep as close to the Latin as might be without clouding or perplexing the sense. . . . That this endeavor of bringing this edition nearer to the simplicity of the author's sense and notion in the Latin, and withal of correcting such passages in former editions as did not only not come near to

the words of the author, but were also too much at a distance from his sense; I say that such an endeavor as this might the better succeed; several Latin editions have been consulted." After such emphasis upon "the sense of the author," we find the "*venas divini susurri*" rendered as "the sound of the divine voice"—a clear evasion both of the "*venas*" and of the "*susurri*." Also, the antithesis apparently implied by Thomas à Kempis between "*susurri*" in the first hemstich of the verse and "*susurrationibus*" in the second, goes without any English equivalent. The "*rounyng*" of the earliest English translation at least included the idea of the "*susurrus*."

WHISPERS.

Blessed are those ears that receive the whispers of the divine voices;
and listen not to the whisperings of the world.

I wondered for some time whether Maggie Tulliver really read these words in the copy of the "*Imitation*" that George Eliot pictures her, in her loneliness and desperate distress of mind, as finding in the heap of books that had been brought to her by the admiring Bob. I had thought that the words simply recorded an attempt made by George Eliot herself to supply a new and reasonable rendering of the Latin verse. I have found, however, that the verse had been thus translated by John Wesley in his "*The Christian's Pattern*," issued in Baltimore in 1813 as "from the twenty-first London edition." It seems probable to me that George Eliot had Wesley's translation (or an edition based upon it) under her eyes when she drew so pertinently from the golden book of Thomas à Kempis for the gentle instruction of Maggie Tulliver's impatient soul.

The first edition of Wesley's translation appeared in London (C. Rivington) in 1735, with the legend, "compared and corrected throughout." It is based on the previous translation by Worthington, which has just been noticed, and in the preface gives wise directions for those who read the "*Imitation*" how best to draw spiritual nourishment from it, refers to Worthington's edition (without, however, naming the author, as Wesley appears not to have known the name), and gives an account of the idea that shaped the new translation: "Of all the paraphrases, none is more destructive of the sense, none more contrary to the spirit of this author, than that which attempts to polish his style and refine his simplicity into eloquence!" Commenting upon this view, Copinger says: "Had this sentiment been more universally accepted, the Latin of Castalio and the English versions of Stanhope and Payne might have been spared us." Wesley complains that Worthington's edition (1677) "is in many places rather a paraphrase than a translation: by which means not only much of the beauty, but of the

strength and spirit of the original is lost. These paraphrastical expressions, so highly injurious to the nervous brevity of the author, are here removed, and the words rendered in as liberal a manner as the nature of our tongue will bear."

Wesley merely changes "sound" to "whispers," retaining all the rest of Worthington's rendering of our verse; but the slight change effects a splendid amendment, for it preserves the antithesis of *susurrus* and *susurrations*, and replaces the nerveless word "sound" by the keyword "whispers," thus harking back to the Vulgate of Job iv., 12. By his faithfulness so far forth to the Latin of Thomas à Kempis, Wesley builded better than he knew—for doubtless he was quite unfamiliar either with the Latin of the Vulgate or with the English rendering of the verse in Job by the Doway translators. He evades, nevertheless, the word "venas."

It seems to me highly interesting that George Eliot should have included, in "The Mill on the Floss," this puzzling verse of ours amongst the few excerpts from the "Imitation" selected for Maggie's reading, and that, following on with the next verse, she should have placed a dash in order to permit of her immediate comment: "A strange thrill of awe passed through Maggie while she read, as if she had been wakened in the night by a strain of solemn music, telling of beings whose souls had been astir while hers was in stupor." The brief and scattering extracts are skilfully introduced by the novelist: "At last Maggie's eyes glanced down on the books that lay on the window-shelf, and she half forsook her reverie to turn over listlessly the leaves of the 'Portrait Gallery,' but she soon pushed this aside to examine the little row of books tied together with string. . . . She took up the little, old, clumsy book with some curiosity: it had the corners turned down in many places, and some hand, now forever quiet, had made at certain passages strong pen-in-ink marks, long since browned by time. Maggie turned from leaf to leaf and read where the quiet hand pointed." The whole chapter ("The Voice from the Past") that closes the fourth book of "The Mill on the Floss" is a classic. With its powerful description of the desolate states of Maggie and of the miraculous effect the reading of a few passages in the "Imitation" had on her newly awakened attention we have here, of course, nothing to do. But my readers will perhaps indulge me with a quotation from George Eliot's own reflections: "I suppose that is the reason why the small old-fashioned book, for which you need only pay sixpence at a bookstall, works miracles to this day, turning bitter waters into sweetness, while expensive sermons and treatises, newly issued, leave all things as they were before. It was written down by a

a solitary, hidden anguish, struggle, trust and triumph—not written on velvet cushions to teach endurance to those who are treading with bleeding feet on the stones. And so it remains to all time a lasting record of human needs and human consolations—the voice of a brother who, ages ago, felt and suffered and renounced—in the cloister, perhaps, with serge gown and tonsured head, with much chanting and long fasts and with a fashion of speech different from ours—but under the same silent, far-off heavens, and with the same passionate desires, the same strivings, the same failures, the same weariness.”

The “rounynge” of the earliest English version is virtually the “whispers” of John Wesley’s translation. If we do not admire the literary stoicism of Dr. Challoner in simply placing before us, without any attempt at elucidation, an English literal rendering of the “*venas divini susurri*,” we shall probably admit that “rounynge” and “whispers” are as serviceable translations as we may hope to find. Any adjective placed before them would be either an ambiguous interpretation or a piece of purely “poetical” sentimentality. Let us consider some of these questionable adjectives.

SOFT AND GENTLE.

Blessed are the Ears, which, with a greedy Attention, drink in the soft and gentle Whispers of his Spirit: while they continue obstinately deaf to the treacherous Insinuations of this deluding World.

George Stanhope, Dean of Canterbury, published (London, 1696) what some critics would probably call an alleged translation of the “Imitation” under the title of “The Christian’s Pattern.” A specimen thereof is quoted above. One may form a fair estimate of its literary style from the extract; but it will not be amiss to add his translation of the following verse: “And doubly blessed are they, who hear the Sound of Truth, not only in the Outward Administration of the Word, but by the Inward and Familiar Communications and Motions of infused Grace.” The developing and enveloping process will stand out clearly if we compare with this Challoner’s simple and literal rendering: “Happy ears indeed which hearken to truth itself teaching within, and not to the voice which soundeth without.”

The author of the translation, however, foresaw no criticism on the score of literary elaboration. He rather feared that a charge of unfaithfulness would be preferred. He professes to follow the Latin of Castalio, who, as he declares, “hath taken some liberty in places peculiarly relating to the Romish Superstitions” and confesses (or professes) that he himself “hath not only trodden in his Steps thus far, but, in the Chapters which concern a Monkish Life

particularly, hath endeavoured to express himself, for the most part, as that such Meditations might be accommodated to the Circumstances of any Pious Christian, who declines the Pleasures and Business, and other Interruptions of the World, and sequesters himself to the Exercise of Devotion and severer Virtue." He further alleges that "In order to preserve the Zeal and Spirit of the Author, it was found necessary sometimes to abridge, and at others to enlarge a Thought, and carry it a little higher. All which the Reader hath this Warning of, to prevent any Objections which might otherwise be raised, against the Faithfulness of an Undertaking, intended, not so much to acquaint Englishmen what Kempis thought, as to convey those Thoughts with some Degree of that Sprightliness and Affectionate Warmth, which the Original Composer at first felt for them." It is at all events an honest avowal of unfaithfulness to the original, however we may smile at his confidence that he was able at times to enlarge the thought of Thomas à Kempis and "carry it a little higher." How much "Sprightliness and Affectionate Warmth" he has added to the dull and frigid language of the "Imitation" need not be pointed out.

The success of "The Christian's Pattern" is to me one of the curiosities of literature. Of its many English and American editions I will not speak; but that it should have been thought a sufficiently remarkable classic to warrant its inclusion in Morley's Universal Library (London, Routledge, 1886) is to me a very wonderful thing. Henry Morley does not include the delightful preface of Stanhope in this modern edition, but concludes his own introduction (giving an account of the "Imitation" and of its author) with a paragraph dealing with Stanhope and his translation. Morley tells us that the "Pattern" went through seventeen editions from 1696 to 1809. I think this an understatement even for the one country of Great Britain. But it had several editions in America also, two of which are noted in Finotti's "Bibliographia Catholica Americana." The volume from which I myself have quoted was published in Dublin in 1766, and bears on its title-page the legend: "The Thirtieth Edition," and this was only seventy years after the first London edition of 1696.

It should be noted that Stanhope italicizes what he recognizes as Scriptural extracts and gives marginal references, but does not do so for our verse, which nevertheless quotes Job (iv., 12).¹⁰

¹⁰ American readers will be interested to learn that Stanhope's work was reprinted in Germantown (Philadelphia) by Christopher Sowr in 1749, with the curious statement of the title page that it was an "Abridgement of the Works of Thomas à Kempis. By a Female Hand." Our verse is rendered, exactly as in the quotation given above. A copy of the edition of Sowr is in the library of the American Catholic Historical Society. Two other copies are in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

SOFT WHISPERS.

Blissed are the ears that receive the soft whispers of the divine breath: and exclude the noise and tumult of the world.

This is the rendering of John Payne (London, 1763), who in the preface to his own translation of the "Imitation" remarks: "As 'The Christian's Pattern' by Dean Stanhope has claimed a place among the translations of this excellent book . . . it will be asked, what occasion was there for attempting a new one?" He answers his own question as follows: "It was attempted to do some justice to the sense of the original; which is almost lost in the loose paraphrase of Dean Stanhope, and almost deprived of its spirit by the literal and inelegant exactness of others." He follows the divisions and titles of the edition of M. J. Valart (Paris), and declares that his quotations from the Scriptures are more numerous than they are in the original, quoting from "our English Bible." It is doubtless due to this last fact that he does not recognize any Scriptural language in the first chapter of the third book (which has our verse)—not even the quotation from Psalm lxxxiv., 9, which begins the chapter, and, of course, not that from Job iv., 12, which furnishes the verse of the "Imitation" with the veins of the whisper.

The same rendering as I have quoted above is found in the translation of Thomas Frognall Dibdin, D. D., F. R. S. S. A.—"that worthy bibliomaniac," as Fitzgerald styles him—which was issued by Pickering in 1828 in a manner "worthy of the translator's taste in typography." Dibdin bases his version on that of Payne, "but with such modifications and corrections as may probable entitle the present [version] to the distinction of a New Translation." Dibdin has more references to the Bible in our chapter than Payne, but he does not recognize Job iv., 12. He comments on Stanhope's translation and says: "As the very opposite of this version of Dean Stanhope, the recent literal one of the Rev. and Ven. Dr. Challoner may be recommended," but questions "whether its literal fidelity do not give it a somewhat bald and arid character."

ACCENTS.

Happy ears which receive the accents of the divine whisper: and take no notice of the whisperings of the world.

This is a translation virtually identical with that of Challoner. The title-page directly ascribes it to Challoner, and nevertheless the volume (which bears the imprint of a New York publisher, while, curiously enough, the reverse of that page has the imprimatur of the vicar general of Tournai, dated June 6, 1902) nowhere indicates that occasional alterations have been made in Challoner's text. We

have here an interpretation and not a translation of our verse. Why should *venas* be rendered by accents? The obscurity of the Latin is indeed largely dispelled, but, for all one can conjecture, is replaced by a false glare. Of course, an explanation is not vouchsafed. One grows still more impatient with the editor (unnamed) for changing the original English text without notification to the reader.

Blessed are the ears that gladly receive the accents of the divine whisper.

This is apparently a compound version made out of Challoner and the translation we have already noted under "pulses." It was edited by Brother Leo, F. S. C., and issued in 1910 by Macmillan (New York) as one of the "Temple Classics." Why "gladly" is inserted one can only conjecture. It has a preface and notes, but does not recognize anything peculiar and worthy of note or comment in our verse.

BREATHINGS.

Blessed are the ears which catch the breathings of the divine whisper: and pay no heed to the whispers of the world.

This translation appeared in New York (White, Stokes & Allen, 1886). No explanation is anywhere given of why "*venas*" should be rendered by "breathings." What, indeed, are the breathings of a whisper other than the whisper itself? The verse in Job was apparently unknown, in its Vulgate Latin form, to the translator. "Breathings" must have become quite popular in Catholic circles, for it occurred in a "new translation" published by Burns & Oates some years ago: "Happy ears, which receive the breathings of the divine whisper, and take no notice of the whisperings of this world." This reappears in "a new edition" bearing the imprint of a Catholic publisher in Philadelphia. Thus it circulates among Catholics on both sides of the ocean. Again, of course, there is no indication of the reason for "breathings" as a rendering of "*venas*." The volume contains 864 pages made up most largely—since the volume is intended solely for devotional purposes—of excellent "reflections," "prayers" and appendices which indicate many ways in which the "Imitation" may be made to serve the most varied uses of piety. But one is inclined to indulge the fancy that, in such a chubby book, a very few pages might be unobtrusively slipped in, which should exhibit briefly the texts of the Latin which have been doubtfully or ambiguously translated. It may properly be noted here that one of the appendices refers to the chapters of the "Imitation" "arranged according to the Gospel of all the Sundays of the year," and that the chapter containing our verse is thus

assigned to the second Sunday in Lent, whose Gospel presents us with the narrative of the Transfiguration of Christ and records the "voice out of the clouds, saying: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye Him." The reference is very appropriate, for the chapter of the "Imitation" is devoted to "the internal discourse of Christ to a faithful soul," and begins with the words of the Psalmist: "I will hear what the Lord God will speak in me."

HEAVENLY.

Blest are the ears by heavenly whispers thrilled,
But deaf to those by which the world is filled.

It is sufficient to say that the versified translation of the "Imitation" was achieved by Henry Carrington, M. A. (London, 1889). We must not hold a poet down to the limitations of arid questioning, such as: Why does he omit "venas?" There have been metrical versions into Latin, Italian, French. We shall consider Corneille's rendering elsewhere.

ECHOES.

Blessed are the ears which receive the echoes of the soft whisper of God: and turn not aside to the whisperings of this world.

This is the rendering in the translation made by the Rev. W. Benham, B. D., rector of St. Edmund, King and Martyr (London, 1874). Canon Benham disputes, in his preface, the ascription of authorship to Thomas à Kempis, and argues for that to Gerson, chancellor of Paris. It is worthy of note that he gives Biblical references, but has none to illustrate our puzzling verse. His translation is incorporated with the "Confessions of St. Augustine" in a volume of "The Harvard Classics," edited by Dr. C. W. Eliot. Veins are here interpreted as echoes. The rendering seems at first sight to be quite fanciful, but if the views of commentators on Job iv., 12, are correct, the present rendering comes pretty near being correct. The echoes of a soft whisper must indeed be hard to catch by an ear that does not shut out resolutely all the whisperings of the world.¹¹

¹¹ In his Introduction to Elliot Stock's facsimile reproduction of the first edition of the *Imitation*, printed at Augsburg in 1471-72, Canon Knox Little very well remarks (p. 13) that we can read the *Imitation* "with a sweet sense and a perfect certainty that there is no mere sentimentality, or unreality, or straining too far, or—that 'prima materia' of the Devil-Cant, but the real, solid, serious fact of beautiful and spiritualized human Love going out towards God and, for God's sake, towards man." Translators should have this thought constantly before their minds in rendering the sententious texts of the *Imitation*. Canon Benham's rendering of "venas divini susurri" by "the echoes of the soft whisper of God," and Stanhope's "soft and gentle whisper of His Spirit," come perilously near to a phrasal sentimentality which is wholly remote from the literary style of the *Imitation*.

AT LEAST A FAINT SOUND.

Blessed are the ears that catch at least a faint sound of the divine whisper: and hear nothing of the whisperings of the world.

This is found in a translation of the "Imitation" edited by Father Thaddeus, Friar Minor, and published by Burns & Oates in 1908. A note refers to Job iv., 12, and to the translation of the Bible into French by Father Carrières. "Venas susurri, i. e., parum ex eo." The "veins of a whisper" is, then, an expression meaning "a little" of it; as the authorized version of English Protestants has it, "a little thereof." The true meaning is here formally declared by the translator as he apprehends it, and one acknowledges with gratitude his laborious editorial care and exactness, even if one ventures to dissent from the view expressed both in the note and in the translation itself. But why "venas" should indicate "a little" is not explained. It may prove interesting, in a succeeding article, to consider other translations of the verse into English and some foreign tongues.

H. T. HENRY.

Overbrook, Pa.

Book Reviews

THE SOCIAL LEGISLATION OF THE PRIMITIVE SEMITES. By *Rev. Henry Schaeffer, Ph. D.* Yale University Press, 1916. 12mo., cloth binding; 245 pages; index. Price, \$2.35 net, postpaid.

The author modestly tells us that the present work, grown out of a thesis presented to the University of Pennsylvania, lays no claim to great originality in views set forth; it is designed to present "as clearly as possible the leading facts of a most interesting study." As a matter of fact, Dr. Schaeffer has made a thorough investigation of the various topics which he takes up in his book, and shows himself well acquainted with all the customs and laws of the Semitic world. In a scholarly way he treats successively of Matriarchy, Patriarchy, Agnation, Ge'ulla, Slavery, Interest, Pledges, Poor Laws, Sabbatical Year, Yea of Jubilee and Taxation. From the contents it is evident that, although not written professedly as a Biblical contribution, this work will appeal to the Scripturist no less than to the sociologist and the economist.

In order to find out what the conditions of the primitive Semites were, the author has considered the records of the three main representatives of early Semitism—Hebrews, Babylonians and various Arabic tribes. In dealing with his sources he manifests a truly scientific conscience, being careful not to assert more than is warranted by the evidence. In fact, it is a pleasing feature of this little volume that the author carefully avoids all exaggeration in handling his material. The subjects are so arranged as to show the relation between them, thus the tribal unit and the sacredness of family property naturally lead to many enactments with regard to the Levirate, Ge'ulla, Slavery, Year of Jubilee, etc.

Although the space allotted to each topic is necessarily short, yet, thanks to an excellent power of discrimination, the leading facts are clearly stated and emphasized, thus rendering the work a very correct and up-to-date synopsis of the results of research. It may serve also as a basis for more detailed study by students, and as such will prove most valuable in the Biblical classroom.

In connection with the chapter on Interest, we would have liked

to find a mention of Dr. Hejcl's scholarly monograph, "Das alttestamentliche Zinsverbot im Lichte der Ethnologischen Jurisprudenz," etc. Likewise, when dealing with the various property rights of wives and daughters, the author might have called attention to the conditions prevailing in the Jewish colony of Elephantine under the Achemenidae. There may be here and there other little defects, but these are mere details. The work of Dr. Schaeffer is full of genuine information; it is methodical, accurate and scholarly. It will render great service to our Catholic students and should form a welcome addition to their library.

ROMAIN BUTIN, S. M.

STUDIES IN TUDOR HISTORY. By *W. P. M. Kennedy, M. A.*, St. Michael's College, Toronto University, Canada, author of "A Life of Parker," "Parish Life Under Queen Elizabeth," etc. 12mo., pp. 340. London: Constable & Co.

"My object in publishing this collection of studies in Tudor history is to present to the general student and reader some material connected with only acts which must be treated very briefly in the general histories of the period. The specialist will find little new in this volume, but I venture to hope that those for whom it is written will get a better insight into some of the complicated aims and intricate problems of sixteenth century life. There is a general unity in the studies which I may call the ideal of Tudor government. This ideal can be traced through the entire ages, and it will serve to connect the studies."

The author further informs us that he differs from other writers on sixteenth century history, and even from his own previous work as an Anglican. He assures us, however, that he has conscientiously re-worked the materials, and that his conclusions have been arrived at independently as an outcome of this re-working. He adds that he has done his utmost to lift the book out of the atmosphere of controversy which unfortunately has gathered around Tudor history. The ten chapters begin with "The Policy of Henry VII." and end with "Reservation Under the Anglican Prayer-Book."

The result is a work of real historic value, well worthy of a place next to that other sterling book by the same author, "Parish Life Under Queen Elizabeth."

The writer not only gets the narrative before his readers, but he makes it a living narrative, and he enables one to catch the sequence of events, that make up the story while he is searching out the motives that move the actors. An interesting as well as instructive book.

MOTHER MARY VERONICA, Foundress of the Sisterhood of the Divine Compassion: A Biography. By *Rev. Herman J. Heuser, D. D.* New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

Won into the Church from Protestantism by the forcible preaching and logical teaching of the late Monsignor Preston, himself a convert, a former leader of the High Church party in Hartford, Conn., Mary Caroline Dannat, who in religion became Mother Mary Veronica, of the Sisterhood of the Divine Compassion, was born in New York city in 1838. Her parents were zealous Protestants, who became members of the Baptist communion, and she eagerly adopted the tenets of that body. In 1857, when she was 19, she married Mr. Walter S. Starr. Her religious beliefs were not quite settled at this time, and her mind was in quite a receptive condition when she got hold of a book relative to the Schoenberg Cotta family, in which a vile attack was made upon the religious beliefs of Catholics. This work had exactly the opposite effect from that which the author intended: it set her thinking and reading for herself. The result of her mental conflict was that she determined to get instructed in the principles of the Catholic faith, and to Father Preston, of St. Ann's, New York, she went to attain her object. In 1868 she was baptized and received into the Church. Her humane and tender nature was profoundly moved by the direful conditions of poverty and its frequent concomitant, depravity, which she found surrounding the parts of the city where they resided. In a short time after (her husband having died), with the aid of Father Preston, she had founded the Association of the Holy Family, with a house at 316 West Fourteenth street, New York. After a while the name of the society was changed, in order to give a clearer idea of its aims and its mission in the city. The name chosen was the "Association for Befriending Children and Young Girls." In the course of years the work grew and burgeoned out,

until it became in time the Convent of the Divine Compassion, on Second avenue. In 1890 the society was enabled to purchase twelve acres of land at White Plains, N. Y., for the purposes of a "mother house," at a sum of twenty-five thousand dollars. There was a fine old mansion on the land, with lawns and shade trees and orchards. This was renovated, and then the Sisterhoods took possession, giving the house the name of "Good Counsel." The Good Counsel Training School, and (what followed soon after) the founding of a Catholic Girls' High School in New York city and a new convent at White Plains were the visible marks which Mother Mary Veronica left behind her to halo her memory when she died. The story of her noble achievements for God's cause is simply and touchingly narrated by Father Heuser in the book published by the Kenedy firm. Several fine plates embellish the work.

THE MYTHOLOGY OF ALL RACES. In thirteen volumes. Louis Herbert Gray, Ph. D., Editor; George Foot Moore, D. D., Consulting Editor. Volume I, Greek and Roman. By ~~William~~ *Sherwood Fox*, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of Classics, Princeton University. Volume X., North American. By *Hortley Burr Alexander*, Ph. D., Professor of Philosophy, University of Nebraska. Boston; Marshall Jones Co.

This is a pretentious work indeed. A glance at these two royal octavo volumes of over three hundred pages each, with their wealth of illustration and the evidences of scholarship on every page, is enough to convince one of the importance of the undertaking. It is the first time that a comprehensive collection by competent scholars of myths from all quarters of the earth and all ages has been attempted. For several important parts of the field no satisfactory works exist in English, while in some there is none in any language. There can be no question, therefore, as to the value of an undertaking like the "Mythology of All Races."

The selection of illustrations is a very important part of the undertaking. As the editor says: "It would have been a very easy matter to present fancy pictures or to reproduce paintings of great modern artists. Instead of that we have deemed it more in harmony with the purpose of the series to choose for each section pictures of the deities or of mythic incidents as delineated by the people who themselves believed in those deities or incidents. This will have the added advantage of extending some knowledge of the

art of early times and the more primitive peoples, as well as of such highly developed arts as those of the Orient."

THE SHEPHERD OF MY SOUL. By *Rev. Charles J. Callan, O. P.* Baltimore: John Murphy & Co.

A most timely reminder, in these days of strife involving half the civilized world, to the timid soul that there is something beyond all the cruelty of war; that the Good Shepherd looks with sorrow on the sheep fighting madly and blindly among themselves, that once again they shall be gathered into the fold.

An able reviewer said lately:

"The Holy Scriptures are full of similes and parables relative to the place which gentle sheep and lambs, and their shepherds and guardians, fill in the religion that is professed by that large portion of the human race which professed belief in God, whether under the New Dispensation or the Old. The fact that the Divine Saviour of the human race is pictured, in painting and in writing, as the "Lamb of God," even so far back as the days when the Church was in hiding in the Catacombs, shows with what affection the simile was cherished as most apt and emblematic of the Paschal Lamb, the highest offering of the Jewish race to the Lord and Guide who led them out of the house of bondage into the Promised Land, flowing with milk and honey. The mode in which Father Callan makes use of this felicitous tradition of Jew and Gentile to impress us all with the lessons on noble living which it conveys, is in the highest degree profitable and practical."

CLERICAL COLLOQUIES: Essays and Dialogues on Subjects Sacrodotial. By *Arthur Barry O'Neill, O. S. O.*, author of "Priestly Practice," "Between Whiles," etc. University Press P. O. Box 99A, Notre Dame, Indiana.

This work is a companion volume to "Priestly Practice," the clerical best-seller of 1914, so generally and highly praised by Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, rectors of seminaries, preachers of priests' retreats, and the rank and file of the clergy. In matter and form, in the practicality of its topics and the grace of its literary style, the new book is fully equal to its predecessor, of which the best critics have said: ". . . The kind of book of which you say at once that

no one can afford to be without it; certainly no priest or clerical student. A nice combination of humor and common sense and the wisdom of experience. . . .”—“A thoroughly satisfactory work. Priests in search of a really good book on priestly life and duties, full of sound advice conveyed in an attractive form, should lose no time in procuring a copy of this publication. . . .”

Its interest may be surmised from a glance at its contents: “Minor Devotions of the Priestly Day,” “The Priest a Gentleman,” “Father Tom Says the Dry Mass” (a Rubrical Dialogue), “The Priest and the Press,” “A Cleric’s Correspondence,” “Clerical Wit and Humor,” “Our Queen and Mother,” “The Priest’s Visits” (a Conference Discussion), “The Priest in the Sick-Room,” “Spiritual Outings,” “The Longevity of Priests,” “Priestly Loyalty to Mother Church,” “The Violet Stole,” “At the Clerical Club” and “The Priest’s Exemplar.”

GOD’S GOLDEN GIFTS. By *Flora Lucy Freeman*. With a Preface by the late Monsignor Robert Hugh Benson. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons; 75c.

A little treasure of a book, and rendered more interesting by the preface of the late Monsignor Benson.

In these times when the Golden Gifts of God mean to so many the luxuries of this world, when those who fail to receive them feel neglected, this little book will prove a useful reminder that the real Golden Gifts are the graces by which God smooths the rough way of life and lightens the burden of the heavy-laden, and open up a view not easily perceived in the turmoil of everyday life.

BRIEF DISCOURSES ON THE GOSPEL FOR ALL SUNDAYS AND FESTIVALS OF THE YEAR. Rev. *Philibert Seeböck*, O. F. M. Translated by E. Leahy. 12mo., pp. 287. Fr. Pustet & Co., New York and Cincinnati.

“It may be said with confidence,” says Father O’Neill, S. J., in his foreword to the translation, “that one of the most urgent needs of the Church in our day is the multiplication of short sermons. Hence it is a great pleasure to come upon such a treasury of excellent models and sources for brief talks from the altar as is given us in the volume of Father Philibert Seeböck, O. F. M., now translated into excellent English by E. Leahy. So much solid and useful matter is here set forth that it might serve as a basis, if need were,

for much longer discourses than are named in the title. The tone and spirit of the little sermons are admirable: they are clear, practical and devout. It is to be hoped they will prove immensely useful to priests in charge of souls."

While every priest should prepare his own sermons, whether long or short, there often—we had almost said always—comes, from one cause or another, the time when such a volume as this is necessary, and for that time of need Father Seeböck's "Brief Discourses" will be admirably adapted.

MARIE OF THE HOUSE D'ANTEES. By *Rev. Michael Earle, S. J.* 8vo., cloth, colored jacket and frontispiece net \$1.35. Postage, 10 cents extra. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This book is more than a story of compelling interest; it is a living arraignment of some salient features of American life. Written in a delightful vein, carrying with it at times a spirit of refreshing raillery, it nevertheless has a dash of apologetics that by no means detracts from, but rather adds immensely to the interest.

THE SHEPHERD OF THE NORTH. By *Richard Aumerle Maher*, author of "The Heart of a Man." New York: The Macmillan Company.

Father Maher knows the Adirondack country and the people who live there. He also knows the conflicting interests of capital and labor, individual and corporation. The country is so comparatively primitive, the characters so various and the interests so vital that dramatic situations are frequent. "The Shepherd of the North" brings all these things before us in narrative form and tells a story full of interest. The title refers to an apostolic Bishop who is in touch and sympathy with his people at all times; he weeps with them, laughs with them, struggles with them and triumphs with them. The unscrupulous efforts of a railroad company through unprincipled agents to gain unlawful possession of land; the deeds of violence which ensue; the forest fire which furnished one stage setting, and the trial which furnishes another, and the very pretty love element running through it all, furnish the ingredients of an interesting novel. Many persons will think it more interesting than

the author's previous story of this region, because there is more of the human in it.

ONLY ANNE: A Novel. By Isabel O. Clarke. With colored jacket and frontispiece; net, \$1.35. New York: Benziger Bros.

In "Only Anne" Miss Clarke has produced a wholesome, satisfying and very entertaining book. The limpid beauty of her style has never appeared more charming than in this sweet love story, and the delicate sense of humor that she displays in the delineation of some of the characters will be highly appreciated.

THIS VOLUME DOES NOT
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